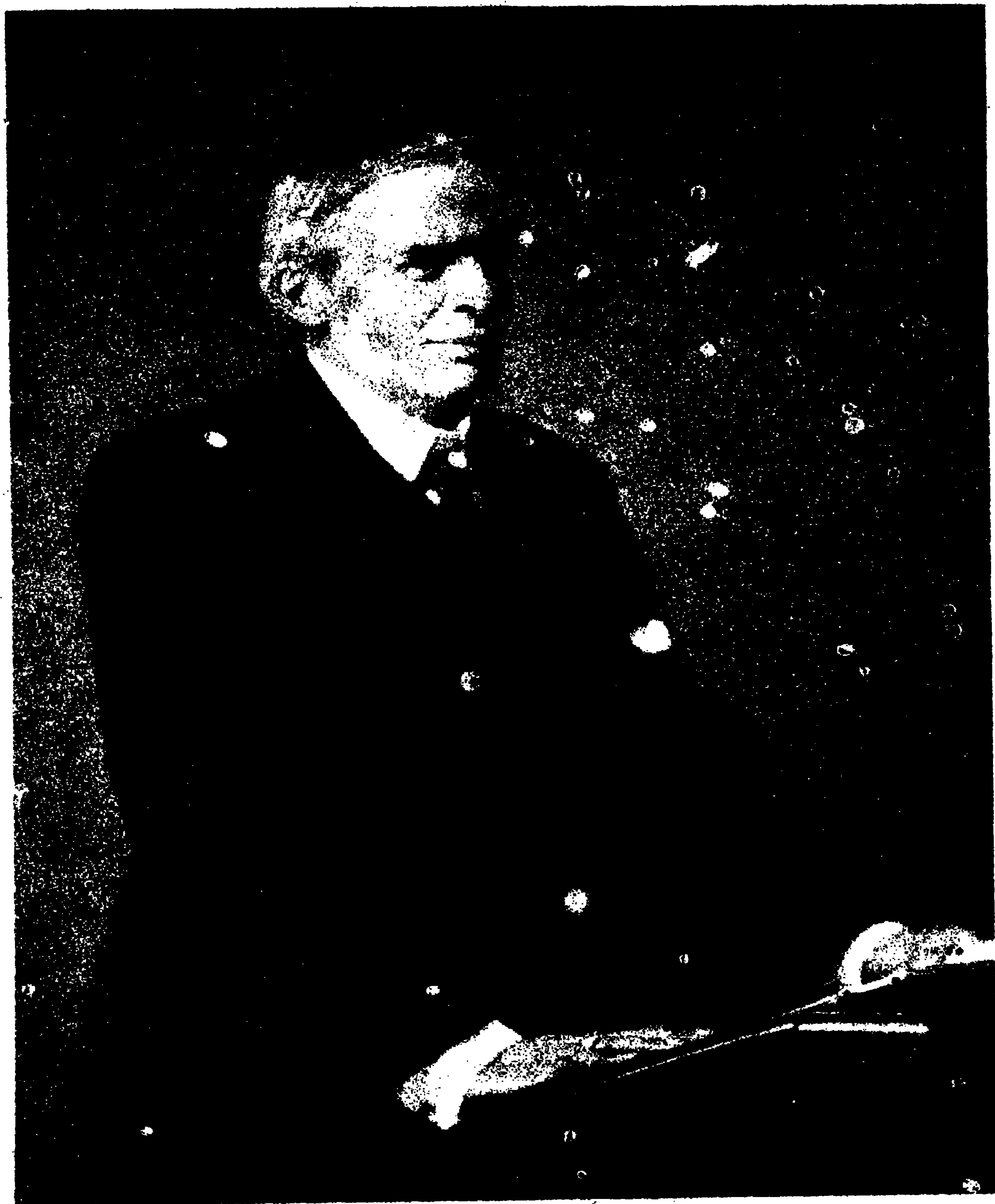
A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

PRESENTED TO PROFESSOR EDWARD G. BROWNE

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Edward G Browne

A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

PRESENTED TO

EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.

SIR THOMAS ADAMS'S PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

ON HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY

(7 FEBRUARY 1922)

EDITED BY

T. W. ARNOLD

AND

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON

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ADMIRATION for the scholar, gratitude to the generous patron of learning, and feelings of personal affection have prompted the compilation of this volume, to which Orientalists of as many as eleven different nationalities have contributed.

For years past you have inspired successive groups of students with your own enthusiasm for the literature and culture of Islam, and by your writings you have stirred up in every part of the civilised world interest in the subject of your own studies, and have widened the bounds of human knowledge. It is the hope of all your friends that you may long continue to carry on the torch, and add still more to those writings which are so precious a possession to all students of the Muslim world.

During the progress of the work three of the contributors, Sir C. J. Lyall, Professor I. Goldziher, and Professor C. F. Seybold, have passed away. While it has been a pleasure to all to join in making this عيدانه acceptable, especial thanks are due to Professor A. A. Bevan for his help in connexion with Hebrew and Aramaic, and to the staff of the Cambridge University Press for the care they have bestowed on a book containing many languages and scripts.

Since your name will always be associated with Persia, it seemed natural that the volume should bear a Persian title, which not only conveys the sentiment of *'ajab* but also embodies a Persian figure of speech by its allusion to the familiar initials, E. G. B.

T. W. ARNOLD.
REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

AN INITIATION RITE OF THE SORCERER IN SOUTHERN ARABIA

Though mention is often made of sorcery (*siḥr*) and its rites in Arabic literature, the information about the person of the sorcerer (*sāḥir, saḥḥār*) is scanty[1]. It may therefore be of interest to draw attention to an account which discloses something of the notions current at one time in Southern Arabia regarding the way in which the sorcerer was supposed to acquire his mysterious power.

The *Geographical Dictionary* of Yāqūt (d. 626 = 1229) contains an article[2] the translation of which runs as follows:

Ḥawḍ^u Ḥuwwir^a (variants Ḥaiḍ^u 'Uwwir^a, Ḥawḍ^u Quwwir^a) is a mountain between Ḥaḍramawt and 'Umān in which is a cavern. It is said that there is at its entrance a one-eyed man. When one wishes to learn sorcery, he resorts to this cavern and speaks to this one-eyed individual about it. The latter then replies: "This is impossible, unless you renounce [belief in] Muḥammad." Thereupon he lets him enter the cavern. Here is an assembly, and at the upper end of the cavern is a seat on which a śaikh is sitting. The śaikh then asks: "Which method of *siḥr* would you like [to learn]?" For he instructs him in one method only without letting him pass on to another.—This is mentioned by 'Uṯmān al-Balaṭī an-Naḥwī (i.e. the Grammarian)[3], who lived in Miṣr, on the authority of Ḥusain[4] al-Yamanī and As'aḍ b. Sālim al-Yamanī.

[1] Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1897), p. 159 *sqq.*; E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger 1908), p. 27 *sq.* and *passim*; H. Reinfried, *Bräuche bei Zauber und Wunder nach Buchari* (Karlsruhe 1915).

[2] *Mu'ǵam al-Buldān*, ed Wüstenfeld, ii, 356 *sq.* (ed. Cairo, 1324, iii, 359 *sq.*); abbreviated in al-Qazwīnī, *'Aǵā'ib al-Maḫlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 157 *sq.*; cf. *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 327 *infra sq.*; Osiander, *Studien über die vorislāmische Religion der Araber*, *ZDMG.*, vii, 471.

[3] Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Uṯmān b. 'Īsā al-Balaṭī, d. 599 (1002), cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*, i, 302.

[4] Var. al-Muḥsin.

Saith the author: al-Qāḍī al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥaǵǵāǵ[1], the Inspector[2] in Miṣr, told me saying: "Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ward—he was governor of the Castle al-Munīf of Ḏubḥān[3]—related to me in the Yaman on the 17th Ḏu 'l-Ḥiǵǵa 613" [27th March 1217]:

In one of the districts of ad-Dumluwa[4], at a mountain called Quwwir, is found a ravine[5] named Ḥawḍ Quwwir. Its depth is not great, it has a length of five lances and a small breadth; there is built in it a platform. Whoever wishes to learn something of sorcery takes a black he-goat, which has not a single white hair. After slaughtering and flaying it he divides it into seven pieces which he brings down into the cavern[6]. Thereupon he takes the paunch, rips it up, and daubs himself[7] with its contents. He puts on the skin of the goat turned inside out and enters the cavern in the night. It is a condition with regard to him that neither his father nor his mother should be still living. When he has entered the cavern he sees nobody. He then lies down to sleep, and if he finds in the morning his body cleaned from what was upon it and washed, this points to his being admitted. At his entering [the cavern] he must bear in mind whatsoever he is wishing. If, however, he is in the morning in the same state, it points to the fact that he has not been admitted. When he leaves the cavern after his admittance, he may not speak to anybody for three days; he must keep

[1] The same name Yāqūt, *o.c.*, i, 58, 2 (with the addition of *'āriḍ al-ǵuyūš*, i.e. Inspector of the Army), 763, 22, iii, 224, 11, iv, 91, 10, 438, 15; but i, 760, 8, iii, 300, 14: Ibn al-Ḥaǵǵāǵ, and iv, 925, 4: al-Qāḍī al-Mufaḍḍal Abu 'l-Ḥaǵǵāǵ Yūsuf; cf. also iii, 206, 11, 275, 17, 740, 10. Al-Qazwīnī, *l.c.*, only Abu 'l-Ḥaǵǵāǵ.

[2] *Al-'āriḍ*; var. *al-ḥāris*, also in ed. Cairo.

[3] The text has Ḏ-y-ḥān, but cf. Yāqūt, *o.c.*, ii, 279, 14–17; according to this passage, Ḥiṣn al-Munīf was situated on Mt Quwwir in the district of ad-Dumluwa, but this is apparently wrong. It must have been in the neighbourhood of Ḏubḥān, S. of Mt Ṣabir; cf. *Tāǵ al-'Arūs*, vi, 263, 31. On Ḏubḥān cf. H. von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien* (Brunswick 1873), p. 395, and map.

[4] Ed. Cairo ad-Damluwa.

[5] It only appears from the following that there was a cavern (*ǵār*) in the ravine (*šiqq*).

[6] According to al-Qazwīnī, *l.c.*, he gives one part to the herdsman residing on the mountain and puts down six parts in the cavern.

[7] Read *yaṭṭalī* (var. and ed. Cairo) instead of *yuṭallī*; al-Qazwīnī: *yanṭalī*.

silent during this time. Then he becomes a sorcerer.—The same person related to me that he sent for a man of the Ma'āfir, belonging to the people of Wādī Udaim[1], named Sulaimān b. Yaḥyā al-Uḥdūṯī[2], a man of renown in matters of sorcery, and that he asked him to swear that he would tell him the truth about the tale of sorcery. He then took a solemn oath declaring that they (*viz.* the sorcerers) have no power to transfer water from one well to another or milk from one udder to another, or transform a human figure into a non-human one, but that they are able to cleave clouds and possess power in matters of love and soothing of hearts, and hatred, and that they could bring about pain in the limbs of men, such as head-ache, ophthalmia, and could make the heart ache.

The statement of Ahmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ward locates Ḥawd Quwwir—for this is probably the correct reading—in the neighbourhood of ad-Dumluwa, and Yāqūt gives by the word "Quwwir"[3] the same topographical indication. Ad-Dumluwa was and perhaps still is a remarkable stronghold on Ǵabal aṣ-Ṣilw[4] at a distance of 1¼ days' journey S.E.E. from Ta'izz[5]. Ḥawd Quwwir combines the names of two places in al-Ma'āfir which al-Hamdānī (d. 334 = 945/6) mentions[6] as renowned for being haunted by *ǵinn*. The Ḥimyarī clans of al-Ma'āfir dwelt in the valley between Mts Ṣabir and Ḏakhir and its surroundings in the Southern Yaman; they are characterised as people of incantations (*ruqā*, sing. *ruqya*) and sorcery[7]. The Sakāsik were their neighbours and partly intermixed with them[8]; those living in Wādī Adīm especially were reputed to have among them

[1] Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Ǵazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 78, 5, Adīm.

[2] The correct reading might perhaps be *al-Aḥrūṯī*, cf. al-Hamdānī, *o.c.*, p. 89, 22, 101, 24.

[3] *o.c.*, iv, 199, 21 *sq.*

[4] Al-Hamdānī, *o.c.*, p. 76, 6 *sqq.*

[5] C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Copenhagen 1772), p. 243.

[6] Al-Hamdānī, *o.c.*, p. 128, 9 *sq.* This statement is not necessarily in contradiction to the annexion of the two names. "Ḥawd" might have the meaning of its variant reading "Ḥaid," a "projecting part" (*Lisān al-'Arab*, iv, 136 *infra sq.*) which, as Professor Dr. Snouck Hurgronje kindly informs me, is in Ḥaḍramawt the usual word for "mountain" (cf. also Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i, 559).

[7] Al-Hamdānī, *o.c.*, p. 54, 21 *sq.*, 67, 22 *sqq.*, 99, 3 *sqq.*, 125, 5 *sq.*

[8] *Ib.*, p. 74, 2–7, 76, 1 *sq.*, 77, 9 *sqq.*, 79, 22 *sqq.*, 99, 7 *sq.*, 22 *sqq.*

sorcerers and persons able to call the rain and to borrow the milk (*ahl ṣadḥ al-ġait wa-isti'ārat al-laban*) and to perform other tricks of sorcery[1]. Until recently the regions of Zabīd, Abū 'Arīś, az-Zaidiyya and Luḥayya were famous as places where witches performed their pernicious spells[2].

The first of the above accounts is apparently wrong in placing Ḥawd Quwwir somewhere in the tract between Ḥaḍramawt and 'Umān[3]. Moreover it is probably rather incomplete, as it hardly can be supposed that the initiation of the novice would not be accompanied by certain rites. It seems to relate to an initiation effected by other sorcerers[4]. Belief in Muḥammad's mission has to be renounced because it belongs to a religious sphere which is hostile to that of the demons invoked by the sorcerers[5].

The second account gives some interesting details. The sacrifice is undoubtedly intended for the demon(s) by which the place is haunted according to al-Hamdānī. The victim is of a kind particularly used in magical rites[6]; its sacrificial pieces correspond to the magical number seven[7]. The contents of the stomach of the victim may have been regarded as efficacious for magical purposes[8]. The putting

[1] *Ib.*, p. 74, 7–9, cf. 99, 18.

[2] Mordtmann, *Die Hexen in Jemen* in *Ausland*, lvi (1883), 975 *sq.*

[3] *Tāǧ al-'Arūs*, ii, 342 *supra*, gives the same situation of Ḥaid 'Uwwir (var. Quwwir, Ḥuwwir) according to aṣ-Ṣāġānī (probably Raḍī ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, d. 650 = 1252/3; cf. *o.c.*, i, 4, 4; as-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 227; Brockelmann, *o.c.*, i, 360 *sq.*). Al-Qazwīnī, *l.c.*, omits the topographical indications given in the beginning of Yāqūt's second account.—'Umān may of old have been reputed as a country of sorcerers, cf. W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and East Arabia* (London 1865), ii, 267 *sqq.*

[4] Cf. H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Théorie générale de la magie*, *Année sociologique*, vii (1902–3), 38 *sq.*; *id.*, *L'origine des pouvoirs magiques dans les sociétés australiennes*, in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions* (Paris 1909), p. 172 *sqq.*

[5] Cf. Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima* (Cairo 1327), p. 555; Doutté, *o.c.*, p. 335 *sqq.*

[6] Almost the same prescription is given for the victim which has to be slaughtered at a cavern in Wādī Sūs (Morocco) by a Šluḥ Berber who wishes to be initiated by the *ǧinn* as an *andam* (poet-singer), H. Stumme, *Dichtkunst und Gedichte der Schluh* (Leipzig 1895), p. 7, in H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc* (Alger 1920), p. 68. On black victims, cf. Doutté, *o.c.*, p. 463; H. Basset, *o.c.*, pp. 84, 89, 93, 99, 105.

[7] Cf. Doutté, *o.c.*, p. 184 *sqq.*

[8] On analogous applications cf. J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (*Golden Bough*, ii), pp. 173, 174, 175.

on of the victim's skin may be a rite aiming at a communion with the sacrifice[1]; its turning inside out might at the same time represent a sympathetic rite in order to provoke the change which the candidate is expecting to undergo. The mysterious cleaning of the novice's body during sleep is apparently supposed to be performed by the *ǵinn*. It suggests the purification involving renovation and communication of extraordinary powers which is a main feature in the initiation of the magician[2]. That similar conceptions also occurred in Arabia has been shown by Dr Schrieke in his interpretation of the legend of the washing of Muhammad's heart and his journey to heaven[3].

ADDITION: The account of al-Qazwīnī, *o.c.*, i, 157, 23 *sqq.*, is reproduced almost exactly in Ibn Al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿAǵāʾib*, ed. Tornberg (Upsala, 1835–9), ii, 148 *sq.* [None of the complete Egyptian editions is accessible to me.]

C. VAN ARENDONK[4].

[1] Cf. H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice* in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, p. 56 *infra sq.*, 64; Doutté, *o.c.*, p. 473.

[2] Cf. H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Théorie générale de la magie*, p. 37 *sq.*; *id.*, *L'origine des pouvoirs magiques*, in *Mélanges* etc., p. 150 *sqq.*; J. G Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* (*Golden Bough*, vii), ii, 237 *sqq.* Cf. also the above-mentioned initiation of the *andam*, and on apprentices in Morocco initiated into their trade by the *ǵinn*, H. Basset, *o.c.*, p. 67 *infra sq.*

[3] B. Schrieke, *Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds* in *Der Islam*, vi (1915), 1 *sqq.* (with many ethnological references).

[4] I am greatly indebted to Mrs Kuenen-Wicksteed for the revision of the English.

THE CAESARIAN SECTION IN AN ARABIC MANUSCRIPT DATED 707 A.H.

As the eminent scholar in whose honour this volume has been compiled is not only a Professor of Arabic, but also a Doctor of Medicine and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, before whom he delivered the FitzPatrick Lectures on Arabian Medicine in 1920, it has been thought not unfitting to include in it some reference to medical science in the Muhammadan world. The picture here reproduced is believed to be the earliest representation of the Caesarian section; it is found in a MS of al-Bērūnī's *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, now no. 161 in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, but previously in the possession of Mr. R. B. M. Binning, of the Madras Civil Service, who purchased it in Ispahan in the year 1851. The colophon bears the date 707 A.H. (= 1307–8 A.D.), and the MS is thus considerably older than any of those used by Professor Sachau in the preparation of his edition of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah* (Leipzig, 1878). But—unlike the MS described by Professor Salemann in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St Pétersbourg* (1912, p. 861 *sqq.*)—this Edinburgh MS does not supply material for filling up the numerous gaps that occur in Professor Sachau's edition; the arrangement of the text as well as the illustrations would seem to indicate that the Paris MS (Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Arabe, Nr. 713, probably about the second half of the 17th century) is ultimately derived from the Edinburgh MS, or that both are copies of a common original; but only a more careful comparison than has been possible to the present writer can determine this question.

The Edinburgh MS contains 24 pictures, of a style that has provisionally been grouped under the vague designation of the Mesopotamian School. Like all pictures in Arabian and Persian MSS of the period, they exhibit the influence of those Chinese conventions which the victorious progress of the Mongol arms impressed upon the art of Western Asia, but there are characteristics also, which distinctly in-

وهو اول القياصرة ومعنى قيصر بالافرنجية شق عنه والسبب في
ذلك ان امه ماتت في المخاض وهي حامل به فشق بطنها واخرج عنه ولقب بقيصر



وكان يفتخر على الملوك بانه لم يخرج من بضعة امه وكان ان يفخر احد منهم بهذا الاسم

The Caesarian Section

dicate influences akin to those familiar in Byzantine paintings. We know practically nothing of the pictorial art of the Nestorian Church, which was still flourishing in the East under Mongol rule up to the beginning of the 14th century, but it may well be presumed that the art of the Orthodox Eastern Church, so rich and extensive in its development, made its influence felt in the neighbouring Christian Churches, even though these were not in communion with it. This picture, as well as others in the same manuscript, presents the characteristically Byzantine balance of figures on either side of the picture, and the central group reproduces a well-known convention. The particular manner in which the subject-matter of several of the other illustrations is represented, makes it exceedingly unlikely that they should be the work of a Muhammadan artist, but, though there are distinct indications of Christian influence, there is on the other hand no certain evidence that they were painted by a Christian artist.

The surgical operation which forms the subject of the picture reproduced here, receives only a passing reference in al-Bērūnī's chapter on the nature of the various eras of the world, in the section devoted to the era of Augustus (p. 29 of Sachau's edition). Here he states that the mother of Caesar Augustus died in labour-pains and that her womb was cut open and the child was taken out. The only other instance that al-Bērūnī mentions of such a Caesarian section being performed is that of the birth of Aḥmad ibn Sahl who revolted in Khurāsān against the Sāmānid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (918–919). Al-Bērūnī gives no indication that he was actually aware of any instances of this operation being performed in his own time, but it is noteworthy that his great contemporary, Firdawsī, describes the birth of Rustam as occurring after the performance of such an operation on his mother, Rūdāba. In spite of the vast extent of the literature on the subject of the Caesarian section, the historians of surgical science have not yet extended their researches by the collection of examples from the Muhammadan world.

T. W. Arnold.

INFLUENCIAS EVANGÉLICAS EN LA LITERATURA RELIGIOSA DEL ISLAM

Con un título parecido publicó Goldziher, hace más de treinta años, un estudio breve[1], en el cual demostró: (*a*) que varios milagros evangélicos de Jesús fueron atribuídos á Mahoma por los biógrafos del Profeta; (*b*) que algunos versículos de los evangelios fueron plagiados por los inventores de *ḥadīth*, desde los primeros tiempos; y (*c*) que ciertas palabras y frases cristianas, como *mártir*, en el sentido de testigo que muere en defensa de su fe, se adoptaron muy pronto en el islam.

El estudio que aquí ofrecemos es una modesta contribución que amplía bastante los datos reunidos por Goldziher en el apartado (*b*) de su artículo: á los ocho versículos evangélicos que allí señaló, añado unos cuarenta, encontrados, sin buscarlos de propósito, en mis lecturas de los libros musulmanes, especialmente *ṣūfīs*, y sobre todo en los de Al-Ghazzālī. Es seguro que investigaciones metódicas, hechas *ex professo*, darían una cosecha más abundante.

Mi trabajo se ha reducido á transcribir los textos, seguidos de su traducción fiel, y á señalar simplemente los versículos de los evangelios cuyo plagio literal son ó de los cuales conservan reminiscencias. El orden en que los publico es aproximadamente el cronológico, aunque refiriéndome tan sólo á la fecha del autor del libro en el cual los encontré. Si alguna vez, me ha sido fácil averiguar el nombre y la fecha de alguno de los tradicionistas que primitivamente lo refirio, lo consigno. Tampoco me he detenido á rebuscar estos *ḥadīths* en las colecciones auténticas de Buḫārī y Muslim.

El interés que estos textos evangélicos, atribuídos á Mahoma ó aprovechados por musulmanes, tienen, estriba en que son una evidente prueba de la influencia que la moral y

[1] *Influences chrétiennes dans la littérature religieuse de l'islam.* ("Rev. d'hist. des relig.," t. XVIII, pág. 180-199.)—Cfr. *Logia et agrapha D. Jesu apud moslemicos scriptores, asceticos praesertim, usitata*, que yo he publicado apud "Patrologia Orientalis," t. XIII, 3 (fasc. 1°), en cuyo proemio doy la bibliografía sobre el tema.

la ascética cristianas ejercieron desde muy temprano en la evolución del islam. Goldziher demostró[1] que Mahoma fué refractario á esta influencia; pero muy pronto los ascetas y devotos muslimes prescindieron de aquellas prohibiciones del Profeta, arrastrados por el ejemplo de los monjes cristianos de la Arabia, Siria y Egipto, y para dar á sus imitaciones cristianas un carácter musulmán, no vacilaron en autorizarlas con textos evangélicos que pusieron en labios del mismo Mahoma. Es este un caso bien peregrino de propagación de la moral evangélica en el seno del islam, realizada contra la voluntad de su fundador y por medio de sus más entusiastas discípulos. En su virtud, el islam, que por lo dogmático coincidía ya con el cristianismo en tantos artículos aun dentro de su época primitiva, es decir, ateniéndonos sólo al Alcorán y á las ideas auténticas de Mahoma, vino á coincidir también con él en la moral, en la ascética y en la mística. Obra de los *ṣūfīs* fué principalmente esta definitiva cristianización del islam. Y Al-Ghazzālī, el príncipe de los *ṣūfīs* ortodoxos, es el que con más claridad la refleja en sus libros. Por eso, más de la mitad de los textos que forman esta pequeña colección, en los libros de Al-Ghazzālī se encuentran.

He aquí ahora una lista de las obras aprovechadas, con las referencias bibliográficas indispensables:

Qūt = كتاب قوت القلوب لابى طالب المكى. Cairo, 1310 hég.

Tanbīh = كتاب تنبيه الغافلين للسمرقندى. Cairo, 1326 hég.

Qushairī = الرسالة القشيرية فى علم التصوف. Cairo, 1318 hég.

'Iḥyā' = كتاب احياء علوم الدين لابى حامد الغزالى. Cairo, 1312 hég.

'Ayyuhā al-Walad = ايها الولد للغزالى. Kazán, 1905 de J. C.

Tibr = كتاب التبر المسبوك للغزالى. Cairo, 1317 hég.

Maqṣad = كتاب المقصد الاسنى للغزالى. Cairo, 1322 hég.

Minhāj = كتاب منهاج العابدين للغزالى. Cairo, 1313 hég.

Mukāshafa = كتاب مكاشفة القلوب للغزالى. Cairo, 1300 hég.

'Awārif = كتاب عوارف المعارف للسهروردى. Al margen de *'Iḥyā'*.

Futuḥāt = كتاب الفتوحات المكية لابن العربى. Cairo, 1293 hég.

Tadhkira = مختصر تذكرة الامام القرطبى للشعرانى. Cairo, 1308 hég.

[1] Ob. cit. pág. 193-196.

Nuzha = كتاب نزهة الناظرين للشيخ عبيد الضرير. Cairo, 1317 hég.

'Itḥāf = كتاب اتحاف السادة المتقين للسيد مرتضى. Cairo, 1311 hég.

Kashshāf = كتاب كشاف اصطلاحات الفنون = *Dictionary of technical terms*. Edic. Sprenger. Calcuta, 1854.

I

Qūt, II, 50, 9 infr.: قوله [يعني محمد] والله لا يؤمن العبد حتى اكون احب اليه من اهله وماله والناس اجمعين وفي خبر اخر ومن نفسك

"Sentencia de Mahoma: 'Por 'Alah! no será creyente [verdadero] el siervo de Dios, hasta que yo sea para él más amado que su familia y su tesoro y que las gentes todas.' Y en otro relato [se añade] y 'que tu propia alma.'"

Cfr. *Luc.*, xiv, 26: "Si quis venit ad me, et non odit patrem suum, et matrem, et uxorem, et filios, et fratres et sorores, adhuc autem et animam suam, non potest meus esse discipulus."

Mat., x, 37: "Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus. Et qui amat filium aut filiam super me, non est me dignus."

2

Tanbīh, 139, 2: روى الشعبى عن عمر رضى الله تعالى عنه قال ان الله تعالى لا يرحم من لا يرحم ولا يغفر لمن لا يغفر ولا يتوب على من لا يتوب

"Refirió Al-Sha'bi[1], de 'Omar[2], que decía que Dios (¡ensalzado sea!) no tiene misericordia de aquel que no la tiene, ni perdona al que no perdona, ni tiene compasión del que no se arrepiente."

Cfr. *Mat.*, vi, 12, 14, 15: "Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet et vobis Pater vester coelestis delicta vestra. Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, nec Pater vester dimittet vobis peccata vestra."

Cfr. *Luc.*, vi, 36: "Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est." Cfr. *Jac.*, ii, 13: "Judicium enim sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam."

3

Tanbīh, 202, 5 infr.: قال عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه زنوا انفسكم قبل إن توزنوا وحاسبوا انفسكم قبل ان تحاسبوا وتزينوا للعرض الاكبر وذلك يوم القيامة يومئذ تعرضون لا تخفى منكم خافية

"Dijo 'Omar Ibn Al-Haṭṭāb[3]: Pesad vuestras almas, antes de que os las pesen; tomaos cuenta á vosotros mismos, antes de que os la tomen;

[1] 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥil, tradicionista de Kūfa, muerto en 103 hég.
[2] El 2º califa, sucesor de Abū Bakr.
[3] El 2º califa.

preparaos para el examen máximo, que será el dia del juicio. Aquel día sereis examinados, sin que nada quede oculto de vuestras faltas."

Cfr. *I Cor.*, xi, 31: "Quod si nosmetipsos dijudicaremus, non utique judicaremur."

4

Tanbīh, 204, 3: روى زياد النميرى رحمه الله قال قال الله تعالي فى بعض الكتب لا يبكى عبد من خشيتى الا اجرته من نقمتى ولا يبكى عبد من خشيتى الا ابدلته ضحكا فى نور قدسى يعنى فى الجنة

"Refirió Ziyād Al-Nomairi[1]: Dice Dios (¡ensalzado sea!) en cierto libro: No llora siervo alguno, movido de mi temor, sin que yo le libre de mi ira; ni llora siervo alguno, movido de mi temor, sin que yo le convierta su llanto en risa, en la luz de mi Santidad, es decir, en el paraíso."

Cfr. *Mat.*, v, 5: "Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur."

San Juan Crisóstomo comenta así este texto: "Qui sua peccata lugent, consolabuntur indulgentiam consecuti."

5

Tanbīh, 225, 18: انى استأجرت اجراء يعملون لى كل رجل بمدين من الطعام فعملوا لى فوفيتهم اجورهم فجاء رجل اخر فى نصف النهار فعمل فى بقية نهاره مثل ما عمل غيره فى يومه كله فرايت ان لا انقص من اجرته شيئا فقال رجل منهم انه جاء فى وسط النهار وانا جئت فى اول النهار فسويت بيننا فى الاجرة فقلت هل نقصت من اجرتك شيئا فغضب وترك اجرته وذهب

"Contraté[2] á varios operarios para que me trabajasen por dos modios de trigo cada uno. Me hicieron la obra y les pagué sus jornales. Pero otro hombre había venido á medio dia y había trabajado en lo que restaba de jornada lo mismo que los demás en el día entero, y yo estimé que no debía quitarle nada de su jornal. Mas uno de aquéllos dijo: Este vino á medio día y yo vine al principio del día; y nos igualas en el jornal. Yo le dije: ¿Acaso te quito algo de tu jornal? Pero él se encolerizó, dejó su jornal y se fué."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xx, 1—15: "......homini patrifamilias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam. Conventione autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno, misit eos in vineam suam. Et egressus circa horam tertiam, vidit alios stantes in foro otiosos et dixit illis: Ite et vos in vineam meam......Iterum autem exiit circa sextam et nonam horam et fecit similiter......Cum sero autem factum esset......acceperunt singulos denarios.

[1] 'Ibn 'Abd 'Alāh, tradicionista de Baṣra, vivió en el siglo 2° hég.

[2] Este relato forma parte de un cuento devoto, que el autor del *Tanbīh* atribuye á Sa'd ibn 'Abd 'Alāh ibn 'Omar, compañero de Mahoma; pero el protagonista del relato parcial que traducimos es anónimo.

Venientes autem et primi, arbitrati sunt quod plus essent accepturi: acceperunt autem et ipsi singulos denarios. Et accipientes murmurabant adversus patremfamilias, dicentes: Hi novissimi una hora fecerunt, et pares illos nobis fecisti, qui portavimus pondus diei et aestus. At ille respondens uni eorum, dixit: Amice, non facio tibi injuriam......Tolle quod tuum est et vade."

6

Qushairī, 119, 14: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم سيد القوم خادمهم

"Dijo [Mahoma]: El señor de las gentes es el que les sirve."

Cfr. *Marc.*, x, 43: "Quicumque voluerit fieri major, erit vester minister; et quicumque voluerit in vobis primus esse, erit omnium servus."

7

Qushairī, 157, 14: قال رسول الله متى القى احبابى فقال اصحابه بابينا انت وامنا اولسنا احبابك فقال انتم اصحابى احبابى قوم لم يرونى وامنوا بى

"Dijo el Enviado de Dios: ¿Cuándo encontraré á mis amigos? Dijeron sus Compañeros: ¡Tan caro eres para nosotros como nuestro padre y nuestra madre! ¿Acaso no somos tus amigos? Respondió [Mahoma]: Vosotros sois mis Compañeros; mis amigos son una gente que no me vieron y creyeron en mí."

Cfr. *Joan.*, xx, 29: "Dixit ei Jesus: Quia vidisti me, Thoma, credidisti; beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt."

8

Qushairī, 197, 4: كان الفضيل على جبل من جبال منى فقال لو ان وليا من اولياء الله تعالى امر هذا الجبل ان يميد لماد قال فتحرك الجبل فقال اسكن لم اردك بهذا فسكن الجبل

"Estaba Al-Fuḍail[1] sobre uno de los montes de Minā y dijo: Si uno de los amigos de Dios (¡ensalzado sea!) mandase á este monte que se moviese, seguramente se movería. Dijo y se movió el monte. Dijo: ¡Reposa! ¡no quiero que hagas eso! Y reposó el monte."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xvii, 19: "Dixit illis Jesus......Amen quippe dico vobis, si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic, Transi hinc illuc, et transibit."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxi, 21: "...sed et si monti huic dixeritis, Tolle et jacta te in mare, fiet."

9

'Iḥyā, I, 46, 10: قال الشاعر وراعى الشاة يحمى الذئب عنها فكيف اذا الرعاة لها ذئاب

"Dijo el poeta: El pastor de la oveja la defiende del lobo. Mas ¿cómo, cuando los pastores son lobos para ella?"

[1] Abū 'Ali Al-Fuḍail ibn 'Iyāḍ, famoso asceta del Ḫorāsān, murió en Makka el año 187 hég.

Cfr. *Joan*, x, 1-16, principalmente, 11: "Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis." *Ibid.* 8: "Omnes quotquot venerunt, fures sunt et latrones."

Cfr. *Mat.*, vii, 15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces."

10

'Iḥyā', I, 46, 12: قال اخر يا معشر القرّاء يا ملح البلد ما يُصلح الملح اذا الملح فسد

"Dijo otro [poeta]: ¡Oh turba de los lectores[1]! Oh sal de la tierra! ¿De qué servirá la sal, si se corrompe?"

Cfr. *Mat.*, v, 13: "Vos estis sal terrae. Quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur? ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus."

11

'Iḥyā', III, 49, 7: قال يحيى بن معاذ الرازى اعداء الانسان ثلاثة دنياه وشيطانه ونفسه

"Dijo Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh Al-Rāzī[2]: Los enemigos del hombre son tres su mundo, su demonio y su concupiscencia."

Este *hadīth* está inspirado en la doctrina de San Pablo y de San Agustín sobre las tres causas de la tentación. Cfr. Pourrat, *La spiritualité chrétienne*[2] (Paris, Lecoffre, 1918), 32 y 323.

12

'Iḥyā', III, 224, 11 infr.: مثال من يترك العمل لخوفه ان يكون مرائيا كمن سلم اليه مولاه حنطة فيها زؤان وقال خلصها من الزؤان ونقها منه تنقية بالغة فيترك اصل العمل ويقول اخاف ان اشتغلت به لم تخلص خلاصا صافيا نقيا فيترك العمل من اجله

"El que omite la obra buena por el temor de ser hipócrita, es semejante á aquel á quien su amo le entrega trigo mezclado con zizaña diciéndole: Límpialo de la zizaña y sepáralo con todo esmero. Pero él omite la obra diciendo: Temo que si me ocupo en ello, no quedará separado el trigo con toda limpieza. Y sólo por eso, abandona el trabajo."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xiii, 30: "...et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum; triticum autem congregate in horreum meum."

13

'Iḥyā', III, 248, 3: قد قال إبن أبى سلمة قلت لابى سعيد الخدرى ما ترى فيما احدث الناس من الملبس والمشرب والمركب والمطعم فقال يا

[1] Los sabios ó doctores de la religión.

[2] Predicador ascético de Ray que murió en Naysābūr el 258 hég.

ابن اخى كل لله واشرب لله والبس لله وكل شيء من ذلك دخله زهو او مباهاة او رياء او سمعة فهو معصية

"Dijo 'Ibn Abī Salama: Dije a Abū Sa'īd Al-Ḫodrī[1]: ¿Qué piensas acerca de las novedades introducidas por la gente en el vestir, el beber, el vehículo y la comida? Y él me respondió: ¡Oh hijo de mi hermano! Come por Dios y bebe por Dios y viste por Dios, pues cualquiera de estas acciones, si se hacen por vanagloria ú ostentación, por ser vistas ú oídas, son pecado."

Cfr. *I Cor.*, x. 31: "Sive ergo manducatis, sive bibitis, sive aliud quid facitis, omnia in gloriam Dei facite."

Col., III, 17: "Omne quodcumque facitis in verbo aut in opere, omnia in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, gratias agentes Deo et Patri per ipsum."

14

'Iḥyā', III, 273, 10: مثال هولاء كبئر الحش ظاهرها جص وباطنها نتن او كقبور الموتى ظاهرها مزين وباطنها جيفة او كبيت مظلم باطنه وضع سراج على سطحه فاستنار ظاهره وباطنه مظلم

"Semejantes son éstos [los hipócritas] al pozo de las letrinas, cuyo exterior está blanqueado de cal, mientras su interior hiede; ó bien, como los sepulcros de los muertos, cuyo exterior está adornado, mientras su interior es podredumbre fétida; ó bien, como una habitación, obscura en su interior, sobre cuya azotea se coloca una lámpara que alumbra el exterior, mientras que dentro reina la oscuridad."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxiii, 27: "Vae vobis...hypocritae, quia similes estis sepulcris dealbatis, quae a foris parent hominibus speciosa, intus vero plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia."

15

'Iḥyā', IV, 4, 14 infr.: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لله افرح بتوبة العبد المومن من رجل نزل في ارض دوية مهلكة معه راحلته عليها طعامه وشرابه فوضع راسه فنام نومة فاستيقظ وقد ذهبت راحلته فطلبها حتى اذا اشتد عليه الحر والعطش او ما شاء الله قال ارجع الى مكاني الذي كنت فيه فانام حتى اموت فوضع راسه على ساعده ليموت فاستيقظ فاذا راحلته عنده عليها زاده وشرابه فالله تعالى اشد فرحا بتوبة العبد المومن من هذا براحلته

"Dijo el Enviado de Dios (¡ruegue Dios sobre él y sálvele!): Ciertamente, Dios se alegra de la penitencia del siervo creyente más que el hombre que acampa en una tierra estéril y desierta, acompañado de su cabalgadura sobre la cual lleva su comida y su bebida, y pone su cabeza [sobre el

[1] Abū Salama ibn 'Abd-Arraḥmān ibn 'Awf, tradicionista de Medina, murió el año 94 hég.—Abū Sa'īd Al-Ḫodrī fué compañero de Mahoma.

suelo] y se duerme un sueño; mas al despertar, [advierte que] huyó su cabalgadura, y la busca hasta que, cuando el calor y la sed se le hacen ya insoportables, se dice: Volveré á mi lugar en el cual estaba y me dormiré hasta morir. Y pone su cabeza sobre su antebrazo para morir. Pero se despierta y he aquí que su cabalgadura está junto á él con sus provisiones de viaje y su bebida. Dios (¡ensalzado sea!) se alegra más vivamente de la penitencia del siervo creyente, que este hombre de [encontrar] su cabalgadura."

16

Futūḥāt, II, 441, 11 infr.: وانه [الله] اشد فرحا ومحبة فى توبة عبده من الذى ضلت راحلته عليها طعامه وشرابه فى ارض دوية ثم يجدها بعد ما يئس من الحياة وايقن بالموت فكيف يكون فرحه بها

"Ciertamente, Dios se alegra y enamora de la penitencia de su siervo, mucho más que aquel cuya cabalgadura, sobre la cual llevaba su comida y su bebida, se le extravía en un mal terreno, y luego la encuentra, después de haber ya perdido la esperanza de vivir y estar cierto de morir. ¿Cual no será su alegría al encontrarla?"

Cfr. *Luc.*, XV, 4-7: "Quis ex vobis homo qui habet centum oves: et si perdiderit unam ex illis, nonne dimittit nonaginta novem in deserto, et vadit ad illam quae perierat, donec inveniat eam? Et cum invenerit eam, imponit in humeros suos gaudens......Dico vobis quod ita gaudium erit in coelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente..."

17

'Iḥyā', IV, 10, 19: قال بعض العارفين ان لله تعالى الى عبده سرين يسرهما اليه على سبيل الالهام احدهما اذا خرج من بطن امه يقول له عبدى قد اخرجتك الى الدنيا طاهرا نظيفا واستودعتك عمرك وائتمنتك عليه فانظر كيف تحفظ الامانة وانظر الى كيف تلقانى والثانى عند خروج روحه يقول عبدى ماذا صنعت فى امانتى عندك هل حفظتها حتى تلقانى على العهد فالقاك على الوفاء او اضعتها فالقاك بالمطالبة والعقاب

"Dijo un místico: Ciertamente, Dios posee dos secretos que comunica á su siervo por modo de inspiración: El primero, cuando sale del vientre de su madre, diciéndole: ¡Siervo mío! Te he sacado al mundo, puro y limpio, y te he encomendado el depósito de tu vida, confiándolo á tu guarda. ¡Mira, pues, cómo conservas el depósito que te encomiendo y mira cómo me lo has de presentar! El segundo, al salir su espíritu [de esta vida], diciéndole: ¡Siervo mío! ¿Qué hiciste del depósito que te confié? ¿Acaso lo guardaste á fin de presentármelo, según el compromiso [que contrajiste]? Entonces, yo te acogeré para cumplir mi promesa. ¿O por el contrario lo perdiste? Entonces, yo vengo á tu encuentro para pedirte cuentas y castigarte."

Cfr. *Mat.*, XXV, 14: "Homo peregre proficiscens, vocavit servos suos et tradidit illis bona sua."

Ibid., 19: "Post multum vero temporis venit dominus servorum illorum et posuit rationem cum eis."

Ibid., 21: "Ait illi dominus ejus: Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis,......intra in gaudium domini tui."

Ibid., 26: "Respondens autem dominus ejus, dixit ei: Serve male et piger, sciebas etc. Et inutilem servum ejicite in tenebras exteriores..." etc.

18

'Ihyā', IV, 110, 14: وفى الحديث ان رجلين من بني اسرائيل تواخيا في الله تعالى فكان احدهما يسرف على نفسه وكان الاخر عابدا وكان يعظه ويزجره فكان يقول دعنى وربى أبعثت على رقيبا حتى راه ذات يوم على كبيرة فغضب فقال لا يغفر الله لك قال فيقول الله تعالى يوم القيامة أيستطيع احد ان يحظر رحمتى على عبادى اذهب انت فقد غفرت لك ثم يقول للعابد وانت فقد اوجبت لك النار قال فوالذى نفسى بيده لقد تكلم بكلمة اهلكت دنياه واخرته

"Y en el *Hadīth* [se refiere] que dos hombres de los hijos de Israel se amaban como hermanos en Dios. Uno de ellos se dejaba llevar de sus apetitos. El otro era un devoto, y le exhortaba y reprendía. Mas aquél le decía: '¡Déjame! ¿Acaso, por Dios! has sido enviado para ser mi espía?' Hasta que, cierto dia, lo vió cometer un pecado grave; y encolerizado exclamó: '¡No te perdonará Dios!' Y añadió [Mahoma]: Pero Dios en el dia del juicio dirá: '¿Acaso podrá alguien impedir que mi misericordia [se derrame] sobre mis siervos? Marcha, pues ya te he perdonado.' Después dirá al devoto: 'Y tú, bien merecido tienes el infierno.' Añadió [Mahoma]: '¡Juro por Aquel en cuya mano está mi alma, que ciertamente [aquel devoto] pronunció una frase que destruyó [sus méritos] en esta vida y en la futura!'"

Cfr. *Luc.*, xviii, 9: "Dixit Jesus ad quosdam, qui in se confidebant tamquam justi, et aspernabantur ceteros, parabolam istam: Duo homines ascenderunt in templum: unus Pharisaeus et alter publicanus. Pharisaeus stans, haec apud se orabat: Deus, gratias ago tibi, quia non sum sicut ceteri hominum: raptores, injusti, adulteri: velut etiam hic publicanus. Jejuno bis in sabbato: decimas do omnium quae possideo."

Ibid., 14: "Dico vobis descendit hic [publicanus] justificatus in domum suam ab illo, quia omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur."

19

'Ihyā', IV, 282, 12: قال ابو الدرداء لكعب اخبرنى عن اخص آية يعنى فى التوراة فقال يقول الله تعالى طال شوق الابرار الى لقائى وانى الى لقائهم لاشد شوقا قال ومكتوب الى جانبها من طلبنى وجدنى ومن طلب غيرى لم يجدنى فقال ابو الدرداء انى لسمعت رسول الله يقول هذا

"Dijo Abū Al-Dardā'[1] á Ka'b[2]: Refiéreme el versículo más especial de la Tora. Y le respondió: Dice Dios (¡ensalzado sea!): 'Largo tiempo ha que desean con ardor los justos encontrarme; pero es todavía más ardiente mi deseo de encontrarlos.' Y añadió: Al lado de ese versículo está escrito: 'El que me busca, me encuentra; pero el que busca á otro que á mí, no lo encuentra.' Y dijo Abū Al-Dardā': 'Ciertamente que yo oí esto al Enviado de Dios.'"

Cfr. *Mat.*, vii, 8: "Omnis enim qui petit accipit, et qui quaerit invenit."

20

'Iḥyā', IV, 266, 16 inf.: قال بعض العارفين من السلف انى لاستحب ان يكون لى فى كل شئ نية حتى فى اكلى وشربى ونومى ودخولى الى الخلاء

"Dijo uno de los místicos antiguos: Ciertamente que yo desearía tener una intención [sobrenatural] en cada una de mis acciones, hasta en mi comer y en mi beber y en mi dormir y en mi entrar á la letrina."

Cfr. *I Cor.*, x, 31: "Sive ergo manducatis, sive bibitis, sive aliud quid facitis, omnia in gloriam Dei facite."

Cfr. *Col.*, iii, 17.

21

'Iḥyā', IV, 291, 12: ينبغى ان يعاقبها [العبد نفسه] فاذا اكل لقمة شبهة بشهوة نفس ينبغى ان يعاقب البطن بالجوع واذا نظر الى غير محرم ينبغى ان يعاقب العين بمنع النظر وكذلك يعاقب كل طرف من اطرافه بدنه بمنعه عن شهواته هكذا كانت عادة سالكى طريق الاخرة فقد روى عن منصور بن ابراهيم ان رجلا من العباد كلم امرأة فلم يزل حتى وضع يده على فخذها ثم ندم فوضع يده على النار حتى يبست وروى انه كان فى بنى اسرائيل رجل يتعبد فى صومعته فمكث كذلك زمانا طويلا فاشرف ذات يوم فاذا هو بامرأة فافتتن بها وهم بها فاخرج رجله لينزل اليها فادركه الله بسابقة فقال ما هذا الذى اريد ان اصنع فرجعت اليه نفسه وعصمه الله تعالى فندم فلما اراد ان يعيد رجله الى الصومعة قال هيهات هيهات رجل خرجت تريد ان تعصى الله تعود معى فى صومعتى لا يكون والله ذلك ابدا فتركها معلقة فى الصومعة تصيبها الامطار والرياح والثلج والشمس حتى تقطعت فسقطت فشكر الله له ذلك وانزل فى بعض كتبه ذكره

"Conviene que [el siervo de Dios] castigue [su concupiscencia]. Y así, cuando, al comer un bocado de pan, sospeche [que lo hace] con apetito

[1] Compañero de Mahoma.

[2] Ka'b 'Al-'Aḥbār, judío converso, compañero de Mahoma.

desordenado, convendrá que castigue el vientre con el hambre. Y cuando mire un objeto no prohibido, convendrá que castigue el ojo privándole de mirar. Y asimismo castigará á cada uno de los miembros de su cuerpo impidiéndole [aquello á que le inclinan] sus apetitos. Esa fué la costumbre de los que han seguido el camino de la vida futura. Cuéntase, como referido por Manṣūr 'ibn 'Ibrahīm[1], que un hombre, de los consagrados á la vida devota, se puso á conversar con una mujer, y no cesó [de hablar con ella] hasta que puso la mano sobre su pierna; pero en seguida se arrepintió y puso su mano sobre el fuego, hasta que se le secó. Y se refiere [también] que había un hombre entre los hijos de Israel, que estaba consagrado á la vida devota dentro de su celda, y que así permaneció durante largo tiempo; pero cierto día, miró desde lo alto [de su celda] y he aquí que [vió] á una mujer; le vino [de repente] la tentación [de pecar] con ella y consintió; sacó, pues, su pie [de la celda] para bajar hacia la mujer; mas [en aquel instante] Dios le previno [con su gracia, y reflexionó] diciendo: '¿Qué es esto que quería yo hacer?' Y volvió en sí y Dios le libró del pecado y se arrepintió. Mas cuando quiso volver [á meter] su pie en la celda, se dijo: '¡ Atrás, atrás ! ¿ Pie que salió queriendo rebelarse contra Dios, había de volver conmigo á mi celda? ; Por Dios juro que no ha de ser esto jamás !' Y dejó su pie colgando por fuera de la celda, de modo que sobre él caían las lluvias y los vientos, y el sol y la nieve, hasta que á pedazos se deshizo y cayó [al suelo]. Y Dios le alabó por aquello y consignó su relato en uno de sus Libros revelados."

Cfr. *Mat.*, v, 29–30: "Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et projice abs te......Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te, abscide eam et projice abs te."

Ibid., xviii, 8: "Si autem manus tua vel pes tuus scandalizat te, abscide eum et projice abs te."

Mar., ix, 42: "Et si scandalizaverit te manus tua, abscinde illam."

Ibid., 44: "Et si pes tuus te scandalizat, amputa illum."

Cfr. *Vitae Patrum* (edic. Rosweyde), pág. 440 b.

22

'*Iḥyā'*, IV, 382, 3 infr.: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم يؤتى بالموت يوم القيامة كانه كبش املح فيذبح بين الجنة والنار ويقال يا اهل الجنة خلود بلا موت ويا اهل النار خلود بلا موت

"Dijo Mahoma: Traerán á la muerte, el día del juicio, [en tal figura] como si fuese un carnero de color abigarrado y será degollado entre el cielo y el infierno. Y se dirá: ¡Oh habitantes del cielo! Eternidad sin muerte! Oh habitantes del infierno! Eternidad sin muerte!"

En este *ḥadīth* se advierte una extraña adaptación del símbolo bíblico, evangélico y apocalíptico del cordero pascual, sacrificado para evitar la muerte temporal y eterna.

En el *Éxodo* (xii, 1–13) el cordero pascual sacrificado por los hebreos los preserva, con su sangre, de la muerte *física* ó *temporal* que Dios ha decretado contra los egipcios.

[1] Ignoro la época en que vivió.

En el Evangelio (*Joan.*, i, 29, 36), Jesús es denominado "agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi," y en el *Apocalipsis* (v, 12 et passim), es representado bajo el símbolo del cordero pascual, sacrificado para preservar, con su sangre, á todos los hombres, de la muerte *moral* y *eterna* del pecado (v, 12: "agnus qui occisus est"; xii, 11: "et ipsi vicerunt eum propter sanguinem agni"; vii, 14: "laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni").

Este doble símbolo se usa por los Santos Padres para explicar la teoría de la redención. Y de la teología pasa el símbolo á la liturgia cristiana: en el prefacio de la misa para el tiempo pascual, se canta: "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi; *qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit.*"

Esta última frase del prefacio, entendida erroneamente en su sentido literal y no místico, pudo dar origen al *ḥadīth* musulmán. Efectivamente, en este *ḥadīth* se supone que el carnero sacrificado destruye con su muerte la muerte *física ó temporal* de los hombres, para significar que después del juicio final, comenzará para ellos una vida eterna en el cielo ó en el infierno.

23

'Ayyuhā Al-Walad, 8, 11: قال علي كرم الله وجهه من ظن انه بدون الجهد يصل فهو متمن ومن ظن انه ببذل الجهد يصل فهو متعب

"Dijo 'Alī[1] (¡Dios honre su faz!): El que piense que sin esfuerzo ha de llegar [al cielo], es un crédulo: y el que piense que con un esfuerzo extraordinario llegará, penoso trabajo se impone."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xi, 12: "Regnum coelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud."

24

'Ayyuhā Al-Walad, 13, 6: روى ان الحسن البصرى رحمة الله عليه اعطى شربة ماء بارد فلما اخذ القدح غشى عليه وسقط من يده قدح فلما افاق قيل له ما لك يا ابا سعيد قال ذكرت امنية اهل النار حين يقولون لاهل الجنة ان افيضوا علينا من الماء

"Refiérese que á Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī[2] (¡la misericordia de Dios sea sobre él!) le dieron un sorbo de agua fría; pero cuando tomó el vaso, perdió el conocimiento y se le cayó el vaso de la mano. Cuando recobró el sentido, le dijeron: ¿Qué te ha pasado, oh Abū Sa'īd? Y respondió: Me ha venido á la memoria el deseo de los condenados del infierno cuando dicen á los bienaventurados del cielo: ¡Derramad sobre nosotros algo de agua[3]!"

Cfr. *Luc.*, xvi, 23–24: "Elevans autem [dives] oculos suos, cum esset in tormentis, vidit Abraham a longe et Lazarum in sinu ejus. Et ipse clamans dixit: Pater Abraham, miserere mei et mitte Lazarum ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam ut refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma."

[1] El 4° califa, yerno de Mahoma.

[2] Tradicionista y asceta de Baṣra, murió el 110 hég. Su *kunya* era Abū Sa'īd.

[3] *Qurān*, vii, 48.

25

Tibr, 112, 10: قال وهب بن منبه فى التوراة مكتوب ان امر المعاصى ثلاثة الكبر والحرص والحسد

"Dijo Wahb ibn Munabbih[1]: 'En la Tora está escrito que las madres de los pecados son tres: la soberbia, la concupiscencia y la envidia.'"

Cfr. *I Joan.*, ii, 16: "Quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscencia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae."

26

Maqṣad, 129, 4: ويجوز ان يقال من وطئ . . . . فليس هو الحارث وانما الله هو الحارث ومن بث البذر فليس هو الزارع انما الله هو الزارع

"Se puede decir que quien allanâ [el campo] no es el cultivador. Solo Dios es el cultivador. Y el que esparce la semilla no es el sembrador. Solo Dios es el sembrador."

Cfr. *I Cor.*, iii, 7: "Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat, Deus."

27

Minhāj, 61, 7: روى عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ان المرائى ينادى يوم القيامة باربعة اسماء يا كافر يا فاجر يا غادر يا خاسر ضل سعيك وبطل اجرك فلا خلاق لك اليوم التمس الاجر ممن كنت تعمل له يا مخادع وروى انه ينادى مناد يوم القيامة يسمع الخلائق اين الذين كانوا يعبدون الناس قوموا خذوا اجوركم ممن عملتم له فانى لا اقبل عملا خالطه شىء

"Refiérese del Profeta, que dijo: En verdad que el hipócrita será llamado á gritos, en el día del juicio, con cuatro nombres: '¡Oh infiel! oh embustero! oh traidor! oh extraviado! Erraste el camino y perdiste tu recompensa. No tendrás hoy parte alguna en el premio. Reclama la recompensa á aquellos para quienes trabajaste, oh impostor!' Y se refiere [también] que un pregonero gritará el día del juicio con voz que oirán todas las criaturas: 'Dónde están los que sirvieron á las gentes? Levantaos y tomad vuestra recompensa de aquellos para quienes trabajasteis, pues yo no acepto obra [en cuya intención] se mezcle algo [distinto de mi gloria].'"

Cfr. *Mat.*, vi, 1: "Attendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut videamini ab eis: alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est."

Ibid., 2 y 5: "...amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam."

[1] Tradicionista, judío converso, murió el 110 hég.

28

Minhāj, 71, 20: قالسيد الحكيم اذا راى العبد قد قام بحق نعمة يمن عليه باخرى ويراه اهلا لها والا فيقطع ذلك عنه

"El amo prudente, cuando ve que el siervo ha correspondido á una gracia, le otorga otra y lo estima digno de ella; y si no, se la quita."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxv, 14-30; principalmente, 21: "Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam." *Ibid.*, 28: "Tollite itaque ab eo talentum."

29

Mukāshafa, 104, 6: قال ابو بكر الصديق رضى الله عنه لا يحقرن احد احدا من المسلمين فان صغير المسلمين عند الله كبير

"Dijo 'Abū Bakr Al-Siddīq[1] (¡Dios esté satisfecho de él!): Nadie debe despreciar á ninguno de los musulmanes, pues el pequeño de los musulmanes es, á los ojos de Dios, grande."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xviii, 4: "Quicumque ergo humiliaverit se sicut parvulus iste, hic est major in regno coelorum."

Luc., ix, 48: "Nam qui minor est inter vos omnes, hic major est."

30

Mukāshafa, 114, 2: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول الله تبارك وتعالى اذا ذكرنى عبدى فى نفسه ذكرته فى نفسى واذا ذكرنى فى ملأ ذكرته فى ملأ خير من ملائه واذا تقرب منى شبرا تقربت منه ذراعا واذا تقرب منى ذراعا تقربت منه باعا واذا مشى الىّ هرولت اليه

"Dijo Mahoma: Dice Dios (¡bendito y ensalzado sea!): Si mi siervo se acuerda de mí en su interior, yo me acordaré de él en mi interior. Si hace mención de mí en medio de una muchedumbre, yo haré mención de él en medio de una muchedumbre mejor que la suya. Si se aproxima á mí un palmo, yo me aproximaré á él un codo; si se aproxima á mí un codo, yo me aproximaré á él una braza; si camina hacia mí, yo correré hacia él."

Cfr. *Mat.*, x, 32: "Omnis ergo qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo qui in coelis est."

Luc., xii, 8: "Omnis quicumque confessus fuerit me coram hominibus, et Filius hominis confitebitur illum coram angelis Dei."

Jac., iv, 8: "Appropinquate Deo, et appropinquabit vobis."

31

Mukāshafa, 155, 2 infr.: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم ما من احد توضع لله الا رفعه الله

"Dijo Mahoma: Nadie se humilla ante Dios, sin que Dios lo exalte."

[1] El 1er califa, sucesor de Mahoma.

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxiii, 12: "Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur."
Luc., iii, 5 y xviii, 14: "Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur."

32

Mukāshafa, 162, 12 infr.: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم عز من قنع وذل من طمع

"Dijo Mahoma: Es glorificado el que se humilla y es envilecido el que ambiciona."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxiii, 12: "Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur; qui autem se exaltaverit, humiliabitur."

Luc., i, 51–52: "Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui. Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles."

33

'Awārif, II, 12, I: [اذا المريد] بلغ مبلغ الرجال وانبجس من قلبه ماء الحياة . . . . وينبعث الى الطواف فى الافاق يسيره الله تعالى فى البلاد لفائدة العباد . . . . ويبذر فى اراضى القلوب بذر الفلاح . . . . وهذا مثل هذه الامة الهادية فى الانجيل كزرع اخرج شطأه فآزره فاستغلظ فاستوى على سوقه تعود بركة البعض على البعض وتسرى الاحوال من البعض الى البعض ويكون طريق الوراثة معمورا وعلم الافادة منشورا

"Cuando el novicio ha llegado ya á la meta de los hombres maduros [en la perfección] y brota ya de su corazón el agua de la vida y se siente impulsado á circular por otros horizontes, envíalo Dios (¡ensalzado sea!) á [recorrer] los paises para utilidad de sus siervos y á sembrar en las tierras de los corazones la semilla de la salvación [eterna]. Este [misionero] es semejante á aquella gente dirigida [por Dios] que en el Evangelio [se la asemeja] con el campo sembrado de trigo, que brota y echa sólidas raíces y da gruesas espigas y se mantienen derechas sobre su tallo. [Así] la prosperidad [espiritual] de unos refluye sobre los demás y las virtudes de los unos se comunican á los otros. [Así] el camino de los [misioneros,] herederos [de los profetas] está poblado, y la ciencia de la catequesis se divulga."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xiii, 3: "Ecce exiit qui seminat, seminare."
Ibid., 8: "Alia autem ceciderunt in terram bonam, et dabant fructum."
Ibid., 23: "Qui vero in terram bonam seminatus est: hic est qui audit verbum et intelligit et fructum affert."
Luc., viii, 11: "Est autem haec parabola: Semen est verbum Dei."
Ibid., 13: "Nam qui supra petram..., et hi radices non habent."
Ibid., 15: "Quod autem in bonam terram, hi sunt qui in corde bono et optimo audientes verbum retinent, et fructum afferunt in patientia."
Joan., iv, 14: "Sed aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam."
Ibid., vii, 38: "Qui credit in me..., flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae."

34

Futuḥāt, I, 388, 10: حديث مسلم جعت فلم تطعمني وظمئت فلم تسقني ومرضت فلم تعدني

"Ḥadith de Muslim[1]: Tuve hambre y no me diste de comer; tuve sed y no me diste de beber; estuve enfermo y no me visitaste."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxv, 42: "Esurivi enim et non dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et non dedistis mihi potum;......infirmus...et non visitastis me."

35

Tadhkira, 126, 17: كان معاذ بن جبل رضى الله تعالى عنه يقول سيبلى القران فى صدور اقوام . . . . يقرؤنه لا يجدون له شهوة ولا لذة يلبسون جلود الضأن على قلوب الذئاب

"Decía Mu'ādh ibn Jebel[2] (¡Dios le haya sido propicio!): El Qurān se consumirá en los pechos de ciertas gentes...que lo leerán sin experimentar deseo ni deleite: vestirán pieles de ovejas sobre corazones de lobos."

Cfr. *Mat.*, vii, 15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces."

36

Nuzha, 161, 12 infr.: روى الحسن البصرى عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال اكثروا من معرفة الفقراء واتخذوا عندهم الايادى فان لهم دولة قالوا يا رسول الله وما دولتهم فقال رسول الله اذا كان يوم القيامة قيل لهم انظروا الى من اطعمكم كسرة وكساكم ثوبا او سقاكم شربة فى الدنيا فخذوا بيده ثم افيضوا به الى الجنة

"Refirió Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī del Profeta, que dijo: Trabad conocimiento con los pobres y procuraos ayuda de su parte, pues ellos tendrán su época de prosperidad. Dijeron: ¡Oh Enviado de Dios! ¿Y cuál será su época de prosperidad? Respondió el Enviado de Dios: Cuando sea el dia del juicio, se les dirá: Buscad quien os dió de comer un pedazo de pan y os vistió con un vestido ó os dió de beber un sorbo de agua en este mundo y tomadlo de la mano; después, marchaos con él al paraíso."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xxv, 34: "...Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum...Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere: ...nudus [eram], et cooperuistis me."

Ibid., 40: "...Amen dico vobis, quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis."

Ibid., x, 42: "Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae frigidae..., non perdet mercedem suam."

[1] El autor del *Ṣaḥīḥ* ó colección de *ḥadīth* auténtica. Murió 261 hég.
[2] Compañero de Mahoma.

37

'Ithāf, I, 358, 6 infr.: [روى] عن يحيى بن ابى كثير قال العلماء مثل الملح هو صلاح كل شئ فاذا فسد الملح لم يصلحه شئ وينبغى ان يوطأ بالاقدام ثم يلقى

"Refiérese de Yaḥyā ibn Abū Kathīr[1] que dijo: Los sabios son como la sal, que todas las cosas conserva en buen estado. Pero si la misma sal se corrompe, ninguna otra cosa las conservará ya en buen estado. Será preciso pisotearla con los pies y arrojarla."

Cfr. supra, no. 10.

38

'Ithāf, IX, 477, 19: قال صلى الله عليه وسلم لو توكلتم على الله حق توكله لرزقتم كما ترزق الطير تغدو خماصا وتروح بطانا ولزالت بدعائكم الجبال ولمشيتم على البحور

"Dijo [Mahoma]: Si pusieseis en Dios toda vuestra confianza, como es debido, de seguro que os alimentaría como alimenta á los pájaros, que amanecen con el vientre vacío y anochecen con el vientre lleno, y de seguro que por vuestras oraciones los montes desaparecerían y caminaríais sobre los mares."

Cfr. *Mat.*, vi, 26: "Respicite volatilia coeli, quoniam non serunt neque metunt neque congregant in horrea: et Pater vester coelestis pascit illa."

Ibid., xvii, 19: "Dicetis monti huic, Transi hinc illuc, et transibit."

Ibid., xxi, 21: "Sed et si monti huic dixeritis, Tolle et jacta te in mare, fiet."

Ibid., xiv, 29: "Et descendens Petrus de navicula, ambulabat super aquam."

39

Kashshāf, 273, 10 infr.: الى هذا إشار صلى الله عليه وسلم من رآنى فقد رأى الحق

"A esto aludió Mahoma [cuando dijo]: El que me ve, ya ha visto á la Verdad [es decir, á Dios]."

Cfr. *Joan.*, xiv, 9: "Qui videt me, videt et Patrem."

[1] Tradicionista que murió en 129 hég.

Appendice

40

Riʿāya[1], ms. Oxford Hunt 611, f. 5: ضرب بعض الحكماء مثلا لذلك
كله فقال ان الباذر خرج ببذره وملا منه كفه فبذر فوقع منه شيء
على ظهر الطريق فلم يلبث ان انحط الطيور عليه فاختطفه ووقع منه
شيء على صفا يعنى حجرا املس عليه تراب يسير فنبت حتى اذا وصلت
عروقه الى الصفا لم تجد مماعا ينفذ فيه فيبس ووقع منه شيء في ارض
طيبة فيها شوك نابت فنبت البذر فلما ارتفع خنقه الشوك وافسده واحاط
به ووقع منه شيء على ارض طيبة ليس على ظهر الطريق ولا على صفا
ولا فيها شوك فنبت ونمى وصلح فمثل الباذر مثل الحكيم ومثل ما وقع
على ظهر الطريق مثل الرجل يسمع الكلام وهو لا يريد ان يسمعه فلا
يلبث الشيطان بان يختطفه من قلبه فينساه ومثل الذى وقع على الصفا
مثل الرجل يسمع الكلام فيسيغه ويستخسفه ثم يفضى الى قلب فارغ ليس
فيه عزم على العمل فينسخ من قلبه ومثل الذى وقع في ارض طيبة
فيها شوك مثل الرجل يستمع الكلام وهو ينوى ان يعمل به فاذا اعترضت
له الشهوات عند مواقع الاعمال خنقته من فسد فترك استعمال ما نوى
ان يعمل به ومثل الذى وقع في ارض طيبة لا على ظهر الطريق ولا
فيها شوك ولا على صفا مثل الرجل يسمع الكلام وهو ينوى ان يعمل به
فيهمّه ثم يصبر على العمل به عند مواقع الاعمال ويجانب الشهوات

"Un sabio se sirvió de una parábola para todo esto[2] y dijo: Salió el sembrador con su semilla y llenó de ella su mano y sembró. Y cayó de ella una parte sobre la superficie del camino y no tardó mucho tiempo sin que se posaran sobre ella los pájaros y la arrebatasen. Y cayó de ella una parte sobre las peñas, es decir, piedras lisas cubiertas de poca tierra, y germinó hasta que, al llegar sus raíces á la peña, no encontraron fondo en que penetrar y se secó. Y cayó de ella una parte en tierra buena, pero llena de espinas, y germinó la semilla; pero cuando creció, la ahogaron las espinas y la corrompieron y la envolvieron. Y cayó de ella una parte sobre tierra buena, que no estaba en la superficie del camino ni sobre peñas ni llena de espinas, y germinó y llegó al término de su crecimiento y dió buen resultado. El sembrador es semejante al sabio. La [parte de semilla]

[1] Debo este texto á mi amigo Massignon. Cfr. Margoliouth, *Transactions 3rd International Congress of Religions* (Oxford, 1908) 1, 292. Sobre el *Riʿāya* y su autor cfr. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, 1, 198.

[2] Refiérese, sin duda, á un relato anterior, el cual comienza (según nota que me comunica Massignon) en estos términos: "Refiriónos Al-ʿAllāyī [† 229 hég.]: Oí á Sufyān ibn ʿOyayna [† 198 hég.] que decía...."

que cayó sobre la superficie del camino es como el hombre que oye la palabra [de Dios] sin querer prestarle oídos; no tarda mucho tiempo sin que Satanás se la arrebate de su corazón y la olvide. La que cayó sobre las peñas es como el hombre que oye la palabra y se la traga y la deja penetrar; pero luego, llega á un corazón vacuo, en el que no hay propósito decidido de obrar, y [la palabra] se borra de su corazón. La que cayó en tierra buena, pero llena de espinas, es como el hombre que da oídos á la palabra y se propone obrar conforme á ella; pero, cuando se le presentan los apetitos en los momentos de obrar, ahóganla y la destruyen; y así, deja de hacer lo que se había propuesto realizar. La que cayó en tierra buena, que no estaba en la superficie del camino ni llena de espinas ni sobre peñas, es como el hombre que oye la palabra y se propone obrar conforme á ella y se preocupa de cumplirla; y luego, soporta paciente el cumplimiento [de su propósito] en los momentos de obrar y refrena los apetitos."

Cfr. *Luc.*, viii, 4–8: "Dixit [Jesus] per similitudinem: Exiit qui seminat, seminare semen suum: et dum seminat, aliud cecidit secus viam...et volucres coeli comederunt illud. Et aliud cecidit supra petram: et natum aruit, quia non habebat humorem. Et aliud cecidit inter spinas, et simul exortae spinae suffocaverunt illud. Et aliud cecidit in terram bonam et ortum fecit fructum...."

Ibid., 11–15: "Est autem haec parabola: Semen est verbum Dei. Qui autem secus viam, hi sunt qui audiunt: deinde venit diabolus, et tollit verbum de corde eorum.... Nam qui supra petram, qui cum audierint, cum gaudio suscipiunt verbum: et hi radices non habent: qui ad tempus credunt, et in tempore tentationis recedunt. Quod autem in spinas cecidit: hi sunt qui audierunt, et a sollicitudinibus...et voluptatibus vitae euntes suffocantur, et non referunt fructum. Quod autem in bonam terram, hi sunt qui in corde bono et optimo audientes verbum retinent, et fructum afferunt in patientia."

41

Hilya (apud biografía de Ribāḥ Al-Qaysī)[1]: قال عتبة لرباح من لم يكن معنا يكن علينا

"Dijo 'Otba á Ribāḥ: El que no está con nosotros, está contra nosotros."

Cfr. *Mat.*, xii, 30: "Qui non est mecum, contra me est."

42

'Iḥyā', III, 55, 18: من شاهد الاخرة بقلبه مشاهدة يقين اصبح بالضرورة مريدا حرث الاخرة مشتاقا اليها سالكا سبلها مستهينا بنعيم الدنيا ولذاتها فان من كانت عنده خرزة فراى جوهرة نفيسة لم يبق له رغبة فى الخرزة وقويت ارادته فى بيعها بالجوهرة

"El que con su corazón vea experimentalmente y con certeza intuitiva la vida futura, aspirará por necesidad á gozarla, deseará llegar á ella y emprenderá el camino, despreciando los bienes y deleites de la vida presente. En efecto: el que posee un abalorio y ve una perla preciosa, no le queda ya deseo alguno del abalorio y aspira con todas sus fuerzas á venderlo por la perla.'

[1] كتاب حلية الانبياء وطبقات الاصفياء لابى نعيم. Cfr. Brockelmann *Geschichte*, I, 362. (Noticia comunicada por Massignon.)

Cfr. *Mat.*, xiii, 45: "Iterum simile est regnum coelorum homini negotiatori quaerenti bonas margaritas. Inventa autem una pretiosa margarita, abiit, et vendidit omnia quae habuit, et emit eam."

43

Fātiḥa[1], 17, 9 inf.: روى ابو الدرداء عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال اوحى الله تعالى الى بعض انبيائه قل للذين يتفقهون لغير دين الله...ويلبسون للناس مسوك الكباش وقلوبهم كقلوب الذئاب الخ

"Refirió Abū Al-Dardā, del Enviado de Dios, que dijo éste: Reveló Dios á uno de sus profetas: Di á aquellos que se dedican al estudio de la ley por un fin distinto de Dios y de su religión...y que se visten con pieles de carneros para las gentes, mientras que sus corazones son como los corazones de los lobos" etc.

Cfr. supra, no. 9.

44

Mo'jam[2], 98, 12: سمعت ذا النون...المصرى يقول من عمل فى البر عملا يستحيى منه فى العلانية فليس لنفسه عنده قدر

"Oí decir á Dhū Al-Nūn Al-Miṣrī: El que se avergüenza de hacer en público alguna obra de piedad, no logra mérito alguno por él [á los ojos de Dios]."

Cfr. *Luc.*, ix, 26: "Nam qui me erubuerit et meos sermones: hunc Filius hominis erubescet cum venerit in majestate sua...."

45

Lawāqiḥ[3], 1, 61, 17: كان [ذو النون المصرى] يقول من تقرب الى الله تعالى بتلف نفسه حفظ الله عليه نفسه

"Decía Dhū Al-Nūn Al-Miṣrī[4]: El que para aproximarse á Dios pierde su alma, Dios se la preserva [de la perdición]."

Cfr. *Joan.*, xii, 25: "Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam aeternam custodit eam."

Lawāqiḥ, 1, 60, 5 inf.: كان [ذو النون المصرى] يقول من نظر فى عيوب الناس عمى عن عيب نفسه

"Decía Dhū Al-Nūn Al-Miṣrī: El que mira los defectos de los hombres, ciego está para ver el defecto suyo propio."

Cfr. *Mat.*, vii, 3: "Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui: et trabem in oculo tuo non vides?"

[1] كتاب فاتحة العلوم للغزالى. Cairo, 1322 hég.

[2] *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, iv, edic. Codera (Madrid, 1886).

[3] كتاب لواقح الانوار فى طبقات الاخيار للشعرانى. Cairo, 1315 hég.

[4] Famoso místico de Egipto, que murió el 245 hég.

Asín Palacios.

MARINO SANUTO'S TAGEBÜCHER ALS QUELLE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ṢAFAWIJJA

Familiar to us, and unknown.
SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry V*, III, 7, 40.

Mit zu den sonderbarsten Erscheinungen in der Geschichte der islamischen Studien zählt wohl die Tatsache, dass bis zum heutigen Tag eine der wichtigsten religiösen Bewegungen, die vielleicht nur in der abendländischen Reformation ein wirkliches Gegenstück und im äusseren Verlauf obendrein sehr auffallende Parallelen hat, noch keinen Geschichtsschreiber gefunden hat: die Ṣafawijja. Was darüber in den landläufigen Büchern zu lesen ist, darf keinerlei Anspruch auf quellenkritische Darstellung erheben[1]. Von einem Fortschritt in der Untersuchung ist seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert so gut wie nicht die Rede, nicht einmal der Versuch einer zusammenfassenden Wertung ist unternommen worden. Die Auffassung Sir John Malcolm's († 1833), der sich übrigens in seiner Schilderung lediglich auf Kemāl b. Dschelāl's nicht ungeschicktes, als Quellenwerk indessen doch nahezu unbrauchbares *Zubd ut-tawārīḫ* stützte: "It would be tedious to detail the actions of Ismail" (*History of Persia*, 1829, I, 326; Verdeutschung (1830), I, 333), war offenbarer Leitsatz bis auf unsere Tage. Sicht man von kurzen Auszügen aus morgenländischen Werken ab, so liegen bis jetzt z. B. noch die unschätzbaren Handschriften, die General Paskewitsch 1827 aus der Bücherei des Schejchs Ṣefī ed-dīn von Erdebīl nach Petersburg verschleppte, ungenutzt, ja kaum untersucht und richtig verzeichnet an ihrem derzeitigen Standort[2]. Aber nicht nur

[1] Auch was Paul Horn im *Grundriss für iranische Philologie*, II. Bd., S. 579 ff. bietet, ist gänzlich unbrauchbar und wird der Bedeutung der Ṣafawijja in keinem Punkte gerecht. Das Beste daran ist die Literaturzusammenstellung, S. 585–588, die aber auch nur für die orientalischen Quellen auf gewisse Vollständigkeit Anspruch erheben darf.

[2] Vgl. die *Liste der Manuscripte aus der Moschee des Scheich Sefi zu Ardebil*, die Chr. M. v. Frähn im *Petersburger Journal*, 1829, No. 44 gab. Vgl. dazu *Hallische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1829, Intelligenzblatt No. 163;

die orientalischen Quellen[1] harren noch der Erschliessung, sondern auch die europäische, meist gedruckte Literatur ist in der Neuzeit so gut wie unbeachtet geblieben. Seit der treffliche Pietro Bizar(r)o aus Sassoferrato († um 1585 zu Antwerpen) seines neugierigen Zeitalters ganzes Wissen vom Reiche der Perser in einen mächtigen Folianten zwängte und darin allerlei Seltenheiten seiner Mitwelt bequem erschloss, nämlich in der *Rerum Persicarum historia, initia gentis, et res gestas ad haec tempora complectens, accedunt varia opuscula diversorum scriptorum ad historiam Persicam recentiorem spectantia* (Antwerpen, 1583, Neuauflage, Frankfurt, 1601, fol., 644 Seiten + index rerum), hat niemand ausser etwa der unermüdliche Charles Schefer (1820–1898) sich um diese Dinge bekümmert. Er was es, der, unablässig um die Erforschung der ältren, den Orient betreffenden Reisewerke bemüht, im Vorwort seiner Ausgabe von Raphaël Du Mans' *Estat de la Perse* (Paris, 1890) die wichtigsten abendländischen Reisebücher, aus denen auf persische Zustände Licht fällt, einer gänzlichen Vergessenheit entriss. Der Plan des hochbegabten Franz Teufel (1848–1884), den er seinem Lehrer H. L. Fleischer in einem ausführlichen 'Sendschreiben' im XXXVI. Bande der *ZDMG* (1882) entwickelte, hätte wohl auch dann unausgeführt bleiben müssen, wenn dem glänzenden, aber schicksalverfolgten Gelehrten (vgl. *ZDMG*, 38. Bd. (1884), S. 377 ff.) ein schöneres Lebenslos beschieden gewesen wäre. Aber F. Teufel hatte seine Teilnahme lediglich den morgenländischen Quellen zugewendet. Sie allein zu Rate zu ziehen, muss gerade in diesem Fall ein gewichtiger Umstand widerraten. Sind die persischen Berichte etwa vom Bestreben geleitet, die Sache Isma'ils in recht günstige Beleuchtung zu rücken, so verfallen die osmanischen Schilderungen begreiflicherweise in das gerade Gegenteil. Erwägt man dabei, von welchen Gesichtspunkten sich die morgenländischen

ferner *La Bibliothèque de la Mosquée du Sheikh-Sefy à Ardebil* in Ferrussac's *Bulletin des sciences historiques*, 1836, janvier, sowie *Asiatic Journal*, New Series, II. Band, London, 1831, S. 78–82, und die Petersburger Kataloge Viktor Baron Rosen's.

[1] Vgl. etwa E. D. Ross' strassburger Doktorschrift *Early years of Shah Isma'il*, London, 1896, auch im *JRAS*, 1896, S. 253 ff. sowie E. B. Olliver, *The Safawi Dynasty of Persia*, im *JASB*, LVI. Band, Kalkutta, 1887, S. 37 ff.

Geschichtsschreiber jener Tage leiten liessen, so wird man nur mit starken Bedenken an die Ausbeutung lediglich dieser Urkunden gehen. Dieses Misstrauen kann die Kenntnis eines Vorfalles, wie ihn die Lebensgeschichte des als Verfasser der osmanischen Reichsgeschichte *Hescht bihischt* berühmt gewordenen Persers Idrīs aus Bitlis erzählt, nur bestärken. Als Schāh Isma'īl, so heisst es im IV. Buche des *Scherefnāme*, aufgetreten war und die schī'itische Glaubenslehre zur Geltung brachte, ersann Idrīs ein persisches *ta'rīḫ*. مذهب ناحق, 'der Glaube ist nicht wahr!' lautete es. Von Isma'īl durch dessen Vertrauten Mewlānā Kemāl ed-dīn Ṭejjib Schīrāzī zur Rede gestellt bekannte er sich ohne Zögern als Verfasser, vergass aber nicht beizufügen, dass der Jahrzahlvers 'nach der arabischen Konstruktion' مذهبنا حق, also 'unser Glaube ist Wahrheit!' laute! Die Qaṣīde, die er seiner 'Rechtfertigung' beifügte, ist zu bezeichnend, als dass nicht ihr wesentlichster Inhalt hier Platz finden müsste:

Erkenne in mir einen angestammten Sklaven Deines Hauses,
Denn mein Grossvater war der Diener des Deinen auf dem Gotteswege.
Mein Vater gehörte auch zu den Schülern des Urgrossvaters des Königs (d. h. Eurer Majestät),
Dem die äusseren und inneren Wissenschaften den Glanz verdanken.
Auch mein Dienstverhältnis zu Schāh Ḥajder
Wurde durch meine gute Haltung wie Zuckermilch.
Ein schöner Zufall ist's, dass in des Qor'āns Versen
An jedem Ort mein Name und der Isma'īls beieinander stehen[1].

Werden sich also für die Darstellung der Ṣafawijja aus orientalischen Berichten lediglich für den geschichtlichen Verlauf der ganzen Bewegung verwertbare Angaben entnehmen lassen, so treten die abendländischen Aufzeichnungen als höchst erwünschte Ergänzungen hinzu, wo es sich um die Erfassung und Erklärung etwa der Glaubenslehren Isma'īls und seiner Ahnen handelt. Wenn auch der ungeheure Eindruck, den das Erscheinen des *Sophy*[2] auf das Abendland machte, zumal auf die Staaten, die mit dem Orient in näherer Berührung standen, leicht zu einer ohne-

[1] Vgl. H. A. Barb in den *Sitzungsberichten der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Klasse*, Wien, 1859, S. 153-154. Ich weiche am Schluss von Barb's Verdeutschung ab. Denn nur da, wo im Qor'ān sich der Name Henochs (Idrīs) findet, steht der Isma'īls daneben, nicht etwa umgekehrt. Vgl. XXI, 85 und XIX, 55 und 57.

[2] Vgl. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, II, I, 25.

dies im Zuge jener Zeit liegenden Neigung Wahres mit Falschem zu mengen führen konnte, wenn man auch gar mancherlei Meldungen zumal über die Stärke der Anhängerschaft des neuen Propheten ohne weiteres gläubig hinnahm, weil hier der Wunsch Vater des Gedankens war—sah man ja in Isma'īl einen gleichsam vom Himmel gesandten Bundesgenossen wider den Türken, den 'Antichrist'—so ist dennoch in jenen Nachrichten soviel des Zutreffenden und Unbedenklichen enthalten, dass sich eine nähere Beschäftigung mit ihnen reichlich lohnt. Die folgenden Seiten haben den Zweck auf eine Quelle die Aufmerksamkeit zu lenken, die selbst im Zusammenhang mit der Erforschung der osmanischen Reichsgeschichte nicht weiter ausgebeutet wurde, auf die Tagebücher (*diarii*) des venezianischen Chronisten Marino Sanuto. 58 gedruckte (Venedig, 1879–1902) Foliobände füllen diese mit staunenswertem Fleiss und echt geschichtlichem Sinn, kommenden Geschlechtern zu Nutz wie in einem Speicher zusammengetragenen Diarien. Vom Jahre 1496 bis zum September 1533 ist Tag für Tag darinnen eingetragen, was in aller Welt sich ereignete und was aus allen Landen in Venedig, gleichsam dem Brennpunt der Weltpolitik, sich sammelte und weit und breit ergoss. Einer der grössten Kenner der Geschichte Venedigs, der Brite Rawdon Lubbock Brown (1803–1883), der ein Menschenalter mit M. Sanuto als *a valued friend and companion* verkehrt und in drei Bänden *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di M. Sanuto detto il Juniore, Veneto patrizio e cronista dei secoli XV e XVI* (Venedig, 1832/38) gesammelt hat, schrieb 1871 über Sanuto:

When delivering his volumes for safe custody into the chamber of the Council of the Ten, he wrote to the historian Pietro Bembo, that he did so "acciochè le mie fatiche siano sempiterne." It is satisfactory to think that his wish has been gratified, for at the present day throughout Italy, as also in England, France, Germany, Russia, Hungary, and Croatia, the annals of those countries are daily enlarged by extracts from the Diaries of Marin Sanuto.

Seit der prachtvolle, von mehreren venezianischen Gelehrten besorgte Druck des Riesenwerkes seinen Inhalt bequem zugänglich gemacht hat, ist in der Tat Sanuto's Chronik ein wahrer Schatz zeitgenössischer Zeugschaft für die Geschichte jener Tage geworden. Aber noch niemand

hat bis heute sich der Aufgabe unterzogen, die Ueberfülle der Berichte und Mitteilungen der Diarien für die Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches[1], Egyptens, überhaupt des Morgenlandes nutzbar zu machen, zu sichten und zu einem lebensvollen Bild zu vereinigen. Die Staatsbriefe der venezianischen Baili am grossherrlichen Hofe, die Privatnachrichten der Levantekonsuln, Seeleute, Kaufherren, die zahllosen *dispacci* und *relazioni* dieser Gewährsleute aus allen Teilen des Orients—nichts vermöchte ein eindruckvolleres und klareres Gemälde der Zeitverhältnisse zu geben. Georg Martin Thomas (1817–1887), der ausgezeichnete Erforscher des Levantehandels und venezianischer Geschichte, hat, ehe der Druck der Diarien vollendet war, aus der überaus schwer lesbaren Urschrift zum erstenmal den Versuch gewagt, für das gewaltige Geisteswerk Martin Luthers jene Tagebücher als Quellenwerk zu behandeln: *Martin Luther und die Reformationsbewegung in Deutschland vom Jahre 1520–1532 in Auszügen aus Marino Sanuto's Diarien* (Ansbach, 1883). Auf diese Schrift sei verwiesen, wer sich, ohne selbst das Riesenwerk zu prüfen, eine Vorstellung von dessen Wert als geschichtliches Zeugnis machen will. Wenn ich im nachstehenden versuche, die Nachrichten in der Chronik für die Frühgeschichte der Ṣafawijja nach gewissen Gesichtspunkten zusammenzustellen, so mache ich dabei keineswegs den Anspruch einer erschöpfenden Ausbeutung des gebotenen Stoffes. Es liegt mir vor allem daran, über die Glaubenslehre Isma'ils, über sein erstes Auftreten und über seine Anhängerschaft vorab in den osmanischen Reichsgauen daraus einiges Licht zu verbreiten. Meine ursprüngliche Absicht, auch die für die Geschichte der

[1] Josef v. Hammer-Purgstall, der unsterbliche Verfasser der zehnbändigen *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* war wohl der erste, der sich wenigstens teilweise die damals noch handschriftlichen, mühselig zu lesenden Tagebücher Sanuto's nach der seinerzeit in Wien verwahrten Abschrift für seine Zwecke nutzbar machte. Dies soll hier ausdrücklich hervorgehoben und seinen kleinlichen Tadlern entgegengehalten werden. Deren Namen werden längst auch den Fachgenossen entschwunden sein, wenn Josef v. Hammer's Werke trotz ihrer zahlreichen Fehler, Irrtümer, Versehen, Wunderlichkeiten, ja Lächerlichkeiten noch lange als unerschöpfliche Fundgruben von kommenden Forschern gepriesen werden. Nikolaus Jorga, dem bei Abfassung seiner osmanischen Geschichte längst der venezianische Druck der Diarien zugänglich war, hat diesen leider in viel zu geringem Umfang herangezogen.

Kämpfe Isma'ils mit Bājazīd und Selīm, die in der Schlacht bei Tschaldiran einen so entsetzlichen Abschluss fanden, reichlich fliessenden Nachrichten hier in bequemer Form zugänglich zu machen, habe ich in der festen Hoffnung zurückgestellt, dass recht bald ein Geschichtsschreiber erstehen werde, der bei tieferer Ausbeutung dieses Schatzes uns endlich eine gründliche Darstellung jener Glaubensbewegung liefert, auf die sie wie wenig andere Ereignisse in der islamischen Geschichte längst den Anspruch hat.

Die Geschichte der Schī'a, besser vielleicht 'alidischer Bewegungen, im frühosmanischen Reich ist noch ungeschrieben. Der Stoff zu dieser Darstellung ist in einer Unzahl von meist verborgenen europäischen Quellen vorhanden. Aber lange bevor etwa Bertrandon de la Broçquière oder der Böhme Martin Kabátník, Johannes Schiltberger oder der 'Mühlbacher' und B. Georgiewitsch Kleinasien durchquerten und Bericht darüber erstatteten, lassen sich in jenen Gegenden 'alidische Strömungen nachweisen, die, wenn nicht alle Anzeichen trügen, bereits unter den letzten Rūmseldschuqen erkennbar sind und zu verdächtigen Empörungen in deren Reiche führten. Es sei nur an Baba Isḥāq oder Baba Resūl Allāh erinnert, von dessen Treibereien uns Vincent v. Beauvais jene merkwürdige und höchst wertvolle Darstellung im XXXI. Buche seines berühmten *Speculum Historiale* hinterlassen hat[1]. Eine Kette von Derwischempörungen in der vorselīmischen Geschichte beweist aufs klarste, dass die schī'itische Propaganda auch nach dem Uebergang der Herrschaft auf das Haus 'Osmān keineswegs erloschen war, vielmehr gerade durch dieses sonderbare Nahrung fand. Denn die osmanischen Emire und Sultane waren es selbst, die den Einwandrern aus

[1] Vgl. den Abschnitt *De tyrannide Paperoissolae et in Turcos debacchatione* und *De ipsius ac suorum destructione* im Jahre 1240 im *Fragmentum de rebus orientalibus e Speculo historiali Vincentij Beluacensis*, Helmstadii, MDLXXXV, S. 155 ff. Für die Seldschüqengeschichte wichtig und bisher unverwertet ist dort der Abschnitt *De exaltatione Raconadij in Soldanum Turquiae* auf S. 178 b (Rukn ed-dīn's Thronfolge nach Ghijās ed-dīn's im Oktober 1245 erfolgtem Tode!).—Zur Empörung des Baba Resūl Allāh vgl. man die Erzählung Ibn Bībī's in M. Th. Houtsma's *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, IV. Band, S. 227–230 (Leiden, 1902) sowie die Lebensbeschreibung des Baba Iljās und Ebu'l-Wefā's bei Ṭaschköprüzāde, *Schaqā'iq al-nu'mānijja*, Stambul, 1869, S. 23.

Khorāsān und Transoxanien in ihren Gauen eine bleibende Stätte schufen, ihnen Klosterzellen und Tekkes errichteten und die Stiftungen mit reichen Gaben ausstatteten. Kleinasien ward damit ein Hauptherd schī'itischer, idschmā'-feindlicher Hetzereien. Dazu kamen die Derwischorden, unter denen die Bektaschijje am offenbarsten die Kennzeichen 'alīdischer Bestrebungen trägt. Ganz Anatolien ward von jenen heiligmässigen Männern überflutet, die aus dem irānischen Hochland zuwanderten und sich gar bald auf türkischer Erde heimisch fühlten. Und als dann in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts zu Erdebīl der Derwisch Sefī ed-dīn eine zahlreiche Schar um sich sammelte und der Ruf seiner Heiligkeit bis an den Hof von Brusa drang, trug der Grossherr kein Bedenken, alljährlich reiche Gaben und wohlgefüllte Beutel nach Erdebīl zu entsenden, wie der osmanische Geschichtsschreiber 'Āschiqpaschazāde, *ta'rīḫ*, Stambul, 1332, S. 264 ausdrücklich feststellt. Bald zeigte es sich, dass man eine Schlange am Busen genährt hatte. Der gewaltige Aufstand des früheren Heeresrichters und Schejchs Bedr ed-dīn im Jahr 1416, der einen Teil von Kleinasien und Rumeli in helle Empörung versetzte, war nichts weiter als die Auswirkung einer mittlerweile zu bedrohlichster Macht angewachsenen staatsfeindlichen Gesinnung, die in 'alīdischen Wühlereien und schī'itischer Hetztätigkeit ihre Nahrung fand. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, die feinen Fäden blosszulegen, die von dem Aufruhr Bedr ed-dīn's ausgingen und sich mit aller Deutlichkeit bis herauf zu Schāh Isma'īl als geschlossene Kette erweisen lassen. In meiner Abhandlung *Schejch Bedr ed-dīn, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sektenwesens im altosmanischen Reich*, die in der Zeitschrift *Der Islam* auf S. 1–106 des XI. (1920) und S. 103–109 des XII. Bandes (1921) enthalten ist, habe ich versucht, etwas Licht in das bisherige Dunkel der ganzen Bewegung zu bringen und zu zeigen, wie lange vor Isma'īl im osmanischem Kleinasien der 'alīdischen Werbetätigkeit ein fruchtbarer Boden bereitet war, sowie darzulegen, dass bis heute noch in gewissen Sektenbildungen (Qizilbaschen, Tachtadschis, usw.) beträchtliche Ueberreste dieser einstigen gewaltigen Glaubensbewegung innerhalb der osmanischen Grenzen sich nachweisen lassen. Vier Fünftel ganz Anatoliens bekannten sich nach einem

venezianischen Gesandtschaftsbericht vom Jahr 1514 zur neuen Lehre. Das mag überschätzt sein, aber die von mehreren Gewährsmännern überlieferte und kaum übertriebene Zahl 40,000 (d. h. 'unendlich') für die von Selim hingeschlachteten und eingekerkerten Schi'iten spricht eine deutliche Sprache.

So stand es um das Jahr 1500, als Schāh Isma'il plötzlich in die Erscheinung trat. Hier mögen nun die in Sanuto's Tagebüchern verstreuten Nachrichten über die Ṣafawijja in ihrer Bedeutung als wertvolle und ergiebige Stoffsammlung für die Geschichte der ganzen Bewegung etwas näher gewürdigt werden.

Die betreffenden Stellen gebe ich nach dem Druck in der Schreibart jener Zeit; Sanuto's Stil verlangt eigentlich ein eignes Studium, aber für den vorliegenden Zweck genügt wohl der Hinweis, dass er nicht syntaktisch, sondern gleichsam parataktisch ist. Die Ausdrucksformen wechseln natürlich: bald sind es die venezianischen Bevollmächtigten bei der Hohen Pforte, die *baili*, aus deren Berichten das hieher Gehörige geschöpft wird, bald sind es Konsuln und Kaufleute auf den griechischen Inseln und in Syrien, bald sind es Reisende, die da Meldung erstatten, bald Seeleute, die diese wichtigen Kundschaften ins Herz oder auf den Markt der Stadt des Heiligen Markus tragen.

Die erste Kunde von dem *novo profeta* erhielt die Signoria zu Venedig durch einige im Dezember 1501 aus Persien eingetroffene Reisende (*alcuni venuti di Persia*), aus deren Bericht hervorging, *esser aparso certo puto, novo profeta, di anni 14 in 15*[1], *à seguito di assaissima zente.* Im Anschluss daran folgt die Abschrift der *depositione* über Isma'il:

zoè zuro,

heisst es darin (IV. Band, Spalte 191 ff.),

per lo eterno Idio che se leva adesso Exeth[2] *la sua patria è Babilonia, e el suo padre diceva esser parente di Mahometh*[3]; *e po' suo padre è morto; et questo puto è de anni 14, et al presente va per 15 anni*[1]. *Et lui dice, che mio*

[1] Isma'īl war am 25. redscheb 892, d. h. am 17. Juli 1487 geboren, mithin 1501 genau im bezeichneten Alter. Vgl. Münedschimbaschi, *ṣaḥā'if ül-aḫbār*, III. Band, S. ١٨٢, Stambul, 1285, ferner L. Langlès in seiner Ausgabe der *Voyages de J. Chardin*, Paris, 1811, X. Band, S. 189.

[2] *Exeth* dürfte eine Verunstaltung von *Schejch* oder *Sejjid* sein.

[3] Isma'il führte bekanntlich seinen Stammbaum auf 'Alī's Enkel Mūsā'l-Kāẓim, den Sohn Husejns zurück.

padre non era mio padre, ma lui era mio schiavo; et lui dice esser instesso Dio; e lui ha con esso 40 governadori, i quali li fanno chiamar caliphani, i qualli etiam fano et celebrano l' oficio per suo nome, perchè lui dice esser Dio. Et lui fa andar a la roba di ogniuno, cussì de' christiani como de' infideli; et cussì tutti li sassini et homeni de mala sorte vano con ditto Exeth. Et questi talli che vano con lui, li presentano danari, digando: Spendete questi danari par nome de Exeth. Et tutti li gran maistri, che se vano a presentar a lui, ditto Exeth li tocha con la man sopra la testa[1] *et li dice: Va, che tu sei mio; et li altri de bassa condition manda uno suo califa per suo nome, lo qual li tocha sopra la testa*[1] *con quele medeme parole. Et havea, za fa un anno, persone più de 8000 soto de si; et con quella zente andò soto una terra, chiamata Arzingani*[2], *e alozò fuor de la terra, perchè la terra non lo lassò intrar dentro.... E poi se levò de lì et andò ad un' altra terra, chiamata Chasteldere*[3], *et quella etiam fece sachizar. Et da poi se levò de là, et andò a un' altra terra, che se chiama Charabazi*[4], *et sachizò quella et molte altre terre et ville; e tutto el paese soprascrito era de Uson Cassan de Azimia*[5]. *Et poi passò sopra le terre de' samachi*[6] *et silvani*[6], *dove era do signori, fratelli, che erano a suo posta; et uno de lhoro fu preso et morto dal ditto, et l' altro scampò et andò a uno locho, che se chiama Sidero Porta*[7].... *Et alhora io intisi, che questo avosto passa, come lui voleva andar a dosso ad uno paese, se chiama Thaurise*[8]....

[1] Ich habe schon in meiner Arbeit über Bedr ed-dīn die Behauptung aufgestellt, dass die Ṣafawijja ursprünglich nichts weiter als ein Derwischbund war, der sich von der Umwelt, seit Schejch Ḥajder, durch ihre rote zwölfzwicklige Mütze (*Ḥajderkrone*) unterschied, ein Merkmal, das bei der unheimlich anwachsenden Gemeinde natürlich gar bald in Wegfall kam. Was hier der venezianische Gewährsmann andeutet, ist weiter nichts als die in Derwischorden und islamischen Zünften herkömmliche *schedd*-Zeremonie, ein 'Ritterschlag.' Vgl. die anschauliche Schilderung in Engelb. Kämpfer's *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgo, 1712, S. 241 ff. Ich empfehle dringend einmal, gewisse Aufstellungen Hans Blüher's (in seinem grundlegenden Werk *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1918/19, zwei Bände)) von der Entstehung des Staates auf die Geschichte des Ṣefewireiches anzuwenden. Wenn irgendwann und irgendwo, so hat sich hier aus einem reinen Männerbund ein Staatswesen entwickelt.

[2] d. i. Ersindschān, das Gebiet des verstorbenen Uzun Ḥasan, des Urgrossvaters Schāh Isma'ils.

[3] Wohl Qizil-dere, oder Tuch-tschai, der in den Wan-See mündet. Vgl. V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II, 667.

[4] Dieser Ort wird IV, 488 als *Charabade, cità de Usson Cassan* aufgeführt und wird wohl mit Kharput einerlei sein.

[5] *Azimia*, d. i. *'adschemī*, persisch, eine in europäischen Reiseberichten seit dem 14. Jahrhundert ungemein häufige Bezeichnung für Persien. Falsch gedeutet bei E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, I. Bd., S. 357, 3 Anm. Vgl. dazu das Rätsel *adzamisches Land* in der *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*, XIX. Bd., 1896, S. 116, 22. Zeile v.o.

[6] *Samachi* ist Schemacha, *silvani* ist Schīrwān. ,Im Kampf gegen Khalīl, den Herrn von Schemacha, war um 860/1456 Isma'ils Grossvater, Schejch Dschunejd, gefallen.

[7] *Sidero Porta*, d. h. Eisentor, ist natürlich *Demir Qapu* in Daghestān bei Derbend. [8] *Thaurise*, d. i. Täbrīz.

Soweit dieser Gewährsmann. In unmittelbarem Anschluss daran möge gleich eine *relazione* des Domino Costantino Lascari vom 14. Oktober 1502 (IV, 353 ff.) auszugsweise erwähnt werden. Ihr Verfasser war damals gerade aus Qaramān nach Venedig zurückgekehrt. Er habe

bona information, como questo signor Sophi è in ordine de danari, de che de cadaun m' è sta zertificato haver grandissima richeza, primo per el gran paexe che possiede, praeterea haver tolto gran facultà di questi signori, che à fatto morir; et esser signor di gran justicia, et liberal con tuti, home de anni 20 in 22, molto prosperoso; a uno suo fradelo di anni XI in 12, lassato a Tauris, et una sorela, che'l prometeva darla per moier al signor caraman. Questo signor Sophi e molto aficionato a questa sua seta, ch' è una certa religione catholicha a lhor modo, in discordantia de la opinion dil suo propheta macometan, et Omar et Bubach [Abū Bekr], *che fo soi discipuli; et questo Sophi se aderisse a la opinion de Ali, de Esse* [Ḥasan], *Ossen* [Ḥusejn], *che fo anche lhoro discipuli dil propheta*... (IV, 355).

Ungleich wichtiger, weil darin über die Lehre Isma'īls bestimmtere Angaben enthalten sind, ist ein in Ragusa unterm 6. November 1502 ausgefertigtes Schreiben (IV, 500 ff.). Es handelt

di la progenie et origine de Ali, lo qual chiamano Amir Syaach[1], *el qual non passa 18 anni, et è de grande prudentia e mirabel inzegno. Ditto Amir l' è disceso de la progenie de Mahometho, cioè de uno suo fratello, perchè Mahometo non ebbe figlioli maschi; e tutti soi antecessori furon sayti* [sejjid]. *El nome del dito Amir Scyaach se interpreta propheta de Dio; del qual tutti li antecessori sempre de tutti mahometani sono stati tenuti in grandissima veneratione, persino a questo Amir Scyach. Et sempre tutti, successive, de grado in grado, hanno tenuto la cathedra della lhoro religione, come li più degni de la secta machometana. La lhoro abitation è stata in una techya* [tekkijje, tekke[2]], *molto bella e grande, vicina a una terra chiamata Tabris; nella qual*

[1] Kann sowohl aus Emīr + Schejch wie Emīr + Schāh entstellt sein.

[2] Der vorliegende Bericht ist wohl die klarste und beste Schilderung der Ṣafawijja als Derwischorden vor dem Auftreten Dschunejds mit herrscherlichen Ansprüchen. Das Kloster (*tekke*), in dem etwa 300 Mönche *come di ruissi*, d. h. *dervisi*, Derwische lebten, wird ebenso mit den Tatsachen übereinstimmen, wie die Meldung auch von osmanischen Geschichtsschreibern bezeugt ist, dass aus der Türkei, vom Sultanshof Geldspenden an die Schejche von Erdebīl abgingen. Vgl. die oben angezogene Stelle aus dem Geschichtswerk des 'Aschiqpaschazāde, ferner Johannes Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt a. M., 1591, dessen Angaben auf das Werk des osmanischen Chronisten Muḥjī ed-dīn (starb 1550) zurückgehen; S. 647 heisst es dort: Mittit hic, vel ille Sultanus Osmanides, sancto viro, Scheichi Tzuneiti, tzirac axiesi (= *tschirāgh aqtschesi*), hoc est, aspros sive pecuniam candelabri....Quum vero Sultanus Muhametes secundus apud Turcos imperio potiretur, visum fuit ei, nullos amplius Scheichi Tzuneiti nummos, pristino suorum more, mittendos. Daraufhin sandte Dschunejd nach Brusa und bat um Aufklärung, worauf Mehemmed II. seine Weigerung

techia con ipsi habitaron sempre da cercha 300 homeni, tutti religiosi, come di ruissi. Et sempre se hanno monstrato de molto austera e divota vita, de modo che non solum Persia, ma tutta Turchia, Suria e Barbaria li tenevan in molto grande veneratione et divotione; et erano molto de tute queste nationi visitate; et gli facean de molte elemosine, et oblatione de auro et argento et zoie. Et insino a l' avo del ditto Amir Scyaach, successive, in quello luogo hanno passato la loro vita, senza havere, ne cerchare altro stato ne signoria. Dove prefato avo de Amir Scyaach, vedutosi in tanta veneratione, extimo et seguito de le gente et populi, volse temptare la fortuna de farse gran signor. Et congregò grande numero di gente, instruendoli e mostrandoli novo ordine de la lege, quella di Mahometo in alcuna parte, riprehendendo e corigendo; confessando, Cristo esser stato vero propheta, et esser con corpo et anima in cielo andato; et li sui quatro evangelisti essere stati predicatori della verità. Et anche dimostrava a quelli populi, sui seguaci, Idio haver fatto tutte le cosse comune[1]. *Ita persuadeva, che la gente, con molto grande effecto et devotione, a lui se acostavan e lo seguitavan. Dove el ditto avo si messe contra Uxon Cassan*[2], *de lo qual Uson*

mit den Worten begründete: *Vallahe Tekein cozza vlmistur* (d. i. *wallāh, tekkeniñ qodschasi ölmüschdür*), "Bei Gott, der Alte (*pir*) des Klosters ist ja (schon) gestorben!" Von ganz besondrer Bedeutung aber ist die auch hier bestätigte 'Christenfreundlichkeit' der Lehre Isma'ils. Um nicht bereits einmal Gesagtes zu wiederholen, verweise ich auf meine *Bedr ed-dīn*-Studie, S. 87 und auf die dort gegebenen Auszüge aus der Schrift Giovanni Rota's, sowie auf die Bemerkungen S. 66. Es ist gar kein Zweifel möglich, dass die Glaubenslehre der Ṣafawijja etwas Grundverschiednes von der heutigen, sog. schī'itischen Religionsform der Perser darstellt. Es wird genauer und eindringlicher Studien bedürfen, um festzustellen, wie weit hier etwa christliche Bestandteile (wohl aus Trapezunt kommend) mit altpersischen, zoroastrischen Anschauungen übernommen wurden. Das Weintrinken und Schweinefleischessen (vgl. Sanuto, VI, 221) besonders aber der Kommunismus (vgl. *Bedr ed-dīn*, S. 87), worüber mehrfache, untereinander unabhängige Gewährsmänner berichten, möchte ich als besonders bezeichnendes Merkmal einer islam-feindlichen Bestrebung überhaupt erblicken.

[1] Ueber diese kommunistische Richtung vgl. man *Schejch Bedr ed-dīn*, S. 65, 87, besonders die Anmerkung: *was er gewindt, das ist der gantzen gemayn* heisst es bei Giovanni Rota (über dessen Bericht vgl. unten S. 48).

[2] Uzun Ḥasan war, was hier in Erinnerung gebracht werden möge, den Venezianern der damaligen Zeit eine durchaus vertraute Persönlichkeit. Der Herr des Schwarzen Hammels hatte an die Lagunenstadt Gesandte geschickt und um Kriegsmaterial zur Abwehr der gemeinsamen Türkengefahr gebeten. Darauf begaben sich die beiden Edlen, Ambrosio Contarini und Giosafat Barbaro nach Persien. Sie hinterliessen einen wertvollen Reisebericht, der mehrfach gedruckt und herausgegeben ward (so bei Bizaro, a. o O.) und in einer sehr guten Ausgabe der Hakluyt-Society vorliegt: *Travels to Tana and Persia, by Giosafat Barbaro and A. Contarini. Translated from the Italian by W. Thomas...and by S.* [vielmehr: *E.*] *A. Stanley of Alderley. A Narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the* 15*th and* 16*th centuries. Translated and edited by C. Gray. London*, 1873, zwei Teile. Sodann sei verwiesen auf Enrico Cornet: *Giosafatte Barbaro, ambasciatore ad Usunhasan. Lettere al Senato Veneto*, 1473. Vienna, 1852, ferner auf

Cassan fu morto. Da po' de lui successe suo fiol, è padre del ditto Amich(!) Scyaach, et con simile fantasia del padre suo coadunò multa gente, e se mosse a far guerra a l' imperio di Trabesonda, dove se dice, che de lì a Giami [Dschaniq] *fu roto et morto. De lo qual restaron quatro figlioli de più altri; de li quali dicono essere uno captivo, el maggiore, de gran turco*[1]*; uno altro de Anadoli; el terzo non se ne trova, nè de lui è mentione; e l' ultimo è più giovene de questo Amir Scyaach, qual restò ne le fassie picolino, et per una femina salvato et nutrito, tenendolo fina 12 anni dritto li armenti de le pecore.... El qual gran turco* [d. i. der Sultan] *ha convocato multo medirissi* [müderris], *literati et savij de sua secta et ne la lhoro lege, et comandatoli, che debia studiare et vedere, per lege de Dio, se gli è cosa concedente, et se 'l se puol, senza peccato, con arme procedere contra ditto Amir Syaach*[2].

Soweit der ragusäische Bericht. Isma'īl hatte, wie die beiden nunmehr folgenden Nachrichten zeigen, ohne erst *fetwā's* einzuholen, seinem sunnitischen Widerpart schärfsten Kampf angesagt: Sier Domenico Dolfin schreibt am 6. Oktober 1502 aus Rhodos (IV, 417):

Questi Sophì se interpetrano homeni justi; hanno, per suo signor e propheta et homo santo, uno zovene, di età de anni 18 in 20, fiolo di una sorela, che fù de Uson Cassan, de patria et cità nominata Ardevil, il nome suo Ismael. Questo suo signor cercha di destruzer la fede machometana; et in

desselben Verf. *Le guerre dei Veneti nell' Asia*, 1470–1474. Vienna, 1856, sowie auf die höchst wertvollen Arbeiten Gugl. Crist. Berchet's: *La repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Torino, 1865, und *Nuovi documenti e regesti*, Venezia, 1866. Leider fehlen bisher noch Untersuchungen über die Beziehungen Persiens zum übrigen Abendland, wie etwa zu Deutschland und England. Für Spanien und Frankreich verweise ich bei dieser Gelegenheit auf: G. J. C. Pilot: *Relations diplomatiques de Charles V avec la Perse et la Turquie* im *Messager des sciences historiques de Belgique*, Gand, 1843, S. 44–70; Jul. Thieury: *La Perse et la Normandie* (Évreux), 1866; Castonnet des Fosses: *Sur les relations de la France avec la Perse* im *Bulletin de la Société géographique de Tours*, 1889.

[1] Nach Müneddschimbaschi, a. a. O., III. Bd., S. ١٨١, 5 hatte Schejch Ḥajdar aus seiner Ehe mit der Nichte Uzun Ḥasan's 'Alemschāh Begum, drei Söhne, nämlich Isma'īl, 'Alī und Ibrāhīm. Der letzte befand sich in osmanischer Gefangenschaft. Vgl. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II. Band, Pest, 1828, S. 346. Es wäre dringend zu wünschen, dass die wohl auf Ḥusejn Ibn Schejch Abdāl Zāhidī zurückgehende (vgl. P. Horn, im *Grundriss für iran. Phil.*, II. Bd., S. 587 oben) *silsilat an-nasab aṣ-Ṣafawijja*, von der sich aus dem Nachlass Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's eine Handschrift im Besitze E. G. Browne's befindet, durch Druck oder auszugsweise Uebersetzung zugänglich gemacht werde. Vgl. E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge, 1920, S. 474 und 484.

[2] Das fetwā ist bekannt und u. a. bei J. Malcolm übermittelt (I, 334). Darnach war es verdienstvoller einen schī'itischen Perser umzubringen als 70 Christen. Dieser Standpunkt galt auch noch später, vgl. O. Dapper, *Beschreibung des Königreichs Persien*, Nürnberg, 1681, S. 114, sowie *Der Islam*, XI. Bd., S. 90, 2. Anm.

ogni paese aquistato fa brusar li libri machometani; et, per desprecio di la fede, ne le lhor moschee fa intrar canni e cavali; vuol si adori sollo Idio, et luj sij honorato comme propheta e homo santissimo.

Ein am 7. Sept. 1502 zu Levkosia auf Zypern verfasster Brief (IV, 487 ff.) ergänzt und bestätigt in erwünschter Weise diese Mitteilungen; nachdem zuerst von Verhandlungen des *Sophi* mit Bājazīd die Rede ist, wobei es sich um die Duldung seiner Glaubensgenossen im osmanischen Reiche und um Freilassung der Gefangenen handelt (*che dovesse lassar in libertà i soi subditi; et ultra questo, ancor lui dovesse ponersi in testa la bareta rossa, come fano tuti del suo dominio...*[1]), heisst es weiter:

Dicono, dicto Sophis esser potentissimo de danari et arzento; qual ha con si tre sorte de stipendiati: la prima, pedoni, che sono el presidio de la sua persona; secunda, homeni armati, su cavalli grossi, ben in ordine; e de tute queste armature se hanno forniti de quelle de Usson [Sp. 489] Cassan; la terza sono cavalli lizieri; et tuti questi hanno soldo dal signor Sophis... seco conduce in campo gran parte de quelli populi, i qualli voluntiera el segueno a sue spese, solum contenti de veder la faza del suo signor, quel observano con gran reverentia e devotione, per esser persona saputa, formosa et di età de anni XX. Dicono aver con si tre preti armeni, i qualli per anni octo continui sono sta sui preceptori, in lezerli i evanzelij et la sacra scriptura nostra; et usa lingua armena. La fede veramente che 'l tien non se intende, ma si puol far coniectura che 'l sij più presto christiano che altro [nämlich als der Türke], *rispeto che 'l ha facto brusar ne le provintie sue tutti li libri de Machometo, persuadendo i populi, che lassar debino la vana e falssa leze machometana, et adorar Dio vivo, che è in cielo, et che 'l tuto governa. Et è sì cresuto in pochi giorni el nome de Sophis, che è de grandissimo teror in tuta la Turchia*[2]....

[1] Diese rote Mütze, deren Vorhandensein noch in allerneuester Zeit von orientalistischer Seite einfach in Abrede gestellt wurde (vgl. Josef v. Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler am Hofe zu Konstantinopel* usw. in den *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 62. Band, 1918, S. 87, 4. Anm.) hat so sicher bestanden wie die ganz ähnlich geformte Bektaschi-Mütze. Bei der zunehmenden Anzahl der Anhänger Isma'īls kam sie natürlich in Wegfall und ward, wie aus späteren Reiseberichten hervorgeht (O. Dapper, usw.) nur bestimmten Hofbeamten am Sefewī-Hof verliehen. Dass übrigens lange vor dem Auftreten der Sefewīs in Persien eine rote Mütze in Benützung war, scheint mir eine von E. G. Browne mitgeteilte Stelle (vgl. *JRAS*, 1902, S. 587, S. 21 des Sonderdrucks der *History of the Seljúqs*). Dort wird (um 1200 A.D.!) berichtet, dass des Seldschuqen Isrā'īl Sohn Qutalmisch von Indien nach Sīstān über die *Rotkappenwüste* (بیابان سرخ کلاهان) entweicht! Zu *surh-gulāh* vgl. die *zarkula* (زرکلاه) geheissene Kopfbedeckung bei den Byzantinern. Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, Bonner Ausgabe, S. 134 und *Der Islam*, XI. Band, S. 54, 1. Anmerkung, sowie R. Dozy, *Vêtements*, Amsterdam, 1845, S. 100 ff.

[2] Vgl. dazu Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pil-*

Ein gewaltiger Schrecken freilich bedeutete das Auftreten Isma'ils für die osmanische Herrschaft. Stambul war in grösster Aufregung (IV, 347):

e de' soi moti è fato gran extimatione in Constantinopoli.

Der neue Prophet, der *daddschāl*, bildete das Tagesgespräch in der Hauptstadt. Mehrmals ward er totgesagt (V, 17, 25), bedenkliche Nachrichten über die unheimlich anwachsende Anhängerschaft liefen am Sultanshof aus den kleinasiatischen Bezirken ein. Schon im September 1502 drang die Kunde nach Stambul, dass der 'Sophi' bereits in Anatolien eingefallen sei:

el signor Soffì...descendendo de Tauris, vene a la via de Trabesonda, è intrato nel paexe di l' otoman

(IV, 320), was der *capitanio generale di mare* Sier Benedetto da Pesaro an Bord vor Santa Maura (Leukos), 18. Sept. 1502 mit den Worten bestätigt:

è a nova, Sophi è intrato in la Natalia

(IV, 340). Die Bewohner Anatoliens indessen zeigten sich, wie aus allen Berichten nicht nur bei Marino Sanuto deutlich hervorgeht, der neuen Lehre keineswegs abgeneigt. Im Gegenteil, in Scharen schloss man sich Isma'īl an. Freilich war in Kleinasien längst der Boden dafür vorbreitet. Die Landschaften Tekke-eli[1] und Ḥamīd-eli zum mindesten be-

grimages, v. Band, London, 1626, S. 384. Darnach weigerten sich manche der Krieger Isma'īls, eine Rüstung zu tragen, wenn sie unter seinen Fahnen fochten, und seine Soldaten pflegten mit entblösster Brust unter dem Schlachtruf *Schāh, schāh!* in den Kampf zu ziehen und für ihres Abgottes heilige Sache zu fechten. Vgl. dazu des Kantakuzenen Teodoro Spandugino gewissenhafte Mitteilungen bei F. Sansovino, *Dell' Historia universale dell' origine et imperio de' Turchi*, Venezia, 1568, 98 b ff., ferner *Der Islam*, XI. Band, S. 87, sowie hier weiter unten S. 46.

[1] Hans Löwenklau erwähnt in seinem, für die türkische Kulturgeschichte übrigens überraschend ergiebigen *Onomasticon* am Ende seiner *Hist. Musulm. Turcorum*, Spalte 867: Teke, regio Phrygiae maiori, Armeniae minori, Lydiaeque contermina. Dicta Turcis videtur a solitudinibus, quae sunt in ea frequentes, et olim habebat Calogeros, nunc Deruislarios. Es ist sicher, dass der Name von den zahlreichen Einsiedeleien (*solitudines*) der schī'itischen Derwische herrührt, die gerade dort mit Vorliebe ihre *tekke*'s und *zāwije*'s errichtet zu haben scheinen. Ob allerdings schon in byzantinischer Zeit hier christliche Mönche (καλόγηροι) hausten und ihre Klausen von den Derwischen übernommen wurden, ist mir unbekannt. In Kilikien freilich sind gewisse Höhlen seit uralten Zeiten als Behausungen von Einsiedlern nachweisbar.

kannten sich lange zum Ketzerglauben. Auch das Land des Qaramān-oghlu[1] war ihr, wie der Fürst wohl selbst, keinesfalls abhold. Gerade für eine Geschichte des Fürstentums der Qaramānen liefert, nebenbei gesagt, die Chronik Sanuto's die überraschendsten Aufschlüsse[1]. Sier Andrea Morosini, ein in Aleppo ansässiger venezianischer Kaufmann, meldet von dort unterm 23. Jan. 1503:

Adhuc dura [nämlich Isma'īl] *con gran fama, in tanta gratia che mai fo udita la simile. È zovene di anni 18, bello di aspeto, e fa cosse mirabile. Tutti quelli paesi di l' Azimia voluntarie se meteno sotto il suo governo. La fama sua è grande, e si el tolesse l' impresa contro il Turco, felice la cristianità, che invero el ge daria da far.*

(v, 25). Ein Eintrag im Tagebuch vom Dezember 1503 besagt weiter:

...et maxime che nel paese di questo signor molti seguitano la secta dil dicto Sofis, et ex consequenti lo desiderano...

(v, 466). Am 14. Sept. 1502 berichtet der *oratore* Sier Domenico Dolfin aus Rhodos:

De li progressi del qual [d. i. Isma'īls] *dice, come i caramani* [= die Qaramānen] *e tutti quelli de Sexuar* [Schehsuwār] *se hanno fati de la sua setta. A presso, comme a la volta de Charasseri* [= (Afiūn) Qara-Ḥiṣār] *l' è intrato nel paese del turco tre zornate; et che quel paese li dà obedientia; et che 'l se ritrova lontan da Angori* [Angora] *do zornate. Quale, havendo inteso che 'l turco fa morir quanti el puol haver di soi, ha usato alcuna asperità, in far morir alcuni machometani, subditi dil turcho...*

(iv, 406). Im März 1507 vermeldet ein ausführlicher Stimmungsbericht über die stambuler Zustände an den Dogen Leonardo Loredano (vii, 22):

...De la seta del qual Ardevelli [Erdebili] *significo a vostra celsitudine esserne assaissimi in Constantinopolli, et tutavia oculti, però che non è alchuno ardito parlar moto di lui, per il teror grando et spavento ne è.*

[1] Eine Geschichte der Qaramān-oghlu, die längst verkappte Schī'iten gewesen sein dürften, steht leider noch aus. Der Begründer dieses Fürstentums war jener Nure (Nūr, Nūri, Nūr ed-dīn) ṣufi, der mit dem oben (S. 33, Anm.) genannten Baba Iljās im Bunde stand. Wichtige Aufschlüsse ergeben sich vielleicht aus dem meines Wissens nur in einer einzigen Abschrift in Europa bekannten Geschichtswerk des Ajas Pascha aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, das nach É. Blochet, *Catalogue de la coll. de mss. orientaux formée par M. Ch. Schefer*, Paris, 1907, S. 157 eine *Histoire des princes de la dynastie ottomane, précédée d'un abrégé de l'histoire des Seldjouks et des souverains du pays de Karaman* enthält und die Standnummer MS 1021 der Scheferschen Sammlung trägt. Eine gründliche Geschichte der Qaramān-oghlu liesse sich vielleicht allein mit Hilfe der reichlich fliessenden europäischen Berichte (B. de la Brocquière usw.) schreiben. Vgl. einstweilen Khalīl Edhem Bej's trefflichen türkischen Aufsatz im 11. Hefte der *Ta'rīḫ-i 'osmānī endschümeni medschmū'asi*, S. 697–712, Stambul, 1911.

In dieser Schilderung, die *De l'Ardevelli o vero Sophi* handelt, ist übrigens ausführlich über die Eroberungszüge Isma'īls und seine Unternehmungen gegen *Abdula* d. i. 'Alā' ad-dawla, den Herrn von Ḏu'lqadrijje, die Rede.

Gegenüber dem bedrohlichen Ueberhandnehmen der Irrlehre hatte man schon frühzeitig durchgreifende Massnahmen zu ihrer Unterdrückung getroffen. Bereits im April 1502 (IV, 255) hatte der Grossherr

fato morir tutti quelli che 'l ['dem Schah Isma'īl] *seguitava che poteva haver ne le man.*

Als diese offenbar nicht oder nur wenig fruchteten, schritt man zu Zwangsmassregeln, zur gewaltsamen Verschickung der Schī'iten in Kleinasien. Wenn auch die Gefolgsleute Isma'īls sich auf ganz Anatolien verteilt haben dürften—

et mirifice propensi erga Schechum Ismailem Anatolicorum omnium erant animi,

heisst es gar in Hans Löwenklau's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (Sp. 691, 37)—so wohnte die Hauptmasse doch zweifellos in den Landschaften Tekke-eli und Ḥamīd-eli in Kilikien. In dieser Gegend erstand am Trauertag von Kerbelā, am 10. Muḥarrem 916 (Ende April 1510[1]) jener Schejṭān-quli, wie ihn die Türken hiessen. Hier war der Hauptherd schī'itischer Wühltätigkeit. Erbarmungslos wütete nun Bājazīd II. gegen die Irrgläubigen und Feinde seines Hauses. Alle Gelehrten vor allem, die der neuen Lehre anhingen und zu ihrer Verbreitung beitrugen, wurden im Jahre 1502 zu Paaren getrieben, und, so erzählt Teodoro Spandugino, am Gesicht mit einer Brandmarke versehen aus Kleinasien nach den europäischen Provinzen, besonders aber nach den neueroberten Gebieten des Reiches (Morea, Albanien, Serbien) verschleppt[2]. Am 25. Juli 1502 (IV, 309) meldet der venezanische Konsul von Chios (*Syo, Scio*[3]):

[1] So nach Sa'd üd-dīn, *tādsch üt-tewārīḫ*, Stambul, 1279, II. Band, S. 162, unten, wo ausdrücklich erwähnt wird, dass das Ereignis auf die 'Aschūrā fiel.

[2] Vgl. dazu die in *Der Islam*, XI. Bd., S. 90, 1. Anm. und S. 92 mitgeteilten Stellen aus Spandugino und Giov. Rota.

[3] Interessant ist auch für die Geschichte des kleinasiatischen Löwen in islamischer Zeit die nun folgende Stelle (IV, 309):

Et alguni hanno ditto, che ditto profeta Allì se intende esser quello, lo qual li christiani levano per insegna in forma del lion, che non puol esser salvo che San Marcho, e non devela el bever vino, e vuol ogni cossa in comun.

Ueber 'Alī—Ḥajdar—Schīr, usw. vgl. meine Bemerkungen in *Der Islam*, XI. Band, S. 83, 4. Anm. sowie S. 91, 1. Anm.

Et questo, perchè vede è nel suo paese molti di questa secta, dei qual non cessa de far passar continuamente de la Natolia su la Grecia, e manda quelli in le parte di Modon, Coron, Nepanto [Lepanto] *e Albania. E unsa compassion veder li strazzi hanno questi tali, con lor moglie e fioli; non è mai zorno che non passi de la Natolia su la Grecia 100 e 200 fameie.*

Diese Verpflanzung gehört zu den nicht nur religionsgeschichtlich sondern auch völkerkundlich bemerkenswertesten Ereignissen in der islamischen Geschichte. Sie ist nicht ohne Vorläufer, wenn auch vorher die Beweggründe zur Abwanderung weniger gewaltsamer Art waren wie hier. In der Abhandlung über *Schejch Bedr ed-dīn* wurde auf mehrere hingewiesen; vgl. S. 24, Anm. Von den auf Morea, in Albanien, Serbien und Bulgarien damals angesiedelten Schī'iten haben sich, wie ich hoffe glaubhaft gemacht zu haben, bis auf den heutigen Tag jene Qizilbaschen erhalten (a. a. O. S. 99 ff.). Damit dürfte das Rätsel 'Qizilbasch' eine vielleicht befriedigende Lösung gefunden haben. Man muss, um das geheimnisvolle Dunkel, das alle diese Verbände kennzeichnet, sich zu erklären, die klassische Abhandlung Ignaz Goldziher's über die *taqijja* in der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LX. Band, S. 213 ff. nachlesen. Dann wird wie mit einem Schlage alles verständlich.

Aber alle Gewaltmittel des Grossherrn nützten wenig. Im Gegenteil, mit desto grössrer Zähigkeit schlossen sich die Anhänger Isma'īls in ihren bedrohten Gemeinden zusammen, desto zahlreicher scharten sie sich um diese mit geheimnisvoller Anziehungskraft begabte Persönlichkeit des Schāhs. Mit den zu den denkwürdigsten Zeugnissen für die Werbekraft der Ṣafawijja gehört jener ausführliche Brief des Sier Giovanni Morosini (Zuan Moresini) aus Damaskus vom 5. März 1508 (nicht 1507, wie es im Druck VII, 526 irrtümlich heisst). Aus ihm können nur die wichtigsten, auf die Person Isma'īls bezüglichen Stellen hier mitgeteilt werden; der Schreiber hatte von einigen fränkischen Sklaven, die sich im Lager des Schāhs befunden und ihn aus nächster Nähe erschaut hatten, die wundersame Kunde erfahren. Er vergisst nicht zu bemerken (VII, 531):

Da che dico, questa cossa esser mirabile a li zorni nostri, et non esser fabula come è stati alcuni, de che, per parer da savij, non voleno creder a chi vede e sano. Alcuni mori [Mauren, Araber] *credeno, questo esser il tempo de la sua desolation, et ch' è questa sua setta pronosticata et predicta, si dal suo*

Martin (!) *come da' astrologi et altri suo' propheti, et quasi che per le cosse antedicte li vedo a la via. Alcuni de sti frati de Jerusalem credeno, per opere stupende el fa et miraculose, el sia Antecristo.*

Aber nicht nur die Franziskaner in der heiligen Stadt witterten hier den Antichrist und fühlten sich in einer *fatra*, sondern vor allem die Muslime. Denn der in allen alten Reiseberichten für Isma'īl wiederkehrende Name *Techelles* ist nichts weiter wie *daddschāl*. Hören wir nun, was Morosini noch berichtet (IV, 530):

Affirma, costui esser adorato in loco de uno Alì, parente et apostolo di Martin [so! siehe oben[1]] *et lui ha visto far a le sue zente d' arme la oration nel pavion, et che, velato capite*[2] *Sophì era in mezo de una grande corona et circulo de li principal persi del campo; et cossì, come sti mori danno laude a Mareni, cussì quelli, eodem modo, adora el Sophì. Et è nominato non re, nè principe, ma sancto et propheta etc. Deinde esser bellissimo zovene, senza barba, studiosissimo et doctissimo in letere, et non lascivo a solito de' persi; homo de grande justitia et senza alcuna avidità, et molto piu liberal de Alexandro, anci prodigo de tutto, perchè, come li vien el danaro, subito lo distribuisse, in modo che el par un Dio in terra; et che, come a li templi se offerisce, cussì tutta la Persia li offerisce le sue facultà, et hano de gratia che tanto sancto se degni acceptarle; et che 'l restituisse in signoria tutti li schaziati et forausciti indebitamente; et che, come religioso, vive et se contenta de quanto ha uno minimo et privato homo, et ha tamen qualche schiava et non ancor legitima moglier*[3]. *Et che 'l non se ge beve vino, nè palese, nè occulto; ma che qual che volta manza certa ciba, ch' è alquanto aliena, et che allora commette qualche severità. Et che l' è, tamquam sanctus sanctorum, pien de divination, perchè mai se consiglia, non se à mai curato, etiam in pueritia, tuor conseglio da alcun; et che per questo tutti crede el sij, ad ogni sua operation, divinitus inspirato...*

(folgt die bemerkenswerte Schilderung des Katzentiers, *gatto* [wohl = *gattopardo*, Leoparden, Löwen (*ḥajdar*)] in Isma'īls Nähe und seines *pavion*). Die abgöttische Verehrung, die der

[1] Dieses zweimal wiederkehrende Martin hat natürlich mit dem gleichnamigen Heiligen oder Luther sicher nichts zu tun, wird vielmehr die Entstellung irgend eines arabischen Wortes mit Angleichung sein.

[2] Sehr wichtige Nachricht. Die Verschleierung wird nämlich auch von andren islamischen Herrschern bezeugt. Vgl. z. B. N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I. Band, S. 35 (Gotha, 1908): Auf einem Throne sass der Kalif (der Bujide Mu'izz ad-dawla), schwarz verschleiert und angetan mit dem schwarzen Mantel des Propheten [so!]....

[3] Nach G. M. Angiolello (vgl. *Travels of Venetians in Persia*, Hakluyt Soc., London, 1873, S. 106) heiratete Schāh Isma'īl die Enkelin 'Taslucanum' (= ? + khanum), die Tochter Sultan Ja'qūb's, Sohnes des Uzun Ḥasan, als er erst 15 oder 16 Jahre alt war. Aus dieser Ehe stammte wohl Ṭahmāsp, der 918 (d. i. 1512/13) geboren sein muss, da er beim Regierungsantritt erst elf Jahre gezählt haben soll. Die anderen Söhne Sām Mīrzā, Behrām Mīrzā, Rustem Mīrzā müssen dessen Halbbrüder gewesen sein und von verschiedenen Frauen stammen, da sie nach dem *Ḥabīb-us-Sijar* alle im September 1517 zur Welt kamen.

Schāh bei seinen Anhängern genoss, wird durch weitere Zeugnisse bestätigt. So berichtet[1] (VII, 631) der Bailo Sier Andrea Foscolo unterm 6./13. August 1508 aus Stambul:

El qual Sophi è potente et a grandissima ubedientia ; adeo li homeni nel suo campo si fa amazar per amor di Sophi, dicendo : Tajame la testa per Sophi ! E moreno contenti....

Derselbe Gesandte ergänzt seine Angaben am 10. August 1508 (vii, 638) mit den Worten:

Una cossa miranda se dice de la obedientia che il dicto Sophi ha dai suo', et l' amor et devotion li portano, inter reliqua, che quando el cavalcha, el più de le volte se li butano davanti brigate, le qual, oblato capite, rechiedeno esser amazati et voler sparzer el sangue per amor suo, et se fano tagliar la testa.

Wohin Ismaʿīl auf seinen Heereszügen drang, überall warf man sich ihm zu Füssen und begrüsste ihn als Herrscher. Zumal in Kleinasien dauerte der Zulauf unvermindert an. Priamo Malipiero, der gerade aus Qonja und Qaramān angelangt war, schildert Ende August 1507 den Rektoren von Zypern seine Eindrücke *de le nove et cosse del signor Sophis* wie folgt (VII, 167):

...tuta la Caramania et altri luogi et paesi circum circa se reduriano a la devotion de esso Sophis, per esser inclinatissimi a quello ; tanta hè la extimation e fama di quello, per esser signor liberalissimo, et far optima compagnia a tuto homo. Et hè homo valoroso, de gran spirito et animo ; et hè zovene de anni 24 in circa ; et tuti li suo' seguazi portano le berete rosse, et hè nominato signor de la testa rossa....

Am 26. September des gleichen Jahres melden die *rettori* von Zypern (VII, 182):

[1] Dieser Bericht ist auch deshalb von weitrem Interesse, weil darin vom Khān der Uezbegen, wohl Schejbek Khān, die Rede ist, der fortan, wegen seiner und der Seinigen Kopfbedeckung, *signor de la bareta* (*testa*) *verde* geheissen wird (VII, 631 : El qual signor porta bareta verde, e cussì la sua seta). Hier liegt wohl der Ursprung des Namens *jäschilbasch* zum Unterschied von *qizilbasch*. In späteren Berichten wird dann streng geschieden zwischen dem *signor de la bareta* (*testa*) *rossa*, dem Schāh Ismaʿīl ; dem *s. de la bareta verde*, dem Uezbegen oder Tatarkhān (Herrn von Tschagatei, wie aus XV, 439 (vgl. dazu X, 551, wo *Zagilai* wohl = *Zagatai* ; XVII, 516 : *dominus biratorum viridium*) hervorgeht : Del signor de Chiagatai et la sua militia che sono chiamati jachipachilie [*jäschilbaschlar !*]. Zu *jäschilbasch* vgl. übrigens A. von Le Coq im *Orientalischen Archiv*, III. Jahrg., 1913, S. 64 ff.) dem *signor de la bareta bianca*, dem Grossherrn (vgl. *Der Islam*, XI. Bd., S. 75) und schliesslich dem *signor de la bareta nera*, worunter der Fürst von Georgien verstanden wird. Die Farbe der Kopfbedeckung, die Uezbegen vielleicht ausgenommen, wird wohl lediglich den betreffenden Fürsten gekennzeichnet haben. Vgl. auch A. Houtum-Schindler. *JRAS.* 1897, S. 114 ff.

Etiam tuta la Caramania è sotosopra, e tutti aspetarlo con gran desiderio....

Und am 10. Oktober 1507 schreibt Sier Giacomo Badoer, *consigliere* auf Zypern, an seinen Sohn u. a. (VII, 187):

Tutta la Caramania era sottosopra; e intenderà, spiero avanti mia partita, si 'l prosperera o no.

Am 27. September 1507 berichtet (VII, 263) der dortige Konsul auf Grund einer ihm durch einen armenischen Kaufmann übermittelten Botschaft die folgende Neuigkeit. Der Gewährsmann war am 1. Sept. erst von Angora aufgebrochen. Der Schāh lagerte damals

presso una terra grossa de ditto signor turcho, chiamata Chaisagna [d. i. Caesarea, Qaisarijje]. *El sanzacho* [sandschaq] *di qual terra è andato a l' incontro de ditto signor Sophi con presenti, et honoratolo.*

Isma'īl erwiderte dem Sandschaqbej, dass er nicht gekommen sei, um das Land zu verwüsten, und wies sein Heer an, keine Lebensmittel ohne Bezahlung von der Bevölkerung zu nehmen. Was Wunder, wenn der Grossherr in Stambul ernstlich für seinen Besitz zu bangen begann, und alle Massnahmen traf, der um sich greifenden Pest Einhalt zu tun. Hersek Aḥmed Pascha ward beauftragt, die Dardanellenschlösser instand zu setzen, da man einen Angriff der Perser auf diese befürchtete. Der *padrone di nave*, Sier Girolamo (de) Matio übermittelte folgende Nachricht aus der osmanischen Hauptstadt (Oktober 1507, VII, 168):

...in Constantinopoli si stava con gran terror; et che le zente de la Natolia si acordavano con dito Sophis per tal modo, che lo exercito del dito Sophis ogni zorno più augmentava, et quello del turcho indebeliva; et che andavano anche mal contenti et con molto timor, per el seguito grande et felici prosperamenti ha esso signor Sophis; et che 'l turcho haveva spazato Carzicho bassà, per fortificar li dardaneli de Mar Mazor, per dubito non siano tolti dal prelibato Sophis....

So stand es am Ende der Regierung Bājazīd's II. um die schī'itische Sache im Reiche. Es wäre wohl um die Herrschaft des Hauses 'Osmān geschehen gewesen, wenn nicht in seinem Sohn und Nachfolger Selīm jener rücksichtslos durchgreifende Sultan erstanden wäre, der mit einem Vollmass von Grausamkeit, der er den Beinamen *jawuz* verdankt, gegen diese Reichsgefahr einschritt und jenes entsetzliche Blutbad unter Isma'īl's Anhängern anrichtete, das in der Schlacht bei Tschaldiran seinen vorläufigen Abschluss fand. Es lag nicht im Plan dieser Aufsatzes, alle kriegerischen

Massnahmen Selīms wider Isma'īl und die Seinen auf Grund der Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Sanuto's darzustellen. Es steckt überreicher Stoff dafür in den folgenden Folianten und es wird Aufgabe eines zukünftigen Geschichtsschreibers der Ṣafawijja sein, diese kostbaren Ueberlieferungen im strengen Zusammenhalt mit der sonstigen Forschung zu verwerten. Es kann hier auch nicht, so reizvoll es wäre, der Versuch unternommen werden, mit Hilfe der Sanuto'schen Angaben mehr Klarheit in Zahl und Art der Stämme zu bringen, die dem Schâh Gefolgschaft leisteten und die seine Leibwache bildeten. Ich denke hier vor allem an die Tekkelü (aus Tekke!), Schāmlü (aus Syrien) genannten Verbände, von deren Geschichte nicht viel mehr bekannt ist als über die der *qurtschī*, der Kurden (?), die Isma'īls Praetorianer waren (vgl. dazu M. Sanuto, v, 196: *Curgi*; vii, 267):

dicto Sophì haver homeni e cavalli numero 30 milia, coverti loro et lhor cavalli, et teribili combatitori, che za mai se renderano, ma ben volevano morir al nome del so signor.

Ebenso muss der Versuchung widerstanden werden, die Beziehungen, die Schâh Isma'īl mit der Signoria von Venedig anknüpfte (vgl. den Wortlaut seines Briefes, vi, 302 [zu den Inschriften auf den Münzen vgl. man noch vii, 270], der aus dem ehrwürdigen Archiv ai Frari einmal hervorgezogen werden müsste!), hier in ihrem Verlauf zu schildern oder die belangvollen, dort vergrabnen Angaben des Arztes Giovanni Rota (Brief aus Aleppo vom 26. August 1504, vi, 93 ff.) mit den übrigen, so wichtigen gedruckten und ungedruckten Nachrichten dieses Gelehrten über den *Sophi*[1] zu vergleichen. Nur ein paar flüchtige Bemerkungen mögen, gleichsam als Zusammenfassung und Gesamtbetrachtung,

[1] Giovanni Rota aus Venetien, der ebenso wie der aus Rovreit in Südtirol stammende Geschichtsschreiber der späteren persisch-türkischen Kämpfe, Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi († 1615) viele Jahre an italienischen Levantekonsulaten tätig war und eine gründliche Kenntnis des Morgenlandes besessen haben muss, hinterliess eine mehrfach gedruckte (erstmals 1508 wohl zu Venedig) und übersetzte (so eine Verdeutschung, Augsburg, 1515) Schrift *Vita, costumi e statura di Sofi*. Eine handschriftliche Abhandlung Rota's über den nämlichen Gegenstand und wohl die Vorlage für den Druck hat sich als *MS X F 50* auf der Biblioteca Nazionale zu Neapel erhalten. Vgl. dazu meine Angaben in *Der Islam*, xi. Band, S. 79, Anm.; S. 85, Anm.; S. 86, 2. Anm. G. Rota's Schrift bildet mit eine der wichtigsten zeitgenössischen europäischen Quellen für die Geschichte der Ṣafawijja.

im Anschluss an diese Auszüge aus Sanuto's Diarien gestattet sein! Betrachtet man diese ganzen Geschehnisse nicht vom trocknen Chronistenstandpunkt aus, versucht man vielmehr ihren tieferen Ursachen nachzugehen, so wird man zunächst um eine Erklärung verlegen sein. Wie konnte es geschehen, dass ein Jüngling, ja ein Knabe mit 15 Jahren sich plötzlich und im Nu die Herzen von Tausenden eroberte, dass er sich an die Spitze eines geordneten Heeres stellen und binnen kurzem ganze Länderstrecken sich untertan machen konnte? Sehe ich recht, so wird man dieser wundersamen Erscheinung erst gerecht, wenn man den Begriff der *schī'at 'Alī* seines rein dogmatischen Gepräges, gleichsam der arabischen Auffassung entkleidet und ihn vom psychologischen, letzten Endes aber vom rassenpsychologischen Gesichtspunkt aus zu werten versucht. Es ist nämlich gewiss kein Zufall, dass die Träger schī'itischer Bewegungen fast immer arische Perser waren, dass andrerseits die Schī'a im arabisch-semitischen Bereich niemals zu dieser Ausprägung und Blüte gelangen konnte wie in Persien selbst. Denn was unter den 'Abbāsiden etwa im Sinne 'alīdischer Bestrebungen erkennbar ist, war im Wesen niemals semitisch, sondern stets persischen Ursprungs (vgl. die Barmekiden). Es ist weiterhin nicht zufällig, dass das Derwischwesen, das seine Ursprünge in Indien und Persien hat, niemals auf arabischem Boden richtig Wurzel fassen konnte, sondern stets nur in Irān, später freilich auch im türkischen Reich und im hamitischen Maghreb gedieh. Die Faṭimiden aber, vielleicht die einzige wirklich 'alīdische Herrschaft in den Ländern des Khalifats, sind ebenfalls auf nordafrikanischem Boden erwachsen und persischer Herkunft. Im arabischen Sprachgebiet hat es, von kümmerlichen Versuchen abgesehen, niemals ein Derwischtum im persisch-türkischen Sinne gegeben. Hier müssen notgedrungen rassenpsychologische Gründe mitsprechen. Schon in meiner Studie über *Schejch Bedr ed-dīn* habe ich die Behauptung aufgestellt, dass der Zusammenhang der Schī'a mit den *ahl ṭarīq* keineswegs etwa zufällig ist, vielmehr seine notwendigen seelischen Gründe hat (S. 3 ff.). Der 'Alī- und Ḥusejn-Kult aber, der mit der Imām-Vergötterung das Wesen der Schī'a ausmacht, leitet seinerseits wieder unmittelbar, ja zwanglos auf den mit dem Derwischtum eng verknüpften Ṣūfismus

über. Die Verherrlichung der sogenannten mystischen Schejche, wie wir sie aus Hunderten von *wilājetnāme*'s genau kennen lernen können, ist kennzeichnend für diese Bestrebungen und diese Geistesart. Und es ist unschwer zu begreifen, warum diese abgöttische Verehrung eines lebenden Meisters leicht an die Imām-Schwärmerei der Schī'a anknüpfen konnte. Irre ich nicht, so rührt man hier an die wichtigsten Fragestellungen der Religions- und Rassenpsychologie. Unter derlei Gesichtspunkten geschaut und in der Erwägung, dass Lehren und Vorstellungen in Glaubenssachen eben nicht das Ursprüngliche sind, sondern ein Erleben ganz andrer Art, erscheint das von Thomas Carlyle so wundervoll behandelte Thema *On heroes and hero-worship* in gänzlich anderer Beleuchtung. Es ist kein Zweifel, dass die Schī'a, zumal die in der Ṣafawījja verkörperte Gattung, in der religionspsychologischen Forschung dereinst eine wichtige Rolle spielen wird. In ihr liegt ein unendlich reicher Tatsachen- und Beweis-Stoff vor. Darum ist ernstlich zu wünschen, dass sich recht bald jemand diesen so dankbaren Vorwurf erwähle und eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der Ṣefewī-Bewegung liefere. Niemand unter den Lebenden wäre hiezu besser gerüstet als der Altmeister der Erforschung persischer Geschichte, Literatur und Kultur, dem diese wenigen Seiten als bescheidne Gabe—

yet my good will is great, though the gift small
(SHAKESPEARE, *Pericles*, III, 4, 18)—

zugedacht sein sollen. Würde er sich durch sie ermuntert fühlen, diesem für die Islamkunde, ja für die ganze Religionsforschung so wichtigen Problem seine nähere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken und es erschöpfend zu behandeln, so wäre damit eine lang gehegte Hoffnung erfüllt.

FRANZ BABINGER.

WÜRZBURG, am 21. Sept. 1920,
dem 400. Todestag Sultan Selīm's I.

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

That all the Arabic lexicons hitherto published are very defective and that most of them contain many errors is generally acknowledged. In the year 1908 the plan of a new and comprehensive Arabic lexicon was discussed at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen, and certain provisional arrangements were made for carrying out the scheme; but whether any one now living is likely to see its completion I do not venture to guess. In the meanwhile it is desirable that those who have made notes bearing on the subject should give them to the world. Had this been done by all the Arabists of the nineteenth century, we should now be much nearer the goal.

The following remarks are intended primarily to supply fresh information, or fresh evidence for statements in the existing lexicons. Thus, for instance, many of the expressions which Dozy, in his *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (1881), cites on the authority of late authors, or even of modern dictionaries, really occur in Arabic literature of the classical period, and such cases are worth pointing out. I have also taken the opportunity of rectifying errors which are likely to mislead future students, in particular some mistakes which are to be found in the Glossary to my edition of the *Naqā'iḍ*. That many of my suggestions have been anticipated by others is highly probable, but apart from well-known facts I have not consciously reproduced anything without acknowledgement.

For the sake of convenience the material is arranged in the order of the verbal roots. In the spelling of Arabic names I have followed the system of transliteration which has lately been recommended by the British Academy.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abū Dharr:	Commentary on Ibn Hishām, ed. Brönnle (1911).
Abū Miḥjan:	*Dīwān*, ed. Abel (1887).
Agh.:	*Kitāb al-Aghānī.*
Akhṭal:	*Dīwān*, ed. Salhani (1891).
'Alq.:	'Alqamah, in Ahlwardt's *Six Poets* (1870).
Asās:	*Asās al-Balāghah* (Būlāq, A.H. 1299).
Azraqī:	in Wüstenfeld's *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (vol. i, 1858).
Baiḍ.:	Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer (1846–1848).
Balādh.:	Balādhurī, ed. De Goeje (1866).
Bibl. geogr.:	*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje (1870–1894).
Bukh.:	Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, completed by Juynboll (1862–1908).
Bukhalā:	Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalā*, ed. Van Vloten (1900).
Dīnaw.:	Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass (1888). Supplement, ed. Kratchkovsky (1912).
Fakhrī:	*Al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg (1895).
Farazd. B.:	Farazdaq, ed. Boucher (1870).
Ham.:	*Ḥamāsah*, ed. Freytag (1828–1851).
Hudh. K.:	*The Hudsailian Poems*, ed. Kosegarten (vol. i, 1854).
Hudh. W.:	Continuation of the same, in Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft i (1884).
Ibn H.:	Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld (1858–1860).
Ibn Khall.:	Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld (1835–1850).
Ibn Qut. Sh.:	Ibn Qutaibah, *Kitāb ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā*, ed. De Goeje (1904).
Ibn Sa'd:	*Biographien*, ed. Sachau and others (1904–1918).
Imr.:	Imru'ul-Qais, in Ahlwardt's *Six Poets.*
Labīd Br.:	*Dīwān*, 2nd part, ed. Brockelmann (1891).
Labīd Ch.:	*Dīwān*, 1st part, ed. Chalidi (1880).
Lāmīyah:	*Lāmīyah* of ash-Shanfarà.
Maqq.:	Maqqarī, ed. Dozy and others (1855–1860).
Mubarrad:	*Kāmil*, ed. Wright (1864–1881).
Mufaḍḍ. C.:	*Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, Cairo ed. (1906).
Mufaḍḍ. Th.:	The same, ed. Thorbecke (1885).
Mufaṣṣal:	ed. Broch (1859).
Musl. D.:	*Dīwān* of Muslim ibn al-Walīd, ed. De Goeje (1875).
Musl. Ṣ.:	*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (Cairo, A.H. 1290).
Mutanabbi:	ed. Dieterici (1861).
Muwashshà:	*Kitāb al-Muwashshà*, ed. Brünnow (1886).
Nāb.:	Nābighah, in Ahlwardt's *Six Poets.*
Naq.:	*Naqā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan (1905–1912).
Nöld. Beitr.:	Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber* (1864).
Qālī:	*Kitāb al-Amālī* (Būlāq, A.H. 1324).
Qazwīnī:	*Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld (1848).
Ṭab.:	Ṭabarī, ed. De Goeje and others (1879–1890).
Th. u. M.:	*Thier und Mensch*, ed. Dieterici, 2nd ed., 1881.
Yaḥyà:	Yaḥyà ibn Adàm, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Juynboll (1896).
Yāqūt:	*Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld (1866–1873).

أبر أَبَّرَ means not only *to fertilize* a date-palm (Mubarrad 137^{4}) but also *to produce* something *by means of fertilisation*, e.g. إِنَّمَا التَّمْرُ لِمَنْ أَبَّرَهُ "dates belong to him who cultivates them," Ibn H. 13^{12}.

أبل For أَبَابِيلُ applied to *troops of horses*, see Ibn H. 590^{4} (= Ṭab. i 1429^{14}), ʻAmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufail (ed. Lyall) No. 23 *v.* 6.

أتى أَتَى *to elapse* is construed with لِ in the sense of *after*, أَتَى لِذَلِكَ عَامٌ, Ḥam. 191^{18}.

أُتِيَ *to be unsuccessful* in an enterprise, Baladh. 187^{14}: *to be visited by an apparition* (= أَتَاهُ آتٍ), Ibn H. 91^{9}, cf. 91^{15}.

آتَى (3rd conj.) *to help*, Ḥam. 48^{27}.

أثر آثَرُ *preferable, dearer*, Dīnaw. 69^{1} [read آثَرُ, not أَثَرَ].

أثل أَثَّلَ *to found* a kingdom, Maqq. i 212^{22}.

أثم أَثِمَ *to act treacherously* (see Wellhausen, *Skizzen* iv 69^{1} seq.) is construed with بِ of the person injured, Ibn H. 343^{10}.

حَلَفَ عَلَى إِثْمٍ—إِثْمٌ *to commit perjury*, Ibn H. 778^{9}.

أجل أَجَلْ *yea* is used to confirm not only a statement of some one else but also a previous statement of the speaker, e.g. Agh. iii 72^{18}.

أَجْلَ or إِجْلَ (without مِن or لِ) *because of...*, for which a verse of ʻAdī ibn Zaid is cited in the Lexicons, occurs also in another verse of the same poet, Agh. ii 26^{5} (= 34^{4}).

مَأْجَلٌ *pond*, Agh. xix 33^{21}.

أجن أَجْنٌ or آجِنٌ *dirty water* has a pl. أَوَاجِنُ, Agh. ii 41^{22}.

إِجَّانَةٌ, from Aram. *aggānā*, usually means *a basin for washing clothes* etc., but al-Farazdaq (B. p. 66^{2}) uses it for *a wine-jar*; that it is not here a "wine-bowl" appears from the fact that it is "sealed" (مُخَتَّمَة).

أخذ أَخَذَ الحَقَّ—أَخَذَ *he seized his right*, i.e. *he took vengeance*, Ḥam. 186^{6}, likewise without الحَقَّ, e.g. خُذْ لِعُثْمَانَ مِنِّي "Avenge ʻUthmān upon me!" Fakhrī 122^{12} (the parallel passage in Ṭab. i 3210^{1} seq. has أَعْطِ عُثْمَانَ مِنِّي): أَخَذَ, with acc. and عَلَى, is *to seize upon* something *to the injury*, or *disadvantage, of* a person, e.g. عَسَى أَنْ نَأْخُذَ عَلَيْهِ سَقْطَةً "Perhaps we may detect him in a

mistake," Ibn Qut. Sh. 4[2] seq., similarly where it is a question of *obstructing* a man's path (see Dozy), and hence we may explain the phrase اخذ اللهُ على ابْصارهم عنه "God prevented them from seeing him," Ibn H. 326[7]: أَخَذَ مَأْخَذَه, *it took its course*, is applied to intoxicants and the like, with من of the person, e.g. وسَقَتْه من الخَمْر حتّى اخذت مَأْخَذَها منه "She gave him wine to drink until it produced its effect upon him," Ṭab. i 760[19], but usually the direct object is omitted, e.g. أَخَذَ الشَّرابُ منه, Agh. ii 33[2] (cf. ix 100[2]), also with فى instead of من, (see Lane), cf. مُوتانٌ يأْخُذُ فيكم "A pestilence which will attack you," Bukh. ii 298[1] seq., خُذْ فى حديثك "Continue thy story," Agh. xix 27[15].

مَأْخَذ *course* may be used for *habits*, *mode of life*, e.g. ولا يَرومَنَّ اهلٌ من اهلِ الضَّعة الأَخْذَ بمَأْخَذ الغَلَبة, "Let not any people of the lower classes seek to adopt the habits of the dominant classes," Dinaw. 77[9].

أخر آخر—Instead of the usual عن آخرهم *to the very last of them, one and all*, we find مِنْ عند آخرهم, Bukh. i 55[18] seq.

أدد إدّ *calamity* is construed as fem., Ḥam. 258[23].

أدو إداوة is usually not "a vessel for washing" (Freytag, *lavacrum*) but *a skin-bottle for drinking-water*, Ḥam. 253[14], Ṭab. ii 1091[14], pl. أداوى, Ḥam. 233[7].

أدى أدّى *to cause* a person *to enter* a house or a chamber, Abū Miḥjan No. 12 *v.* 2.

أذى أذًى *harm, damage*, is used also for *the damaged part* of a thing, Mubarrad 360[13].

أسو إسْوَة—إسْوَة as a preposition is the equivalent of مِثْل *like*, Balādh. 184[8].

أصل اسْتَأْصَلَ *to obtain the whole of* a thing (acc.), Ibn H. 763[20].

الأَصْل *the tribe, the community*, Naq. 143[6], 144[8].

أضم أَضَم *anger* forms a pl. أَضَمات, according to the Lisān—cf. Ḥam. 218[20] [read أَضَماتنا].

أطر إطار *circuit* (round a house or tent) is applied to the *trench* out of which the dogs lap water, Agh. iii 33[27].

ألا إِلَّا—The use of إِلَّا in adjurations (e.g. نَشَدْتُكَ اللهَ إِلَّا فَعَلْتَ "I beseech thee to do it") is well known. It may be noted that this إِلَّا is sometimes followed by a redundant ما, e.g. إِلَّا ما أَخْبَرْتَنِى "to tell me," Ibn H. 116[10] seq., إِلَّا ما صَدَقْتُمْ أَنْفُسَكُمْ "to be honest with yourselves," Mubarrad 559[6].

ألخ In all the recent Hebrew lexicons the Arabic root ألخ is cited in order to explain the obscure word נֶאֱלָח, Ps. xiv 3, liii 4, Job xv 16. But whether such a root ever existed in Arabic is extremely doubtful. The only word which the native lexicographers derive from it is the verb ايتَلَخ "to be dense, tangled, confused," applied to herbage and metaphorically to difficult affairs. This verb, however, may be formed from ولخ (see Wright's *Grammar* 3rd ed. i 81 A), a view which appears to be confirmed by the nominal forms وَلْخ, وَلَخَة and وَليخَة (Lisān iv 34[16]). Moreover under the root لخخ we find a verb الْتَخّ, to which exactly the same meaning is ascribed (Lisān iv 19[20] seq.). As for the statement of Freytag that ايتَلَخ means, among other things, *to become sour* (of milk), it is not found in the Lisān nor, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in any authority earlier than the Qāmūs; to quote it as evidence for the meaning of a Hebrew word is therefore illegitimate.

ألف مَأْلَفٌ is not only *a well-known place* but also *a well-known person*, e.g. كانَ ابو بكر رَجُلًا مَأْلَفًا لقومه, Ibn H. 161[14] (cf. Nawawī 659[6]).

أله اللهَ—اللهَ (var. آللهِ) to express surprise, Mubarrad 576[2]: فاللهَ اللهَ أَنْ تَحْجُبَهُ "Beware of refusing to admit him!" Agh. xviii 64[4].

الى إِلَى—هذا إِلَى "This (is) in addition to...," i.e. "not to mention...," Ibn Qut. Sh. 4[7].

أمر أَمِرَ, in the phrase أَمِرَ أَمْرُهُ, is said by al-Akhfash (see the Ṣiḥāḥ and the Lisān s.v.) to be the equivalent of اشتَدّ, which Lane here translates "became severe, distressful, grievous or afflictive." But in Bukh. i 8[20] (= ii 235[9]) أَمِرَ أَمْرُ ابنِ ابى كَبْشَةَ must mean "he has become a person of great importance."

أمس أَمْسِ, in the saying كَأَمْسِ الذّاهِبِ "like yesterday when it is past" (Ibn H. 590[20]), is probably to be taken as determined in virtue

of its sense, not as a noun in the construct—cf. the proverb ذَهَبَ أَمْسِ بِمَا فِيهِ.

أمر أُمٌّ seems to be used as the equivalent of بَطْن *tribe* in a verse of al-A'shà al-Hamdānī, Agh. v 151[20]

تُمَنِّينِى إِمَارَتَهَا تَمِيمٌ وما أُمِّى بِأُمِّ بَنِى تَمِيمِ

أن إِنْ—Whether إِنْ *if* is ever followed by the Imperf. Indic. may be doubted. Of the three instances given by Reckendorf (*Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, p. 691) not one is a case in point, since the use of تَرَى for تَرَ, in Ḥam. 803[11] and Mubarrad 474[12], must be regarded as an ordinary poetical license (see Wright's *Grammar*, 3rd ed. ii p. 389), while in the verse of Abu-l-'Atāhiyah (*Dīwān*, Beyrout ed. p. 62[2]) it is obvious that we should read وَٱنْبِذْ هُمُومَكَ أَنْ تَضِيقَ بِهَا "Cast off thy cares so as not to be distressed by them!"—not إِنْ تَضِيقُ "if thou art distressed," as Reckendorf assumes [the Beyrout ed. has إِنْ تَضِيقَ].

أوس آسٌ *the remains of ashes*, Quṭāmī (ed. Barth) No. 14 *v.* 6.

أَوْسٌ *gift*, hence *compensation*, Ḥam. 241[4].

أوف آفَةٌ *bodily defect*, *blemish*, Bukh. ii 357[17].

أول آلَةٌ *state*, *condition*, see Mubarrad 740[3], Ḥam. 202[13] (?).

أَوَّلُ as adverb, Ḥam. 501[23], Lāmīyah *v.* 45, Mufaṣṣal 67[4]: the phrase عَامَ أَوَّلَ (= عَامًا أَوَّلَ) *last year*, which some grammarians condemn (see Lane s.v. عَامٌ), occurs twice in Agh. iii 188[26] seq.

ايين آيين (Persian) *ceremonial usage*, Dinaw. 47[7].

ببس بابوسٌ *baby*, applied both to human beings and to animals, is evidently the Syriac *bābhōsā* "a small child," as Brockelmann has pointed out (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Gramm.* i p. 395). Hence it is quite natural that in a well-known tradition, which is based upon a Christian legend, this word should be put into the mouth of a pre-Islamic anchoret (Bukh. i 304[6]). The view of Prof. Karabaček, mentioned by De Goeje in Ibn Qut. Sh. *Glossary* s.v., that بابوس is from the Persian *pābūs* "foot-kisser" does not deserve a serious refutation.

بحر بَحْرِىٌّ *one who is beyond the sea*, hence بَحْرِيُّنَا, as collective, "our brethren beyond the sea," Ibn H. 249[14].

بدأ إلّا بَدَؤُوهُ بها — بَدَأَ "unless they had first brought her to him," Dīnaw. 17[14], cf. 43[11], where we should read يَبْدَءُوهُ.

بدى أَبْدَى *to render* a thing *plausible*, or *attractive*, to a person (with acc. and لِ), Ibn Qut. Sh. 113[3].

مَبْدًى (not مَبْدُوٌ as in Freytag), pl. مَبادٍ, *desert land*, Agh. ii 22[4].

بذرق بَذْرَقَ *to escort* travellers, either by land or by water, Dīnaw. 105[1]—see also the Glossary to Ṭab. and Dozy. According to al-Jawālīqī and other native authorities the word is of Persian origin, but its etymology is obscure; the modern Persian بَدْرَقَه *an escort*, or *the act of escorting*, seems to have been borrowed back from the Arabic.

برأ بُرِئَتْ منهم الذِّمَّةُ — بَرِئَ "They have forfeited their right to protection," Balādh. 183[4].

برح مُبَرِّح *painful* is used by al-Mutanabbi in the sense of *extraordinary*, العِلْمُ المُبَرِّحُ, p. 758[9].

برر مَبَرٌّ *time of piety*, hence *the season of the Annual Pilgrimage*, Ibn H. 93[10] [the British Museum MS, Add. 18500, fol. 42[a], has مَبَرٌّ with معا].

بسل اهل البَسْلِ — بَسْلٌ "the inhabitants of the sacred territory," i.e. the Quraish, Ibn H. 590[8].

بضع أَبْضَعَ *to send* things *as merchandise* (بضاعة) in the charge of some one, with acc. of the things and مع of the person, Ibn H. 469[6], also with the direct object understood, ibid. 470[4].

بطح أَبْطَحِيٌّ *one who dwells in the valley* (أَبْطَح or بَطْحاء) of Mecca, Ibn H. 111[1].

بطن أَبْطَنَ *to contain*, أُبْطِنَتْ أَحْشاؤُها قَصَبًا "Her entrails (seem to) contain reed-pipes," Hudh. W. No. 139 *v.* 2.

تَبَطَّنَ ضَفَّةَ البَحْرِ — تَبَطَّنَ "He marched along the sea-coast," Dīnaw. 58[14].

بعد بَعْدَ أَنْ يكونَ من المَشْرِق — بَعُدَ "provided that it comes from the East," Bibl. geogr. viii 18[16].

أَبْعَدُ in a causative sense, إنَّ ذلك أَبْعَدُ لصَوْتِك "This will render thee more famous," Dīnaw. 100[7].

بقى اِسْتَبْقَى *to preserve for oneself*, hence *to retain the affection of* a person, e.g. in Nāb. No. 3 v. 11

ولستَ بمُسْتَبْقٍ أَخًا لا تَلُمُّهُ   على شَعَثٍ أَىُّ الرِّجالِ المُهَذَّبُ

"Thou canst not retain the affection of a kinsman whom thou dost not help in time of trouble—what man is blameless?" Derenbourg in his edition of an-Nābighah (p. 126) wrongly translates "Jamais tu n'as laissé un frère égaré sans venir à son secours" etc. Compare the similar verse (Naq. 220[15] and, with variants, Ibn Qut. Sh. 204[6])

ولستَ بِمُسْتَبْقٍ صَديقًا ولا أَخًا   اذا لم تُعَدّ الشَّىْءَ وهو يَرِيبُ

بلغ بَلَغَ *to understand* (with acc.), ما انتَ بمُحَدِّثٍ قومًا حديثًا لا تَبْلُغُهُ عقولُهم إلّا كان لبعضهم فِتْنَةً, Musl. Ṣ i 6[8].

بهل اِبْتَهَلَ *to declare oneself innocent*, تَبْتَهِلُ من دَمِه, Dinaw. 173[4].

بوح أُبِيحَ *to be distributed freely* (said of food), Ḥam. 138[7].

إباحَة—او الإباحَة is the name given by the grammarians to أَوْ when it is a question of "one or both" of two objects, as distinguished from أَوْ when it denotes the "offer of a choice" (تَخْيِير) between alternatives, Mufaṣṣal 141[20], Ḥam. 255[20], Baiḍ. i 198[19].

بور بُورٌ *a thing that is wasted, an act performed in vain*, Mubarrad 247[2].

بوغ باغٌ (Persian) *garden*, Dinaw. 114[19]—a passage which appears to be translated from the Pahlawi, see Nöldeke's Transl. of Ṭabarī p. 375 foot-note.

بيع اِسْتَباعَ *to seek to obtain one's liberty by purchase* (said of slaves), Th. u. M. 19[4].

بِيعَة, properly *dome*, usually means *a Christian church*; according to Fraenkel (*Die aramäischen Fremdwörter* p. 274) the use of بِيَعٌ for Jewish places of worship (Agh. xix 97[21]) is incorrect. But it is worth noticing that in a verse of Jarir a Zoroastrian sanctuary is called a بيعة,

يَمْشِى بها البَقَرُ المَوْشِىُّ أَكْرُعُهُ   مَشْىَ الهَرابِذِ حَجُّوا بيعَةَ الزُّونِ

Mu'arrab 74[12] (= Jarir, *Dīwān*, Cairo ed. ii 156[7], Ṣiḥāḥ and Lisān s.r. زون, with the reading تبغى for حَجُّوا in the two last).

بين بايَنَ is not only *to forsake*, but also *to be different* in character, value etc., as in speaking of two classes of teachers, وَجَدْتَهم مُباينين لهم لا يُدانونهم, Musl. Ṣ. i 3[18].

تبع مَتْبوعٌ *one who has a familiar spirit* (تابِعٌ or تابِعَةٌ), Agh. iii 188[13], 189[17].

ترك تَرَكَ *to permit*, with acc. and أَنْ, Th. u. M. 34[20]: *to spare* a person some trouble or inconvenience, with acc. of the person and من of the thing, e.g. ولم تَتْرُكْ رسولَ الله من العَناء, Bukh. i 327[11] cf. 329[13].

تعب مُتْعَبٌ *unwilling*, وُدٌّ أَتَى وهو مُتْعَبٌ "a friendship that comes by compulsion," Ḥam. 147[14].

تلأب اِتْلَأَبَّ *to move in a straight line*, said of a man, Dīnaw. 164[14], of an eagle, Ibn H. 126[2].

ثبت أَثْبَتَ *to appoint* a person to a post, وأَثْبَتَ شاهان مردَ وسائرَ اولادِ المَرْزُبان فى صَحابته, Agh. ii 20[21], وأَثْبَتَه مع وَلَدِ المَرْزُبان, ibid. 20[26].

ثقب ثَواقِبُ (pl. of ثاقِبٌ—(رَبُّ الثَّواقِبِ "Lord of the shining (stars)" is a title of God, Ibn H. 180[1].

جأنب جَأْنَبٌ *short*, said of the stature, Imr. No. 4 *v.* 4, Farazd. B. 80[1].

جحش جَحْوَشٌ *a boy*—the verse cited in the Ṣiḥāḥ i 486[3] occurs in Hudh. W. No. 141 *v.* 1.

جذب جَذَبَ i. *to draw* a person *towards oneself* in order to speak to him, جَذَبَنى ابو قلابة, Ibn Khall. No. 389 p. 90[2] cf. 90[5].

جذم أَجْذَمَ *to run away, escape*, Ḥam. 241[17].

جذو جِذْوَةٌ is usually *a fire-brand* (Qur'ān 28[29]), but the dual is applied to the two ends of a cord, Mubarrad 244[9].

جرثم جُرْثومَةٌ, properly *a heap, a mass*, hence metaphorically *a great community*, جُرْثومَةٌ مِنْ جَراثيمِ العَرَب, Dīnaw. 153[21].

جرجس جِرْجِسٌ—The meaning "book" or "page" (صَحيفة), which is assigned to this word in the Lexicons, seems to be due to the misunderstanding of a well-known verse, Imr. No. 32 *v.* 4, where it means *clay used for sealing*; it is derived from the Aram. *gargeshtā*, as Fraenkel points out (*Die aramäischen Fremdwörter* p. 252).

جرى جَرَى--اذا جَرَى على لَفْظه مثْل هذا "whenever he happened to say the like of this," Fakhrī 138[9].

جزع جَزَعَ--The meaning *to traverse* belongs not only to the 1st conj. but also to the 8th, e.g. وَٱجْتَزَعْنَ الصَّرائما, Mufaḍḍ. C. ii 23[3] [the reading وانتجعن in Yāqūt iv 926[5] is evidently to be rejected].

جزم جَزَمَ--From the meaning *to decide* is derived that of *expecting, reckoning* on a thing (with ب), e.g. وكان النّاسُ يَجزمون بِنُصْرة عليِّ بنِ عيسى, Fakhrī 296[2], and in line 4 فقَدَّرَ اللهُ خِلافَ ما جَزَموا به.

جعر جَعُورٌ is an adj. used as a term of abuse, apparently *wretched*, Hudh. W. No. 143 *v.* 7.

جعل جَعَلَ, with acc. and فى, *to spend* money on something, فجعلوا ما اخذوه فى السّلاح والخَيْل, Ḥam. 262[28], يجعل درهمين فى كرى بَغْلٍ الى الحيرة [read كراء] "He used to spend two dirhams on the hire of a mule (to go) to al-Ḥīrah," Agh. x 89[15] seq.

جفل جَفّالَةٌ *coward* (masc.), Mubarrad 247[6].

جفن جَفَّنَ *to offer food in a bowl* (جَفْنَةٌ), Ḥam. 103[9]—this is probably what Freytag means by *apposuit scutellam*, for which he gives no authority.

جلس جَلَسَ له means not only *audientiam ei fecit* (Freytag) but also *he lay in wait to attack him*, Mubarrad 591[6]: جَلَسَ للمَظالِم "He sat as judge in the Court of Appeal," Fakhrī 243[5].

جلو جالوتٌ—رَأْسُ الجالوتِ (Aram. רֵישׁ גָּלוּתָא) *the Exilarch*, i.e. the Chief of the Jews in Babylonia, Qazwīnī 203[17] seq.

جنح جَنَحَ *to turn* is intransitive, but in Ibn Sa'd i, part 1, 93[14] it seems to be used transitively, فجنحتها الرّيحُ "The wind turned it" (i.e. the ship). The right reading, however, is فخَجَّتْها, as we learn from Lisān iii 71[25], cf. Azraqī 114[11] (فخَجَتْها).

حبس اِحْتَبَسَ *to allow oneself to be detained*, لا تَحْتَبِسْ عنّى, Ibn H. 137[5].

حَبِيسٌ *consecrated* is applied not only to things but also to persons, e.g. الرّاهِبُ الحَبِيسُ, Ibn H. 349[15]—the term is doubtless derived from the Syr. *ḥĕbhīshā*, which has the same sense.

حدبر حَدْبارٌ *a lean camel* (which is uncomfortable for the rider), hence, metaphorically, *misery*, Akhṭal 93[1].

حدث اسْتَحْدَثَ *to ask* a person *to relate stories*, فاستنشدوه واستحدثوه, Agh. xix 8[9].

حرب حَرْبِيٌّ means not only *military* (Dozy) but also *that which belongs to the hostile territory* (دارُ الحَرْب); thus Christian women born in the Byzantine Empire are called حَرْبِيّات, Baiḍ. i 248[6].

حزر حَزْراءُ *sour milk*, in the Qāmūs, is a mistake which has been repeated by Freytag and Lane; the correct form is حَزْرٌ (Lisān v 259[7], xvi 256[3] seq.) and this agrees with the reading of the MS in Naq. 929[11]. Hence the statement in the Glossary p. 330 should be corrected.

حزن حُزونةٌ means not only *roughness* in the abstract but also *rough ground* (= حَزْنٌ), Ibn H. 418[11].

حسر حَسَرَ *to disappear below the horizon*, said of any distant object, e.g. حتّى تَحْسُرَ عنه البُيوتُ "until he could no longer see the houses," Ibn H. 151[9].

حُسَّرٌ (pl. of حاسِرٌ) *bare-headed* is an epithet of vultures, who are called طَيْرٌ حُسَّرٌ, Dīnaw. 303[18].

حسم انْحَسَمَ metaphorically, *to be stopped, to come to an end*, Dīnaw. 287[2], Fakhrī 285[14].

حشف حَشَفَةٌ *a small circular island* (Lisān s.v.), see Azraqi 4[3] [read حَشَفَة].

حقد حَقَدَ i. *to feel resentment* is construed not only with على of the person against whom resentment is felt but also with the acc. of the thing which causes resentment, Ṭab. i 1018[20].

حقق أَحَقَّ, in the absolute sense, *to do what is right*, Dīnaw. 203[19].

حَقِيقٌ, like حَقِيقةٌ, is used substantivally for *that which one is bound to defend*, i.e. one's family, possessions etc., حامِى الحَقِيقِ, Hudh. K. No. 92 *v.* 44.

حقن احْتَقَنَ الدَّمُ is explained in the Lisān by اجتمع فى الجَوْف "it collected in the inside" (Lane), but in Ibn H. 575[12] (= Ṭab. i 1407[17]) the phrase is applied to a scratch (خَدْش) on the neck, so that the meaning must be "the blood ceased to flow."

حكم اسْتَحْكَمَ applied to a man, استحكم فى النَّصْرانيّة "He became firmly attached to Christianity," Ibn H. 143[18].

حلب حَلَبَ u. metaphorically, *to suck*, Ḥam. 257[24] [s.v.l.].

حلس أَحْلاسٌ (pl. of حِلْس *saddle-cloth*, is used in the phrase أَحْلاسُ القَوافى "men who are wont to compose poetry," Ḥam. 143[18], cf. أَحْلاسُ الكَتائب, Ṭab. i 829[18].

حلف اسْتَحْلَفَهم "He urged them to form an alliance" (حِلْف), Ḥam. 261[9].

حمر حمارٌ used for the fem., حمارٌ أَتانٌ, Bukh. i 31[7].

حوج حاجَةٌ *want* is construed not only with الى but also with ب, Bukh. iii 403[9], Ibn H. 466[13], or with فى, ibid. 790[16].

حوز حازَ ū. *to remove* a wounded man from the battle-field, Ibn H. 443[14].

حَيِّز *domain*, *territory* (in the political sense), Dinaw. 41[11], 330[4], hence *share*, *allotted portion*, Agh. v 26[4].

حوط أَحاطَ with acc. and على, مَن أَحاطَ حائطًا على شىءٍ "he who builds a wall round anything," Yaḥyā 66[15].

حول حَوَّلَ *to reverse* the saddle on the back of a camel, Ibn H. 430[6].

حير تَحَيَّرَ said of things, *to be thrown into confusion*, Dīnaw. 324[6].

خبث خُبْثٌ *ill-gotten gain*, Ṭab. i 1023[13].

خرس خَروسٌ *dumb* (used for the fem.), Mubarrad 236[7].

أَخاريس pl. of أُخْرُس, Akhṭal 19[2].

خرص خَرَصَ u. or i. *to compute* the quantity of dates on a palm-tree, is construed with على of the persons for whom the computation is made, Ibn H. 777[9] seq.

خرط اِخْرَوْرَطَ (= اخْرَوَّطَ) *to last long*, فاخْرَوْرَطَ بنا السَّيْرُ, Agh. xi 25[2].

خرطم خُرْطومٌ *the mouth* of a wine-jar, Akhṭal 98[4].

خرق خِرَقٌ (pl. of خِرْقَة) *strips* is applied to the *swaddling-clothes* of an infant, Ḥam. 253[1], also to *banners*, which are called خِرَقُ الحُتوف, Akhṭal 160[9], cf. Agh. xx 137[9].

خزل انْخَزَلَ *to be dislocated*, Lyall, *Ten ancient Arabic Poems* p. 144[7] (= De Sacy, *Chrest. arabe* ii 151[3]), hence, metaphorically, *to be sorrow-stricken*, Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar* (ed. Zotenberg) 576[2].

خَزِيلٌ *jerky, unsteady*, said of a woman's gait, Mufadd. Th. No. 16 *v*. 8.

خشى خاشَى بهم is rendered by Lane "he guarded himself against them in an extraordinary degree" etc.—an explanation based upon a wrong reading (اتقى for ابقى, see Lisān xviii 250[10]). The real meaning of the phrase is undoubtedly "He took precautions for their safety," Ibn H. 795[19] [read وخاشى], 798[16], cf. Balādh. Glossary s.r. دفع and Ṭab. Glossary s.r. حشى.

خصل خَصْلٌ *superiority* (in parallelism with فَضْل), Mufaṣṣal 3[3].

خصال (pl. of خَصْلَةٌ) *conditions, stipulations*, Dīnaw. 281[18].

خضب خَضَبَ i. That this verb may mean simply *to moisten*, not necessarily *to stain*, is shown by the phrase خاضِبِى لِحاهم بدموع أعْينهم, Dīnaw. 150[21].

خضر خَضَّرَ *to blacken* a man's eye by a blow, Ibn H. 244[5], cf. اخضرّت عينُها, Ṭab. i 1582[5] and Balādh. Glossary s.v. خُضْرَةٌ: *to plant shrubs or vegetables*, Fakhrī 238[11].

خطأ خَطِئَ *to be absent from* some one or something (acc.), ما خَطِئَتْكَ اثْنَتان "as long as two things are absent from thee," Bukh. iv 72[7].

خطب خَطَبَ u. *to ask* a woman *in marriage*, is construed with على of the person *on whose behalf* the request is made, Ibn Sa'd i, part 1, 58[9] seq.

خطم خاطِمَةٌ *a blow on the nose*, Ibn H. 468[1].

خفى اسْتَخْفَى *to conceal*, with ب of the thing, Ibn H. 166[14], 601[7].

خلد خَلَّدَ *to store up* a thing in a place, with two accusatives, نُسْخة خَلَّدَها ديوانَه "a copy which he stored up in his chancery," Dīnaw. 73[6].

الخُلْدان i.e. *Paradise and Hell*, Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton) i 61[5].

خلص تَخَلَّصَ *to reach, come to* a person, with الى, Ḥam. 22[29].

خلط خَلَّطَ—The phrase خَلَّطَ فى كلامه "He spoke incoherently," which Dozy quotes from the Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ, occurs in Agh. vii 186[21], cf. تَخْليط *delirium*, Ibn H. 191[13]; خلط, in Ibn Khall. No. 451 p. 28[16], evidently means "he became imbecile," but whether we should read خَلَّطَ or خُلِّطَ (with Wright, *Arabic Reading-book* p. 88[16]) is doubtful.

خلع خَالَعَ with two accusatives, هل لك أَنْ أُخالعَكَ الحِلْفَ "Dost thou wish me to cancel my agreement with thee?" Naq. 25[7].

خلف خَلَفَ u. *to marry a widow* or *a divorced woman*, is used with the acc. of the former husband, خَلَفَهُ عليها, Agh. xiv 168[21], cf. 169[7], or else with بَعْدَ Ibn H. 144[6], 355[11]: خَلَفَ السَّلامُ عليه "May peace accompany him!" is a form of blessing, Ibn H. 792[12] (= Ṭab. i 1611[13]).

خَلائِفُ (pl. of خَلِيفة) *successors, survivors*, Ham. 250[15].

خلل تَخَلَّلَ—تَخَلَّلْ بنا الطُّرُقَ "Conduct us through the ways," i.e. by a zigzag route, Dīnaw. 291[7] seq.

خنكر خَنْكَرَ *to enjoy oneself* (see Dozy) occurs in Agh. v 15[20], واذا خنكرتَ فَخَنْكِرْ بمِثْلِ هؤلاء.

خود خَوَّدَ *to move rapidly* is applied not only to living creatures but also to such things as the mirage (آل), Ibn H. 360[6] (= Ḥassān ibn Thābit ed. Hirschfeld No. 84 *v.* 5).

خور خَوّارٌ *fertile*, أَرْضٌ خَوّارَةٌ Mubarrad 134[15].

خير خَيَّرَ *to offer a choice* may be construed not only with the acc. of the person and بَيْنَ of the alternatives but also with two accusatives and او, e.g. وخَيَّروه النُّزولَ على حُكْمِهِم او إِلْقاءَ نَفْسِه "They offered him the choice of surrendering unconditionally or of casting himself down," Ham. 36[25].

خيل خالَ ā. *to suspect* a person (with فى), Ibn H. 133[15].

دأب دائِبٌ *continual*, said of rain, Muwashshà 28[10].

دبب دَبَّ i. metaphorically, *to do* a thing *slowly*, with فى of the thing, Dīnaw. 44[5].

دجو داجَى *to treat affectionately*, applied to the handling of a wine-skin, Imr. No. 36 *v.* 2.

دخخ دَخٌّ or دُخٌّ *smoke*—The tradition which is quoted in the Lisān iii 491[17] occurs in Bukh. i 340[9], iv 153[11].

دخل داخلَ as a prep. *within*, Ṭab. i 762[9], Qazwīnī 214[22].

دخن دُخانٌ *smoke* makes a pl. أَدْخِنَةٌ, Akhṭal 112[2].

دسع دَسيعَةٌ—The phrase دَسيعةَ ظُلْمٍ (Ibn H. 342[5] cf. Lisān ix 439[9]) is variously interpreted. Wellhausen (*Skizzen* iv 68) translates "an *act* of violence," while Caetani (*Annali* i 398) explains دَسيعة as "power" (potere). The proper meaning of the word is apparently *outflow*, the *outbreak* of some desire or passion; دَسيعةُ ظُلْمٍ may therefore be rendered "an *outbreak* of lawlessness." Hence also the poetical use of دَسيعة for "gift," the "outflow" of generosity (see Naq. Glossary).

دعو دَعَا u., with إلى, often means *to carry on a propaganda* in favour of someone, the direct object (النّاسَ or the like) being understood, e.g. Fakhri 187[10].

دَعَّى *to ask* someone for a thing, with acc. of the person and ب of the thing, Hudh. W. No. 141 *v*. 5.

دفتر دَفْتَرٌ or دِفْتَرٌ, *book*, *register*, is admittedly a loan-word from the Persian. But no one, so far as I know, has pointed out that the Persian دَفْتَر is borrowed from Gr. διφθέρα *parchment*, cf. the βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι of Persia, whence Ktesias professes to have drawn his information (Diodorus ii 32).

دمك دَمَكٌ *snow* is given by Dozy, on the authority of Wright, as occurring in the Dīwān of al-Akhṭal. The reference is apparently to a verse which we find in Akhṭal 25[3]

وما يَفْرَحُ الأَضيافُ أَنْ يَنْزِلوا بها

اذا كانَ أَعْلاَ الطَّلْجِ كالدَّمكِ الشَّطْبِ

The glossator explains دَمك as = ثَلْج, but whether شَطْب can be used as an epithet of snow is very doubtful. In the fragments of al-Akhṭal published by Griffini from a Yemenite MS (Beyrout, 1907) p. 90 this verse appears with the reading كالرَّمَكِ الشُّهْبِ "like ash-grey mares."

دمى اِسْتَدْمَى—From the explanation given in the Lisān it would appear that this verbal form, when used of literal bleeding, always

refers to bleeding from the *head*. But the contrary is proved by Dīnaw. 104[12], since بَعَجَه implies that it is here a question of a stab in the belly.

دَمٌ—أَكَلْتُ دَمًا "May I eat blood!" is a curse which a man invokes upon himself in the event of his not fulfilling a promise or a threat, Ḥam. 813[8]. For the use of دَمٌ in the sense of *life*, of which Dozy cites one example (Ṭab. iii 361[9]), see Ibn H. 691[10] seq., Ḥam. 262[4], Agh. xix 4[21], pl. دماء *lives*, Balādh. 113[4].

دنف دانف *dangerously ill* (interitui obnoxius) is mentioned by Freytag as occurring in the Ḥamāsah. This appears to be a mistake, as Lane remarks. But the existence of the word is proved by a verse of al-Farazdaq, ed. Hell, 2te Hälfte, No. 468* *v.* 1

أَلَمَّ خَيالٌ من عُلَيَّةَ بَعْدَ ما   رَجا لِيَ أَهْلِي البُرْءَ مِنْ داءٍ دانِفِ

دنو دَنَّى *to fall short*, *to fail to reach* a thing (with عن), Ibn H. 613[2].—Abū Dharr wrongly explains دَنَّتْ as coming from the root دنن.

مُدانٍ *unimportant*, said of a thing, Ḥam. 55[21].

مُتَدانٍ *crowded*, epithet of a battle-field, Ḥam. 56[27] [read تَحِيدُ for تَجِيدُ].

دهر دَهْرٌ—Instead of the ordinary الدَّهْرَ *always* we sometimes find يَدَ الدَّهْرِ, Ibn H. 468[3], Mubarrad 248[17], Agh. v 150[26], also مَعَ الدَّهْرِ, Fakhrī 134[6]; on the other hand على أَيادِى الدَّهْرِ means *formerly*, Balādh. 225[6] (see the Glossary s.v. يَدٌ).

دهى دَهَى ā. *to calumniate*, Agh. iv 79[14].

دوح دَوْحَةٌ *a large tree*, or collectively *large trees* (see Dozy), seems to be used as an adjective in Ibn H. 618[3], الى جَنَّةٍ دَوْحَةِ المَوْلِجِ; here Abū Dharr explains دوحة as = كثيرة الأَغْصان. But it is much more probable that we should read رَوْحَةِ المَوْلِجِ "delightful to enter," see Lisān iii 283[7] seq.

دور دارَ ū. *to occur* to a person, *to come into his mind*, دارَ لى فيها لَحْنٌ حَسَنٌ "A good tune for them (i.e. for the verses in question) suggested itself to me," Agh. xxi 4[19].

دين دَيْنُونَةٌ *zeal for religion*, Dīnaw. 313[10].

ذبب ذَبَّ u.—ذَبَّ بِذَنَبِه "He shook his tail," lit. "he drove away (the flies) with his tail," said of a horse, Ibn H. 559[13].

ذرو ذَرْوٌ—Instead of ذَرْوٌ من قَوْلٍ *an uncompleted portion of a saying* (Lane), we also find ذَرْوُ قَوْلٍ, Ibn H. 753[7].

ذفف ذُفَّفٌ (pl. of ذَفِيفٌ?) *rapid in their effect*, epithet of swords, Ibn H. 553[10].

ذقن ذُقُونٌ (pl. of ذَقَنٌ *chin*) is applied also to the *upper part of the breasts* of birds, Lāmīyah *v.* 38.

ذكر ذُكُورَةٌ *the edge* of a sword, Farazd. B. 130[12].

ذهب ذُهْبَانٌ adj. *ready to perish*, ذُهْبَانُ الشِّعْرِ "a poet whose poetry is soon forgotten," Agh. iii 38[20]—a pl. ذهابين is mentioned by Dozy.

ذو ذَوُوها (= أَصْحابُها), Ḥam. 442[11]: ذَواتُها "the districts adjoining it," Balādh. 132[7].

ذوى ذَواءٌ *dry*, العُودُ الذَّواءُ, Ibn H. 170[20].

ذيل ذَيْلٌ *latter part* of a period of time, Fakhrī 222[2].

رأس رَأْسٌ *lid* of a box (سَفَطٌ), Agh. vi 135[23]: على رَأْسِ *at the end of* a period, Ibn H. 381[5], 415[13], 648[11].

رَأْسِيٌّ adj.—بِعَيْنٍ رَأْسِيٍّ opp. to بِعَيْنٍ قَلْبِيٍّ, Th. u. M. 58[5].

رأى تَراءَى *to gaze at* an object (acc.), properly *to compete with one another in the attempt to see*, إِنَّ اهلَ الجَنَّة لَيَتَراءَوْن الغُرْفَةَ فى الجَنَّة كما تَراءَوْن الكوكبَ فى السَّماءِ, Musl. Ṣ. ii 349[22].

ربح رِبْحٌ (رَبَحٌ or رَباحٌ) *profit*, makes a pl. أَرْباحٌ, Ṭab. i 764[11].

ربرب رَبْرَبٌ *a troop of antelopes*, used metaphorically for *women*, Akhṭal 27[8].

ربض رَبَّضَ *to think of the future*, Mubarrad 595[16] (maṣdar).

ربط رابَطَ *to sojourn* in a place (with بِ), Yāqūt ii 645[16] [read عَشْرا].

أَرْبَطُ *firmer, more stable*, Th. u. M. 53[12].

ربع رِبْعَةٌ or رَبَعَةٌ—على رِبَعَتِهِمْ "in their normal condition," i.e. "in the full enjoyment of their rights," see Ibn H. 341[9] seq., and the note by Wellhausen, *Skizzen* iv 68.

رثث رُثَّ—The passive of this verb seems to occur in Dīnaw. 188[9], رُثَّ بالصَّخْرِ حتّى مات, but there can be little doubt that we should read دُثَّ, see Lisān ii 450[23], الدَّثُّ الرَّمْيُ بالحجارة الخ.

رَثِيثٌ *worn-out* makes a pl. fem. رَثَائِثُ, Ibn H. 417[7].

رثى رَثَى i.—رَثَى لَهُ "He condoled with him," is construed with مِن of the thing for which condolence is expressed, Ṭab. ii 1097[9].

رجرج رَجْرَاجٌ *quivering*, *agitated*, is an epithet not only of human beings but also of the sea, Th. u.-M. 4[15], 60[4].

رجس مَرْجُوسٌ *unclean*, Farazd. B. 116[17].

رجع اِرْتَجَعَ *to take back*, *regain* (with acc.), Balādh. 201[6], Agh. v 155[12].

رجل الرَّجُلُ is often = بَعْضُهُم "some of them," e.g. فجعل الرَّجُلُ يَضِيقُ عليه أَمْرُهُ "Some of them began to feel uncomfortable," Mubarrad 317[6], cf. Ibn H. 470[1]: رَجُلُ الدَّوْلَةِ "the founder of the dynasty," Fakhrī 186[6].

رخص تَرَخَّصَ *to take a liberty*, i.e. *to transgress the law*, Bukh. i 39[6].

ردد رَدَّ u.—رَدَّ الطَّرْفَ "It repelled the gaze," i.e. no one could bear to look at it, Ḥam. 51[1], cf. 86[8].

ردى أَرْدِيَةٌ (pl. of رِدَاءٌ *mantle*) is used in the metaphorical phrase أَرْدِيَةُ الشِّعْرِ, which seems to mean *beautiful poems*, Agh. vii 187[14] —for the comparison of poetry to weaving, see the Lexicons under the roots نسج, حوك, etc.

رزم رَزَمَ u. or i. *to attack* a person (with بِ), Hudh. W. No. 140 *v.* 4, maṣd. رَزْمَةٌ ibid.

رسل أَرْسَلَ السَّمَاءَ—أَرْسَلَ "(God) loosed the sky," i.e. He sent rain, Dīnaw. 61[5].

رِسْلٌ—Instead of the usual على رِسْلِه "at his ease, in a leisurely manner," one may say على رِسْلٍ, Ibn H. 370[20], 539[2].

رِسَالَةٌ—قُلْ له عن رِسَالَتِنَا "Tell him in our name," Ṭab. i 1046[14], cf. Dīnaw. 112[9].

رشف رَشَفَ u. or i. *to sip* has a maṣd. رَشَفَانٌ, Mubarrad 73[2].

رصن رَصِينٌ—كَلَامٌ رَصِينٌ *correct*, i.e. *classical*, *speech*, Dīnaw. 327[6], cf. Ibn Qut. Sh., Glossary s.v.

رضع أَرْضَعَ—For the use of this form in speaking of the foster-*father*, see Ibn H. 794[14], ابى الذى أَرْضَعَنِى.

رضم رِضامٌ (pl. of رَضْمَةٌ or رَضْمٌ according to the Lisān) means not only *stones used for building* but also *basalt blocks* in their natural condition, e.g. Labīd, *Mu'allaqah v.* 15 (see Nöldeke's *Fünf Mu'allaqāt* ii 70), Ibn H. 799[14].

رعب أَرْعَبَ *to frighten* is an expression of which some authorities disapprove (see Lane), but it occurs in Ṭab. ii 1092[13].

رعد رَعودٌ *a thunder-cloud*, Agh. v 153[17].

رفض رَفَضَ i. or u. *to drive away*, *banish* cares etc., Baiḍ. i 579[20], also with بـ, Mubarrad 227[2].

مَرْفوضٌ *a deserted house*, Balādh. 131[11].

رفع رَفَعَ به رأسًا—رَفَعَ is rendered by Freytag "annuit, exaudivit," but the real meaning is *he paid attention to it*—see Lane 1121 col. 3[8] seq. and cf. لمر يَرْفَعْ بذلك رأسًا, Bukh. i 32[10] seq. (Qasṭallānī i 209[7] gives the explanation اى تَكَبَّرَ ولمر يلتفت اليه من غاية تَكَبُّرِهِ).

ركب رَكِبَ *to persecute*, *illtreat*, Ibn H. 172[15], cf. وللرّاكِبِينا بالمَظالِمِ 419[14], and رَكِبَ منّى ما قد رأيتَ, Ṭab. ii 1103[18]: *to overflow*, *submerge* the land (acc.), said of a river, Bibl. geogr. viii 66[4] seq.

تَرْكِيبٌ *a verbal root*, Baiḍ. i 570[11].

رمل رَمْلٌ *sand* often means *a desert*, e.g. كغزلانِ رَمْلٍ "like gazelles of the desert," Imr. No. 52 *v.* 33, عامّةُ بنى تَميمٍ بالرَّمْلِ "the majority of the Tamīm (who dwell) in the desert," Ṭab. i 1919[6], similarly the pl. رِمالٌ, Bakrī 57[13].

رهش راهِشانِ is explained by Freytag as "duae venae in interno armo anteriorum pedum iumenti," on the alleged authority of the Qāmūs and Dj. (i.e. the Ṣiḥāḥ). But neither of these states that the word applies only to "beasts," and, as a matter of fact, راهشان is repeatedly used in speaking of the veins in the fore-arm of a human being—see Ṭab. Glossary s.v., Ibn Qut. Sh. 113[5].

روح أَراحَ *to give rest*, hence *to slay* (with acc.), Ḥam. 250[28].

رَوْحَةٌ originally *a journey in the evening* is used also for *a journey* in general, كَمْ رَوْحَةٍ فيكَ لى مُهَجَّرَةٍ Mubarrad 243[14].

روذ أَرادَ, in the sense of *wishing to do* this or that to a person, may be construed not only with the acc. of the thing and ب of the person (e.g. Qur'ān 33[17]) but also with the acc. of the person and ب of the thing, Ḥam. 139[14], Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā* 195[24]: for أَرادَهُ *he urged him*, see Ṭab. Glossary, and cf. أُرِيدَ على ابنة حَمْزَةَ "He was urged to (marry) the daughter of Ḥamzah," Ibn Sa'd i, part i, 68[20].

روض راضَ ū. *to think out, devise,* ما راضَه قَلْبُه "what his mind thinks out," Mubarrad 299[6], إذا راضَ يَحْيَى الأَمْرَ, Fakhrī 275[8].

روق راقَ ū. is usually *to cause admiration* (syn. أَعْجَبَ), but it sometimes means *to regard with admiration*, e.g. Akhṭal 27[6]

لِبَاسِ اردِيَةِ المُلوكِ يروقُه   مِن كلِّ مرتقبٍ عيونُ الربربِ

Here the glossator takes يَروقُه in its ordinary sense—compare, however, the similar passage in Ibn H. 110[7], تَروقُ لَهُ عُيونُ النّاظِراتِ, where the meaning "regard with admiration" is the only possible one.

روم رامَ ū. *to attack* (with acc.), Ḥam. 132[27], Balādh. 220[9], pass. Ḥam. 40[6], maṣd. مَرامٌ Balādh. 132[17].

روى رَيّا (fem. of رَيّانُ) *full of water*, epithet of a cloud (مُزْنَةٌ), Ḥam. 252[24].

زكن زَكِنَ *to make guesses*, Dinaw. 211[11].

زمزم زَمازِمُ (pl. of زَمْزَمَةٌ) is explained in the Lexicons as *troops of men, herds of animals*, etc.; but it also means *masses of water*, Ḥam. 233[15].

زول تَزْوالٌ *the act of slipping*, Ḥam. 64[18].

زوى أَزْوَى *to disinherit*, lit. *to put aside* (with acc.), Qazwīnī 246[11].

زيد زَوائِدُ (pl. of زائِدَةٌ)—ذو زَوائِدَ is said in the Ṣiḥāḥ to be an epithet of the lion, but in Imr. No. 40 *v.* 11 it is used as an epithet of the male ostrich (نِقْنِق).

سبر سُبْرُوتٌ pl. سُبُرٌ, *a kind of hawk*—the half-verse quoted, on the authority of al-Laith, in Lisān vi 5[4] occurs in Akhṭal 107[1].

سبط سَبْطٌ *cheerful, unruffled* (applied to the face), لِيَكُنْ وَجْهُكَ سَبْطًا, Muwashshà 24[2].

سبغ سُبَّغٌ (pl. of سَابِغٌ) *men wearing long coats of mail* (سَوابِغ), Ibn H. 14[9] [var. سابِغًا in Ṭab. i 903[2]].

سجل تَسْجِيلٌ is used not only of an *official sentence* but also of an *affirmation* in the most general sense, e.g. تَسْجِيلًا على أَنّهم ظَلَموا, Baiḍ. i 268[26], cf. 581[17].

سجن سِجْنٌ *prison*—On the origin of this word, see *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Catalogue with Texts, vol. v (ed. H. I. Bell, London, 1917) p. 134, footnote, "Mr Crum writes that he has recently found in Coptic ostraca two instances of σίγνον as = 'prison,' presumably the origin of the Arabic *sijn* in the same sense." Since this note was published I have been privately informed by Mr Crum that there are now more than "two instances" of this word in Coptic. How σίγνον (i.e. Latin *signum*) came to mean "prison" is not clear; the fact, however, appears certain. That it is impossible to explain سِجْن from any known Arabic root is evident, for the various words which are given in the Lexicons under سجن are either derivatives from سِجْن or seem to be wholly unconnected with it. Whether سِجْن occurs anywhere in pre-Islamic poetry I do not know, but it is at least remarkable that in the Qur'ān سِجْنٌ and its denominative سَجَنَ appear only in passages relating to *Egypt* (12[25] seq., 26[28]).

سحر سَاحَرَ *to compete in magic*, ساحِروا بصاحبكم اهلَ الأَرْض "Challenge the whole world to a competition in magic with this man of yours!" Ibn H. 258[19].

سحف سَيْحَفٌ is explained in the Lisān as "a broad arrow-head" (نَصْلٌ عَرِيضٌ), but in the verse of ash-Shanfarà which is there quoted (= Mufaḍḍ. Th. No. 18 *v.* 22) سَيْحَفٌ seems to mean "an arrow" simply, or perhaps some particular kind of arrow.

سحل سَحَّلَ *to sail along the sea-coast* (ساحِل), Bibl. geogr. vii 353[20].

سخل سَخْلَةٌ is said to mean "a lamb" or "a kid," but it also means *a young camel*, Ibn H. 433[17], and the pl. سِخالٌ is applied to the *foals of mares*, Akhṭal 20[8]; similarly the collective سَخْلٌ, Nāb. No. 20 *v.* 23.

سدو تَسَدَّى *to approach, draw near* (with نَحْوَ), Abū Miḥjan No. 17 *v.* 1.

سرج اِسْتَسْرَجَ *to shine*, Ibn H. 22[11].

سطو سَطَا ū. *to punish* (absol.), Ḥam. 97[6], Ṭab. ii 1112[16] (opposed to عَفا).

سعل سَعَّالٌ *one who coughs often*, said of a man gasping under a burden, Akhṭal 160[3].

سعى سَعَى ā. *to bring* a thing (with ب), Mufaḍḍ. Th. No. 37 *v.* 23: *to bring* a thing *about*, السُّعاةُ بذلك "those who were responsible for this," Ḥam. 103[14].

مَسْعاةٌ *conduct, behaviour*, Ḥam. 111[27] (in this case applied to *evil* conduct).

سفل سُفْلٌ *the lower story* of a house, فى السُّفْلِ, Ibn H. 338[8] (opposed to فى العُلْوِ).

سقط سَقَطَ u. *to be forgotten, fall into oblivion*, Ibn Quṭ. Sh. 4[7].

سحلب مُسْلَحِبٌّ *lying at full length*, said of a slain man, Ibn H. 274[16] [read مُسْلَحِبًّا].

سلسل سَلْسالٌ (= سَلْسَلٌ) *sweet, pleasant to drink*, said of water, Aus ibn Ḥajar (ed. Geyer) No. 32 *v.* 16.

سلم سَلَّمَ *to convert to Islām*, Fakhrī 143[11].

تَسَلَّمَ *to behave like a member of the tribe of Sulaim*, Ibn H. 865[2].

سِلْمٌ adj. *whole, in good condition*, Ḥam. 80[20].

سمع سَمَّعَ *to spread a report* (with أَنَّ), Agh. xix 42[11].

سَمْعِيٌّ *traditional*, Th. u. M. 3[18].

مُسْتَمَعٌ *a place where one can hear*, Dīnaw. 186[3].

سند أَسْنَدَ *to hand over, transmit*, أَسْنَدَ المُلْكَ الى ابْنه, Dīnaw. 49[9]: *to urge* horses to the attack, Ḥam. 76[21].

سنو سَنًا *flash of lightning* makes a pl. أَسْناءٌ, Hudh. W. No. 139 *v.* 11.

سهل سَهَّلَ with مِن, e.g. سَهَّلَ من إذْنى "He admitted me without difficulty," Agh. iii 119[13].

تَسْهالٌ *smoothness*, Imr. No. 52 *v.* 17.

سهم ساهِمٌ *emaciated* makes a pl. سُهَّمٌ, Farazd. B. 163[1], Ibn H. 593[19] (= Ru'bah, App. No. 86 *v.* 7).

سوس أَسْوَسُ *more capable of governing*, Ibn H. 29[8].

شأب شُؤْبُوبٌ *a crowd*, سَعَى بِشُؤْبُوبٍ من الناس فى اثره, Dīnaw. 175[5].

شبع بِشِبَعِ بَطْنه — شِبَعٌ "on condition that he should have enough to eat," Bukh. i 42[11].

ششث شَثٌّ adj. *thick, abundant*, said of a camel's hair, Mufaḍḍ. Th. No. 9 *v.* 16.

شحن شَحَّنَ, as well as the more usual شَحَنَ, means *to fill* a place with troops etc., وتَشْحينها بالمُقاتلة, Ibn al-Athīr xii 41[23]—this confirms the reading وشَحَّنَ in Ṭab. iii 234[2] (see Glossary) and Fakhrī 253[12] (see note).

شرب شَرُوبٌ, as an adj. applied to water, is said to mean "intermediate between sweet (عَذْب) and salt"; but in Bibl. geogr. viii 27[14] شروب is combined with عَذْب and must therefore signify *pleasant to drink.*

شرع شَرْعِيٌّ or شَرِيعِيٌّ *theologian*, Bibl. geogr. viii 50[7], 77[13].

شرق شَرَّقَ usually means *to go eastwards*, but in Ṭab. ii 411[6] [read مُشَرِّقًا according to line 9] it must mean *to come from the East*, as appears from 412[3] seq., فأتاهم من قِبَل المَشْرِق; Medina lies between two *ḥarrahs* (Yāqūt iv 335[15]), and the *ḥarrah* where the battle in question took place is the eastern *ḥarrah* (ibid. ii 252[16] seq.).

شرى شَرًى ولا قِرًى — شَرًى (after a negative) *for love or money*, Agh. vii 186[11] seq.

شغب شَغْبٌ is not only *tumult* but also *harm, mischief*, in the most general sense, e.g. Agh. xi 168[13] (= Ḥarīrī, *Durrah* 104[17]).

شفف شَفٌّ or شِفٌّ is reckoned among the *aḍdād*, inasmuch as it means either "excess" or "deficiency," but the real meaning is simply *inequality*, and hence it is used as the opposite of سَواءٌ in a verse of an-Nābighah al-Ja'dī, describing a race between two horses, or, according to others, between a horse and a wild ass

فَٱسْتَوَتْ لِهْزِمَتا خَدَّيْهِما وجَرَى الشَّفُّ سَواءً فَٱعْتَدَلْ

(Lisān xi 83[12], Anbārī, *Aḍdād*, 108[16]).

شفو أَشْفَى, with على, *to come close to*, hence *to endanger*, أَشْفَيْنَ على الأَنْفُس "They (i.e. the years of famine) endangered the lives (of men)," Ibn Sa'd i, part 1, 54[12].

شقق شاقَّةٌ *a woman who rends her garments* (as a sign of mourning), Bukh. i 326[17].

شقو شَقِىَ *to be unfortunate*, when construed with ب sometimes means *to be incapable of dealing with* a person or thing, e.g. شَقِيَا بِشَرَفِهِمَا "They made no good use of their high rank," Ibn H. 411^{9}. Similarly the adj. شَقِىٌّ, as when a poet boasts that he is شَقِىٌّ بِاللِّئَامِ "incapable of consorting with mean persons," Ḥam. 111^{10}.

شكك تَشَاكَّ *to pierce one another*, Dīnaw. 213^{17}.

شمس شَمَّسَ (from Aram. *shammesh* "to serve") *to celebrate a cult*, وله شَمَّسَ النَّصَارَى, Ibn H. 349^{14}.

شمعل شَمْعَلَ *to recite* prayers or other religious formulae, is explained in the Lexicons as referring to the Jews, but in Yāqūt ii 679^{15}, and probably also in Ṭab. iii 1390^{9}, it refers to Christians.

شمم اِشْتَمَّ, with acc. and مِن, is *to detect* an odour *as proceeding from* some object, مَنْ يُشْتَمُّ منه رائحةَ الزَّنْدَقَة "those in whom he (i.e. the king) *detected the odour* of heresy," Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar*, 503^{2} [Zotenberg mistranslates "tous ceux qui avaient subi l'influence de son athéisme"].

شهر المَشْهُورة in Commentaries is = القراءة المَشْهُورة *the ordinary reading*, as opposed to some variant, e.g. Baiḍ. i 536^{14}.

شور شَارَ ū. *to gather* honey from bees' nests, is construed with two accusatives, Labīd Br. No. 41 *v.* 16 [read النَّحْلَ for النَّحْلُ, according to Lisān v 359^{21}].

شوه شَوَّهَ *to disfigure, render ugly*, may be construed not only with the accusative but also with ب, Ḥam. 253^{19} seq.

شيأ شَىْءٌ.—For the use of شَىْءٌ in speaking of *persons*, see Ibn Sa'd i, part 1, 84^{24}—ولم يَلِدْ عَمْرُو بنُ أَسَدٍ شَيْـًٔا.

شيع شَيَّعَ *to cause* a thing *to be followed* by something else, وشَيَّعَ ذلك بأَنْ يَقولَ, Agh. ii 24^{12}: *to become a Shī'ite*, Farazd. B. 177^{17} [read كُنتُ].

صدأ أَصْدَآء (pl. of صَدَأٌ *rust*) is used for *rusty armour*, Ibn H. 179^{10}.

صدخ صَوَادِيخ (pl. of صَيْدَاخ ?) *grass-hoppers*, Mufaḍḍ. Th. No. 22 *v.* 5.

صدد صَدَّادَة coll. *enemies*, Akhṭal 21^{6}.

صدر تَصادَرَ properly, *to return together from the water*, hence *to betake oneself*, Baiḍ. i 581[14].

صدف صادَفَ—صادَفَ الرَّجُلَ وقد خَرَجَ "He found that the man had just departed," Agh. i 24[25] (in this case the two men did not *meet*, as appears from what follows).

صرح صارَحَ *to manifest* is construed with the acc. of the person and ب of the thing, صارَحونا بالعَداوة Ibn H. 173[1].

صرع صُرِعَ *to be dead drunk*, Ṭab. i 829[12].

صَرْعَ as prep. *near*, Hudh. W. No. 143 *v.* 1.

صعد صَعَّدَ *to ascend*, hence, in speaking of a purchaser, *to offer a higher price*, Fakhrī 277[5].

صفح صَفْحٌ—لا يَعْدَمُ صَفْحِى "He will not lack my side," i.e. he will not lose my friendship, Muwashshà 20[2].

صفر صُفْرَةٌ *a kind of unguent* used by women, Bukh. i 322[9] seq.

صفو* صَفا u.—the meaning *to belong to*, *to be in the possession of* someone, of which Dozy quotes a late example, occurs already in Dinaw. 105[11], صَفا له المُلْكُ.

صلح صُلْحٌ (= أَرْضُ الصُّلْحِ) *territory annexed by treaty*, Yaḥyà 36[15] seq.

صالِحٌ—صالِحُ ثِيابِه "his best clothes," Agh. xix 29[29].

صمم صَمامِ—أُمُّ صَمامِ *treachery*, *perjury*, Agh. v 157[10]: بَناتُ صَمامِ *heavy blows*, metaph. *satires*, Farazd. B. 110[1].

صُمٌّ (pl. of أَصَمُّ) *solid horse-hoofs*, Imr. No. 52 *v.* 46.

صيف صَيَّفَ *to seek a summer residence*, المُصَيِّفُ فى الحَرِّ المُشَتِّى فى الصِّرِّ, said of the swallow, Th. u. M. 41[7].

ضأل تَضاءَلَ *to be thin* is applied to a coat of mail, Imr. No. 14 *v.* 15 (= Lisān xii 325[18]).

ضرب ضَرَبَ به "He placed it on the ground" (the object being الأَرْضَ understood), Agh. v 181[4] seq.: ضَرَبَ فيه "He was related to him by blood," Dinaw. 66[3] (cf. Ṭab. i 957[21])—ضُرِبَ به is used in the same sense, see Naq. Glossary s.v.

ضارَبَ *to form a partnership with* someone in commerce, is construed with two accusatives, Ibn H. 119[13]: *to play music with* someone (acc.), Agh. ix 100[2].

ضرر ضَرورٌ *one who injures*, Ibn H. 619[19].

ضرع ضُروعٌ (pl. of ضَرْعٌ *udder*)—ذو ضُروعِها *their milk*, Dhu-r-Rummah (ed. Macartney) No. 64 *v.* 33.

ضلع ضُلَّعٌ (pl. of ضالِعٌ) *strong*, Ibn H. 615[7].

ضلل أَضَلَّ *to elude, slip away from* a person (acc.), Ibn H. 106[18] seq.

ضمم ضَمَّ u. *to take* a wife (acc.), Ḥam. 192[3]: *to be the common parent*, or *ancestor, of* two or more individuals (syn. جَمَعَ), Ḥam. 102[3].

ضوع تَضَوَّعَ—The phrase تَضَوَّعَ مِسْكًا is rendered by Lane "it diffused the odour, or fragrance, of musk," but in the verse cited Lisān x 99[2] (= Mubarrad 537[1]) تَضَوَّعَ مِسْكًا بَطْنُ نَعْمانَ must mean "the valley of Na'mān *is full of* the odour of musk."

ضيف ضَيَّفَ and أَضافَ are both said by Freytag to mean "effecit ut aliquis tanquam hospes aliquem accederet," which seems to imply that the subject of the verb and the person whose hospitality is to be sought are distinct; but the definition in the Ṣiḥāḥ (وأضفت الرجل وضيفته اذا انزلته بك ضيفا وقريته) simply asserts that اضاف and ضَيَّفَ mean *to receive as a guest*. This is, of course, the ordinary usage, e.g. in the Qur'ān 18[76], where some read يُضَيِّفوهُما and others يُضيفوهما. In Ibn H. 355[5] أَضافَ appears to be used intransitively, but the correct reading is انضاف (as given in several MSS), which agrees with p. 351[4].

بالإضافة الى—إِضافَةٌ *in comparison with...*, Baiḍ. i 195[5] seq., 555[17].

ضيم ضَيْمٌ is not only *injustice* but also *hardship, trouble*, e.g. in the phrase حَمَلَ على النَّفْسِ ضَيْمَها, Ḥam. 50[1].

طأطأ طَأْطَأَ, followed by من, is usually metaphorical, "he lowered the reputation of So-and-So" (e.g. Agh. iii 45[12]), but it is sometimes used in a literal sense, as when it is said that God *reduced the stature* of Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise, to sixty cubits, فطأطأ اللهُ عزّ وجلّ منه الى ستّين ذراعًا, Azraqī 7[3] seq.

طبب تَطَبَّبَ *to undergo medical treatment*, Fakhrī 308[12].

طخطخ تَطَخْطَخَ *to become dense*, said of the darkness, Farazd. B 56[12].

طخم طُخْمٌ (pl. of أَطْخَمُ) *black-faced* is an epithet of vultures, Ibn H. 232[2] [read كالشَّرْبِ].

طرح **طَرَحَ** a. in the phrase **طَرَحَ نَفْسَه** "He exposed himself to danger," Ham. 228[7] (cf. וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ מִנֶּגֶד, Judges ix 17).

طرد **اطَّرَدَ** *to journey uninterruptedly*, Ibn H. 264[18] [read **لَتَطَّرِدُ**].

طلق **طَلَاقَةٌ** *liberty, release*, Ham. 16[21], cf. Agh. xviii 215[4].

إِطْلَاقٌ — **حَرْفُ الإِطْلَاقِ** (in grammar) *letter of prolongation*, Mufaṣṣal 154[18], Baiḍ. ii 401[13], cf. **أَلِفُ الإِطْلَاقِ**, Baiḍ. i 589[4].

طيب **طَيْبُوثٌ** (from the Aram.) *consecrated oil*, used by Christians, Yāqūt ii 701[2]—this is one of the very few cases in which the Aram. termination *-uthā* is represented by **وث** instead of **وت**.

طير **طَارَ** i.—Instead of **طارَ عَقْلُه** "His reason fled," "he was beside himself," the simple **طارَ** may be used, e.g. Fakhri 286[14], cf. 178[1] and Naq. Glossary.

اسْتَطارَ *to carry off*, **استطارَتْه الجِنُّ**, Ṭab. i 754[5], cf. Agh. xiv 72[27]—the parallel passage in Dīnaw. 56[13] has **استطار به**, which is probably a scribal error.

طين **طَيَّنَ** *to close up* the entrance of a furnace *with clay*, Ibn H. 135[10]: *to build* a hut *of clay*, Fakhrī 215[14] seq.

ظلل **ظِلٌّ** — **يا ظِلَّ الشَّيْطانِ**, as a term of abuse, Ṭab. ii 1120[11]: a pl. **أَظالِيلُ** *shadows* occurs in Akhṭal 12[9].

ظهر **ظاهَرَ** *to double*, hence *to reiterate* a saying, Ibn H. 749[10].

أَظْهَرَ *to profess* a religion, Ibn H. 397[18], Dīnaw. 51[8].

الظاهِرَةُ *the volcanic tract* (**الحَرَّة**) near Medina, Ibn H. 386[11].

عبس **مُتَعَبِّسٌ** *one who claims affinity with the tribe of ʿAbs*, Ham. 205[3].

عبط **اعْتَبَطَ** may govern two accusatives, **مَن اعْتَبَطَ مُؤْمِنًا قَتْلًا عن بَيِّنَة** "whoever is proved to have slain a believer without provocation," Ibn H. 342[13].

عتق **أَعْتَقَ**, which properly refers to the *tending* of camels (**أَعْتَقَ المالَ** = **أَصْلَحَه**, Lisān xii 107[23]), is applied also to the *governing* of men, Dīnaw. 77[3].

عجب **أَعْجَبَهُ**, followed by **أَنْ** with the subjunctive, often means *he desired* that this or that should occur, e.g. **فَأَعْجَبَ رسولَ الله أَنْ يَسْمَعَ**

وكان يُعْجِبُه أنْ تكونَ قِبْلَتُه قِبَلَ البيت, Bukh. i 18[5]. ذلك أُصْحابُه, Ibn H. 141[14],

عجز عَجُزٌ *rear-guard* of an army, Ham. 79[9].

عدد عَدَّ u. *to examine*, اذا عَدّوا أَديمى "when they examine my skin," i.e. my character, Ham. 205[23]: pass. عُدَّ (with ب) *to be reckoned as the equivalent* of something else, Dīnaw. 126[9].

فى عِدادِ التّجار—عِدادٌ "in the guise of merchants," Dīnaw. 335[14].

مَعْدودٌ *distinguished, eminent*, said of persons, Ham. 251[13], Agh. xviii 64[9].

عدل اعْتَدَلَ به الطّريقُ—اعْتَدَلَ lit. "The way became straight with him," i.e. he marched in a straight line, Ibn H. 421[17].

عدو عَوادٍ (pl. of عادِيَةٌ) *the sides of valleys*, Ibn H. 753[12]—Abū Dharr explains the word as = جوانب الاودية.

عذر عَذَرَ i. or u. *to mark* a horse *on the cheek* (see Lane), hence used metaphorically, ويَعْذُرُنا النّاسُ لها بالصّدْقِ "and by reason of which the people will regard us as truthful," Dīnaw. 174[17].

اعْتَذَرَ *to persist, to last long*, said of a season of drought, Ibn H. 800[15].

تَعْذيرٌ *slackness* is the opposite of جِدٌّ "energy," Dīnaw. 287[4], cf. 162[21].

عرب عَرَّبَ *to designate*, or *treat*, horses *as Arabian* (opp. to هَجَّنَ), Ibn H. 774[10].

عَرَبٌ—in Ham. 261[23] العَرَب is used to denote *the settled Arabs*, as distinguished from the Bedouins (البَدْو).

عَرَبِيَّةٌ *knowledge of the Arabic language*, Ibn Khall. No. 31, p. 39[20], Qazwīnī 234[28].

أَعْرابِيٌّ is an epithet applied to an ass, Ibn Sa'd i, part 1, 116[18].

عرس عَروسٌ *bridegroom* is construed with على of the bride, Ibn H. 771[15], whereas عَروسٌ *bride* is construed with ب of the bridegroom, e.g. وهى عَروسٌ بكنانَةَ بن الرّبيع "when she was married to Kinānah," Ibn H. 763[10] (= Ṭab. i 1582[2]).

عرف على مَعْرِفَةٍ *on purpose, designedly*, Ham. 40[17].

عزز عازَّ (= عازَزَ) *to oppose, resist* (with acc.), Ham. 262[10].

وعَزازةً *by all means*, Dīnaw. 93[4], cf. 93[8] seq., where وحُبًّا وكَرامةً is used in the same sense.

عزف عَزّافةٌ *a female musician*, Agh. vi 109[2].

عشر عَشيرٌ *a relative*, Mubarrad 247[3].

عصب عَصائبُ (pl. of عِصابَةٌ) *groups* of palm-trees, Imr. No. 20 *v.* 4 (var. حَدائق).

عصر اُعْتُصِرَ—The phrase والعيدانُ تُعْتَصَرُ occurs in a verse of Jarīr (Ibn Qut. Sh. 429[8]) which De Goeje describes as "difficilis interpretatu" (Glossary s.r. عصر). It is partly explained by some passages to which I have referred in the Glossary to Naq. s.v. اُعْتُصِرَ, but the clearest indication of the meaning is supplied by a verse which al-Jāḥiẓ cites in his *Bayān* i 188[14] (cf. Yāqūt iv 477[19] and note in vol. v 425)

إنّا وَجَدْنا النّاسَ عُودَيْنِ طَيِّبًا   وعُودًا خَبيثًا لا يَبِضُّ عَلَى العَصْرِ

From this it appears that it was the practice to test the quality of wood by *pressing* it; if no sap oozed forth, the wood was condemned.

عصف مُتَعَصِّفٌ *sprouting*, said of the spathe (طَلْع) of the palm-tree, Agh. v 147[23]—in the Lexicons this meaning is assigned to the 4th and the 10th conjugations, but not to the 5th.

عصى عَصَّى *to regard*, or *treat*, *as a rebel* (with acc.), Ḥam. 262[12].

عاصَى *to oppose*, hence, in speaking of things, *to be incompatible with* something else (acc.), Musl. D. No. 1 *v.* 4.

عضض عَضَّ a. *to bite*, applied to a shield (دَرَقَةٌ), عَضَّتْ بِسَيْفِه "It gripped his sword," i.e. the sword stuck fast in the shield, Ibn H. 563[9], cf. 761[8].

عطل عاطِلٌ *bare*, i.e. *uncultivated*, مَزارِعُ عاطِلَةٌ, Fakhrī 238[3].

عطو أَعْطَى often means *to make a present*, or *presents*, *to* a person (acc.), the thing being understood, e.g. Ibn H. 276[15].

عظم عَظَّمَ *to make large*, عَظِّمِ اللُّقَمَ "Take large mouthfuls," Agh. ii 23[6]; similarly أَعْظَمَ, Qur'ān 65[5], Ḥam. 109[8].

عَظيمٌ *chief* is applied not only to a political ruler or a military leader (see Balādh. Glossary) but also to an archbishop, عَظيمُ الأَساقِفَة, Dīnaw. 96[7].

عفو عَفَّى *to efface* (with على) is used metaphorically for *supplanting*, فَعَفَّتْ زَمْزَمُ على البئار التى كانت قَبْلَها, Ibn H. 96[1].

عقر تَعاقَرَ *to bite one another*, said of dogs, and metaphorically of satirists, Agh. vii 173[13].

عقق عَقَّ u. *to treat undutifully* is applied not only to the conduct of children towards their parents but also to that of parents towards their children, e.g. [sic leg.] إِنَّ أَبَوَىَّ عَقَّانى, Ibn Khall. No. 389, p. 89[13].

عَقِيقٌ *lightning*, Ibn H. 760[15], cf. Lisān xii 129[11].

عقل عَقِيلٌ *a distinguished man*, Ibn H. 110[8].

عقم مَعْقومَةٌ *a rug of variegated cloth* (عِقْمٌ), Mufadd. C. ii 41[10].

علم أَعْلَمَ *to serve as a landmark*, وسألوه أَنْ يَبْنِىَ لهم حَدًّا يُعْلِمُ بينه وبينهم, Dīnaw. 59[9].

علو عَلَوْتُمْ is used in a precative sense, "May ye prosper!" Ibn H. 762[4], cf. اُعْلُ ibid. 582[18].

عُلْوٌ see under سُفْلٌ.

عمر العُمْرانُ *the inhabited earth*, Bibl. geogr. viii 26[3] seq., العُمْران كُلّها, Bīrūnī, *al-Athār al-bāqiyah* 24[3]—similarly المَعْمور (see Dozy).

عمل عَمِلَ applied to an intoxicant, عَمِلَ فيه الشَّرابُ, Agh. vii 186[31]: *to cultivate* land (acc.), Ibn H. 779[8] seq.

عن عَمَّ—عَنْ *Why?* Ibn H. 796[3].

عنصر عُنْصُرٌ *origin*, hence *original condition*, *normal state*, لِيَرْجِعَ المُلْكُ الى نِظامه وعُنْصُرِه, Dīnaw. 95[1].

عنقفر عَنْقَفِيرُ *calamity* is construed as fem., Ibn H. 851[18].

عنو عَنْوَةٌ (= أَرْضُ العَنْوَةِ) *territory annexed by conquest*, Yaḥyà 36[15] seq., Balādh. 217[13].

عنى عانٍ *oppressed*, *troubled*, كُلُّ عانٍ بِكُرْبَةٍ, Ibn H. 112[7].

مَعْنًى—In commentaries and lexicons بِمَعْنًى is often used for بِمَعْنًى واحِدٍ in speaking of two or more expressions which *have the same meaning*, e.g. Lisān v 286[5], xiv 53[11].

عهد عُهْدَةٌ—هى فى عُهْدَتى "I am responsible for it," Fakhrī 293[17].

عور عَوْرَةٌ *a fault, defect*, إذا بَدَتْ عَوْرَةٌ مِنْها "when they (i.e. the female wild-asses) show some sign of flagging," Akhṭal 16[2], cf. Kosegarten, *Chrest. arab.* 153[9].

عوى أَعْوَى *to cause to howl*, Akhṭal 56[1] [read الجَحَراتُ].

عيث عَوائِثُ (pl. of عائِثٌ), epithet of lions (لُيوث), Ibn H. 417[20].

عير عِيارٌ *test, trial*, in a moral sense, Baid. i 587[20].

عيف عَيّافٌ *one who loathes a thing*, عَيّافوا الخَنا, Akhṭal 104[1] [var. عُيّاف in Lisān v 208[15], but عيافو in Agh. x 5[3]].

عيل عَيَّلَ *to impoverish*, Agh. iv 144[20] (= Lisān v 79[8]),—see also Ṭab. Glossary.

عين أَعانَ—In Nöld. Beitr. 186[4] يُعينهم seems to occur with the meaning "he used to lend them money on usury," but though the MS undoubtedly has ويُعينُهْم we should probably read ويُعيّنهم, according to Lisān xvii 181[18] seq.

عَيْنٌ, for the use of this word as masc., see above s.v. رَأْسٌ.

غبب أَغَبَّ *to suffer interruptions*, ما يُغَبُّ عن الصّقال "(a sword) which is continually being sharpened," Ḥam. 259[2].

غبر غَبَرَ u. *to remain away*, opp. to لَقِيَ "to meet," وغَبَرَ عَنّي مُدَّةً ثُمّ لَقِيَني, Agh. xviii 64[15].

غبن غَبَنٌ *loss* in a commercial transaction, opp. to رَباحٌ "profit," Mubarrad 244[3].

غدو غَدا ū. *to become* (syn. أَصْبَحَ), Mufaḍḍ. C. ii 44[6], Mutanabbi 802[3].

غذو غَذا ū. *to produce*, مَتَى تَغْذو قُرَيْشٌ مِثْلَ مُصْعَبٍ, Dīnaw. 319[4].

غرب غَرَّبَ *to come from the West*, Ṭab. ii 411[11]—see above, s.v. شَرَّقَ.

أَغْرَبَ *to take away, remove* (with acc.), Ibn H. 763[6].

غرز غَرْزٌ—Prof. R. Geyer in *Orientalische Studien* (Nöldeke-Festschrift, 1906, i 60 note 1) denies that غَرْز can mean *stirrup*, and asserts that camels were never ridden with stirrups. See, however, Ibn H. 332[16], فدَنَوْتُ من رسول الله وهو على ناقته والله لَكَأَنّي انظر الى ساقه فى غَرْزِه كأنّها جُمّارة. Also Ṭab. ii 1058[15] seq., فإنّك وضعتَ رِجْلَك يابنَ محمّد فى غَرْزٍ طويلِ الغَيِّ الخ—and a verse describing a she-camel (Ḥam. 554[12])

مُطارَةُ قَلْبٍ إِنْ ثَنَى الرِّجْلَ رَبُّها   بِسُلَّمِ غَرْزٍ فى مُناخٍ تُعاجِلُهْ

غرزم غَرْزَمَ, maṣd. غَرْزَمَةٌ, *to begin to compose poetry*, Agh. vii 170[18].

غرف غَرَفٌ *a thicket, jungle* (such as lions inhabit), Hudh. W. No. 140 *v.* 4, Dīnaw. 185[18]—see Ṭab. Glossary s.v. مُغْرِف.

غطش غَطْشٌ *darkness*, Lāmīyah *v.* 15.

غطط غَطَّ u. or i. *to plunge* is usually transitive, but it may also be intransitive, e.g. Agh. xix 28[5]—the context shows that the verb is not here a passive.

غلب غَلَبَ i. in the phrase غَلَبَتْهُ عَيْنُهُ "He fell asleep," Ibn H. 767[2].

مُتَغَلِّبٌ *a prince, a sovereign*, Bibl. geogr. vii 354[3], الْمُتَغَلِّبَةُ *the ruling classes*, Balādh. 211[12].

غلط غَلِطَ with بِ, *to take* a thing *by mistake*, فَغَلِطَ بِدِرْهَمٍ بَغْلِيٍّ, Bukhalā 47[10].

غلغل تَغَلْغَلَ *to arrive*, said of a letter (with الى of the recipient), Farazd. B. 147[2].

غلل غَلِيلٌ adj. *dense, tangled*, said of a camel's hair, Mufaḍḍ. Th. No. 9 *v.* 16.

غمر مَغْمُورٌ *insignificant*, applied not only to persons of obscure origin but also to things of small value, Akhṭal 112[1].

غمس غَمَسَ i. *to baptize*, said of Christians, Yaḥyà 47[17], 48[1].

غَمْسٌ—يَمِينٌ غَمْسٌ (= يَمِينٌ غَمُوسٌ) *a formal oath*, Nöld. Beitr. 198[14].

غمض غَامِضٌ *deep*, said of a wound, Imr. No. 14 *v.* 4, العُلُومُ الْغَامِضَةُ *profound sciences*, Th. u. M. 60[16].

غمغم غَمْغَمَةٌ *incorrect pronunciation*, غَمْغَمَةُ قُضَاعَةَ, Mubarrad 364[8].

غني تَغَنَّى *to sing*, applied to the *rattling* of chains, Mubarrad 243[7]—so also غَنَّى, see Naq. Glossary.

غَنَاءٌ construed with عن may mean not only "the power of dispensing with something" but also "*an advantage from the point of view* of someone," e.g. اعظم حصونها عنهم غناءً "the fortress from which they will derive the greatest advantage," Ibn H. 759[19], غَنَاءً عظيمًا عن الإسْلام "a great advantage for Islām," Balādh. 302[4], غَنَاءٌ عن الْمُسْلِمِين, Yaḥyà 8[21].

غور أَغَارَ *to make a raid* upon someone, hence *to plagiarise* from an author, أَغَارَ عليه الصَّاحِبُ لَفْظًا ومَعْنًى, Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat ad-dahr*, i 92[10].

تَغَوَّرَ *to set*, said of the stars, 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, ed. Schwarz, No. 1 *v.* 40 (= Mubarrad, 382[11]).

غوص غَوَّاصٌ *diver* (a kind of bird), Th. u. M. 38[3].

غول غائِلَةٌ *a sudden, or treacherous, attack,* Balādh. 243[17], pl. غَوائِلُ, Dīnaw. 334[4].

غيب غُيْبَةٌ *shower of rain* is a scribal error for غَبْيَةٌ; the mistake seems to have originated with Engelmann (*Al-Hādirae Diwanus*, 1858, p. 14 seq.), and it has been copied not only by A. von Kremer but also by De Goeje (Ibn Qut. Sh. Glossary, s.v.). That غيبة in Agh. vii 128[9] (= Ibn Qut. Sh. 109[7]) is a mere misprint appears evident from a comparison with Imr. No. 4 *v.* 47 and Lisān xix 350[18].

فتح اِسْتَفْتَحَ is applied to *the seeking of an omen* from a book, especially the Qur'ān, by opening it at random, اِسْتَفْتَحَ فَأْلًا فى المُصْحَف, Fakhrī 181[16].

فتك فَتَّاكٌ *violent*, Dīnaw. 87[5].

فحر اِفْتَحَرَ "pro intentione suâ protulit verba" etc., given by Freytag on the authority of the Qāmūs, is a scribal error for اِفْتَجَرَ—see Asās ii 123[27], وهذا كلام افتجره فلان اى اختلقه (this transitive use of افتجر is not mentioned in the Lisān nor by Lane). On the other hand, افتحر in Ahlwardt's *al-Fakhrī* 161[4] is a mistake for افتخر, the reading in Derenbourg's edition, 183[16].

فخر فَخْرٌ—The phrase غَيْرَ فَخْرٍ is used parenthetically, or added at the end of a sentence, with a verb understood, "(I say it) without boasting," Ibn H. 534[7], Abū Mihjan No. 11 *v.* 1, Mufadd. C. ii 53[7].

فرج تَفَرَّجَ *to forsake, abandon* (with عن), فما تُفُرِّجَ عنه "He was not forsaken" (impersonal passive), Ham. 241[21].

فرس فارِسِيَّةٌ *Persian wine*, Agh. v 149[30].

فرع تَفَرَّعَ *to be on the summit of* a thing (acc.), Ibn H. 516[13] [read تَفَرَّعْنَ الذَّوائِبَ, according to Abū Dharr 176[9]].

فرغ مُسْتَفْرِغٌ *a cloud that sheds abundant rain*, Akhṭal 9[2].

فرفر فِرْفِيرِىٌّ *purple*, فِرْفِيرِىُّ اللَّوْنِ, Bibl. geogr. viii 107[4].

فرق فَرْقٌ or فَرَقٌ, *a measure of* 16 *pints*, makes a pl. أَفْرَاقٌ, Balādh. 58[1].

فسط فُسْطَاطٌ *a place of assembly*, hence *the most important part* of a thing; thus the Sūrat al-Baqarah is called فُسْطَاطُ القُرْآنِ, Baiḍ. i 144[11].

فصح فَصِيحٌ *one whose native language is Arabic* (opp. to أَعْجَمُ "a foreigner"), Dīnaw. 228[13], Qālī iii 15[19].

فصل فَصْلٌ—dual فَصْلَا السَّنَةِ, i.e. *spring and autumn*, Agh. ii 22[3] [read فَيْقِيظ for فيقيم].

فضو فَضَاءٌ *open space, court-yard*, is also applied to a balcony round a tower, Bibl. geogr. viii 48[1].

فعل اِفْتَعَلَ *to behave, conduct oneself*, Lyall, *Ten ancient Arabic Poems* 150[6] (= De Sacy, *Chrest. arabe* ii 156[6]).

فقد مُتَفَاقِدٌ *a vast crowd* (in which people lose one another), Mutanabbi 756[24].

فلذ تَفَلَّذَ *to be scattered*, said of an army, Farazd. B. 215[11].

فلس أَفْلَسَ *to be unable to pay* a debt (with ب of the debt), Ibn H. 430[12].

فلع تَفَلَّعَ *to be split open*, Ibn H. 613[18] (sic leg.)—Abū Dharr, ويتفلّع معناه يَتَشَقَّقُ.

فلل مُفَلَّلٌ coll. *chips of stone*, Lāmīyah *v.* 20.

فهم فَهِمَ عنه means not only *he understood what another said* but also *he perceived what another intended to do*, e.g. Mubarrad 254[18].

فيأ تَفِيئَة—Instead of the usual على تَفِيئَةِ ذلك *thereupon* (e.g. Ṭab. ii 1123[1]) we also find على التَّفِيئَةِ (sic leg.), Agh. iv 78[28].

قبر قَبْرٌ *the occupant of a grave*, مَرَّ النَّبِىُّ بِقَبْرَيْنِ يُعَذَّبَانِ, Bukh. i 342[11].

قبض اِنْقَبَضَ in the phrase انقبضتُ بِوُدِّى "I showed no sign of affection," Muwashshà 113[17].

قبل قَبَلَ *to go towards* an object (acc.), Hudh. W. p. 51 last line but one, see Abū Zaid, *Nawādir* 81[17].

قَبِلَ *to act as midwife* (absol.), هل مِنْ امرأة تَقْبَلُ, Agh. xix 35[20]; according to Lisān xiv 53[14] seq. it is used with the acc. of the

child, but it is also used with the acc. of the mother, Ibn Sa'd viii 164[26], cf. i, part 1, 85[24].

أَقْبَلَ *to set about* doing a thing, with following Imperfect, Agh. xix 39[14] [read فأقبلتُ أُصَعِّدُ وأُصَوِّبُ, according to Naq. 547[10]]: أَقْبَلَ على نفسه بالتَّكْميل "*he strove to make* himself perfect," see Baid. i 583[20].

مُقابِلَ as prep. *opposite*, Dīwāw. 46[10].

قتل قَتَلَ is often applied to the killing of wild animals, reptiles etc., but very rarely to the slaughter of domestic animals, as in Yāqūt ii 836[13].

مَقاتِلَةٌ "homines pugnae apti" (Freytag) is a mistake for مُقاتِلَةٌ.

قدح قادِحٌ coll. *sparks*, Lāmiyah *v.* 20.

قدم قَدَّمَ *to lose*, *to be bereft of* a child (acc.), Bukh. i 38[15].

تَقَدَّمَ *to go beyond* a place (acc.), Ibn H. 439[10].

اسْتَقْدَمَ *to be pushed forward*, said of a saddle, Ḥam. 242[3].

قِدَمٌ—أَصْحابُ القِدَمِ *those who believe that the world existed from all eternity*, i.e. those who deny the doctrine of Creation, Bibl. geogr. viii 77[14], cf. 13[3] seq.

مَقْدَمٌ—لا أَجِدُ عليه مَقْدَمًا "I cannot oppose him," Ibn H. 291[7] seq. (= Ṭab. i 1214[17]).

قذف اسْتَقْذَفَ *to offer oneself as a target to those who pelt with stones* (opp. to اسْتَهْدَفَ "to offer oneself as a target for arrows"), Muwashshà 4[5].

قاذِفاتٌ *mountain-tops*, Ibn H. 39[18] [possibly we should read القُذُفات].

قرب تَقَرَّبَ *to receive the Eucharist*, Agh. ii 32[4] seq.

قرد قُرْدودَةٌ *back*, hence *a procession of horsemen*, Ḥam. 168[26].

قرر قَوارِيرِيٌّ *a dealer in glass bottles* is mentioned by Wright (*Grammar*, 3rd ed. i 163 B) as post-classical, but the word must have been in use at least as early as the beginning of the 3rd century of the Hijrah, since القَوارِيرِيّ is the ordinary appellation of the well-known traditionalist 'Ubaidallāh ibn 'Umar, who died in A.H. 235 (see Ṭab. Index, Ibn al-Athīr vii 35[15] seq.). The passage from which Dozy cites the word refers to al-Junaid the Ṣūfī, who died in A.H. 297.

قرض تَقَارَضَ *to pass over* a place *one after another* (with ب of the place), Mufaḍḍ. C. i 31[8] [read أَشْهُرَ, accusative of time].

قرطق مُقَرْطَقٌ *clad in a short jacket* (قُرْطَقٌ), Yāqūt ii 700[2].

قرع قُرْعَةً adv. *by lot*, Bukh. i 314[15].

قشف قَشِفٌ *wretched*, العَيْش القَشِف, Dīnaw. 127[17].

قصد تَقَصَّدَ *to intend to do* a thing (acc.), Fakhrī 234[4].

قطب مُتَقَطِّبٌ *frowning*, Akhṭal 78[3] (= Ibn Qut. Sh. 312[2]).

قطر قُطَيْرَةً adv.—أَوْجَعَنى قُطَيْرَةً "It hurt me a little," Agh. xiv 166[5].

قعص انْقَعَصَ—The meaning "duplicatus fuit," given by Freytag on the authority of the Qāmūs, is due to a confusion with انْقَعَضَ—see Lisān s.r. قعض.

قفف قُفٌّ *high ground*, hence *retreat*, *refuge*, Hudh. W. No. 143 *v.* 8.

قلذم قَلَيْذَمٌ *a well* (metaphorically), Ibn Qut. Sh. 496[15].

قلع مَقالِعُ (pl. of مَقْلَعٌ) *mines*, مَقالِعُ الكِبْرِيت, Abu-l-Fidā, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (ed. Reinaud) 236[20].

قلقل قُلْقُلانٌ adj. *active*, *agile*, Ibn Qut. Sh. 253[10].

قهر قَهَرَ a. *to be high*, said of a mountain, Ibn H. 799[14], cf. جبال قواهر شوامخ, Asās s.r. قهر.

قور قَوَّرَ *to cut out*, *excise*, قَوَّرَ لِسانَه عن أَصْلِه, Bukhalā 54[10].

قول قَيْلٌ *Himyarite prince* forms a fem. قَيْلَةٌ, Dīnaw. 42[9].

قيض قَيْضًا بنا—قَيْضٌ "instead of us," "in exchange for us," Ibn H. 175[18].

كأس كَأْسٌ—The pl. أَكْواسٌ, of which Dozy gives several instances from late authors, occurs in ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ (ed. Lyall) No. 24 *v.* 5, and in Musl. D. No. 22 *v.* 23, No. 26 *v.* 67, No. 37 *v.* 25; in the first, third and fourth of these passages the more usual form أَكْؤُسٌ would suit the metre equally well, but in the second passage it would be impossible.

كبر كَبَّرَ used absolutely, *to show respect for old age*, Ibn H. 778[4], cf. Bukh. ii 297[6].

كتف كَتَفٌ—بين أَكْتافِ أَصْحابِك "behind thine army," Tab. i 411[3].

كثب كَثَبٌ—Instead of رَمَى مِنْ كَثَبٍ "He aimed from a near spot," we also find رَمَى كَثَبًا, Mufaḍḍ. C. i 23[1].

كدم كَادَمَ *he fought with his teeth* (like a wild beast), وصاروا الى المُكادَمَة, Dīnaw. 279[20] seq.

كدى كَدَّى *to be a miser*, see Bukhalā 47[6] seq.

كُدْيَةٌ *beggary* was supposed by Wright (*Travels of Ibn Jubair*, Glossary) to be derived from the Persian گدائى or گدايه; but it would seem that De Goeje doubted this etymology, for in his new edition of Wright's work (1907) the remark is omitted. It is certainly much more probable that the meaning "beggary" is derived from that of "barren land."

كردس تَكَرْدَسَ *to divide* (intrans.) into separate bands, تَكَرْدَسوا كَراديسَ, Agh. xx 136[20] (the Singular of كَراديس is كُرْدوسٌ, not كُرْدوسة as given by Freytag).

كرم كَرُمَ *to be dear* to a person (with على), Ḥam. 218[15].

كَرامَةٌ *the power of working miracles*, Baiḍ. i 584[6].

كرو اكْتَرَى is applied not only to the *hiring* of things but also to the hiring of persons, Dīnaw. 292[11].

كسر كَسَرَ i.—كَسَرَ السِّجْنَ "He escaped from prison," Dīnaw. 167[15].

كَسِيرٌ—بَيْتٌ كَسِيرٌ *a tent with fringes*, or *flaps* (كُسور), that rest on the ground, Ḥam. 265[11].

كسع كَسَعَ *to augment* a word by adding a letter at the end (with ب of the letter), Mufaṣṣal 36[18].

كشف انْكَشَفَ *to flee* (absol.), Ṭab. ii 1124[11], *to abandon* a person (with عن), Ibn H. 744[7].

كفر كَوافِرُ *hidden*, *covered*, said of mountain-tops hidden in the clouds, Nāb. No. 8 *v.* 15.

كفف كُفَّ *to be surrounded* by something (with ب), Imr. No. 52 *v.* 11.

كَفٌّ *sleeve*, فى كَفِّ سِرْبالِى, Nöld. Beitr. 185 last line but one.

أَكافيف *mountain-slopes*, Akhṭal 102[1] (with variants, Lisān xi 217[2]).

كفى كافٍ *rich* (opp. to فقير), Ibn H. 114[2] (= Qālī i 246[12], Azraqī 68[11]).

كلأ كَلَأَ *to watch* a thing (acc.) *during the night*, Ibn Qut. Sh. 17[9] (= 403[7]).

كلسم كَلْسَمَ *to rush, hasten* (intrans.), Ṭab. i 761[14].

كلف كُلْفاءُ *reddish-brown* is said in the Lisān xi 218[7] to be an epithet of wine, but in Akhṭal 98[4] it is an epithet of a wine-*jar*.

كلل كُلّ is rarely prefixed to an *indefinite* Plural, e.g. كُلّ آلِهَةٍ "every set of gods" (= كُلّ أُمَّةٍ آلِهَةٌ), Bukh. iv 463[8], كُلّ بنى حُرَّةٍ "every family born of a noble mother," Labīd Ch. 19[1]; but كُلّ أُناسٍ (Ḥam. 346[12], Qur'ān 2[57]) is not an instance of this, since أُناس (ناس) is often construed as sing. masc. (see Ṭab. Glossary s.v. نوس).

كلم كَلِمٌ is given in the Lexicons as a pl. of كَلِمَةٌ, but in Ibn H. 657[4] it is treated as Singular—see also Dozy.

كنز اِكْتَنَزَ *to store up*, اِكْتَنَزَهُ لِنَفْسِهِ, Ibn H. 138[5] (= Ibn Sa'd iv, part 1, 54[10]).

لألأ لَأْلاءُ *brightness, radiance*, Abū Nuwās (*Weinlieder*, ed. Ahlwardt) No. 4 *v.* 4.

لأم اِلْتَأَمَ *to attach oneself* to a person (with الى), Dīnaw. 218[15].

لبس لَبَّسَ *to bring* a thing *into contact* with something else (with acc. and ب), Ḥam. 89[13], Naq. 319[4].

لبن لَبُونٌ *milch-camel* is also used as a Collective, Ḥam. 712[7], Naq. 90[17] (see line 14).

لحم المَلاحِمُ is a name given to certain apocryphal books, or poems, containing predictions—see Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe* etc., Amsterdam, 1894, p. 56 seq., also Dīnaw. 301[2], أَخْبَرَنى بذلك مَنْ قَرَأَ الكُتُبَ وعَرَفَ المَلاحِمَ.

لسن لِسانٌ *tongue of land, promontory*, Bibl. geogr. viii 48[9].

لفت اِلْتِفاتٌ, in grammar, is a *sudden transition* from one of the three persons to another, or from addressing one person to addressing another, Baid. i 32[27], 544[26].

لفف أَلَفُّ *a crowd of combatants*, فى الأَلَفّ, Ibn H. 517[17].

لفو تَلافَى *to reach, come to* a place (acc.), 'Alq. No. 13 *v.* 25 [the var. تَلاقَى is to be rejected].

لقى أَلْقَى *to set up* in a conspicuous position, Fakhri 166[12], 182[1].

اِسْتَلْقَى *to spread itself over the ground*, said of a plant, Mubarrad 6[16].

لمس اِلْتَمَسَ *to attempt to do* a thing (acc.), Ibn H. 51[15].

لوط لَائِطٌ (= لُوطِيٌّ) makes a pl. لَاطَةٌ (cf. قَافَةٌ from قَائِفٌ), Th. u. M. 9[12] (see the *Corrigenda*).

مثل تَمَثَّلَ *to be addressed*, تَمَثَّلَ له الكلامُ, Baid. i 583[12].

محش اِمْتَحَشَ *to burn* may be either transitive or intransitive, according to the Lisān—the reading اِمْتُحِشُوا (Lisān viii 236[24]) is found in Bukh iv. 462[4], 464[11].

محق المحاق or المُحاق is usually a substantive, *the period during which the moon is invisible* (e.g. Bibl. geogr. viii 71[10]), but in Akhṭal 31[4] it is employed as an adj., وبالقَمَرِ المُحاقِ.

مدد مادّة *provisions, necessaries*, Balādh. 127[5], Fakhrī 274[1]—in Ṭab. ii 1061[10] it appears to include other things besides food (طَعام).

مرأ المَرْأَةُ · بَعْضُهُنَّ, Bukh. i 37[9]—see above s.v. الرُّجُلُ.

مرر مُرّاء (sic) *Species vini* (Freytag from Golius) is probably a scribal error for المُزّاء, see Lisān vii 276[15] seq.

مزق اِمَّزَقَ, Mubarrad 241[3], is described by Dozy as "VIII" instead of "VII," and translated "déchirer" instead of "être déchiré" [in this verse على بَرائنها evidently means "in spite of their claws"].

مسح مِسْحٌ *coarse cloth*, Agh. ii 33[13], pl. مُسوحٌ applied to *mourning raiment*, Ṭab. iii 525[7], also to *the garb of religious devotees or ascetics*, Ibn H. 348[15], Agh. ii 33[20], 34[21], similarly أَمْساحٌ Agh. ii 36[9], and the dual in the phrase ذو المِسْحَيْنِ *an ascetic*, Ibn H. 385[4].

مسك مَسْكٌ *skin* is used not only in referring to beasts but also in referring to men, e.g. كان شَيْطانًا فى مَسْكِ إِنْسانٍ, Dinaw. 325[20].

مضمض مَضْمَضَةٌ *a short slumber*, Dīnaw. 177[7].

مضى مَضَى i. *to continue to do* a thing, may be construed not only with a preposition (see Dozy) but also with the Imperfect, مَضَى يُحَدِّثُ Bukh. i 24[8] seq.

مطو تَمَطَّى *to journey far, prolong a march*, Farazd. B. 144[9].

مكث مَكَثَ u., construed with عن, is *to refrain from attacking*, Ibn H. 418[5].

ملأ مُلِّئَ *to be filled* is said of chains when they are used for binding captives, ومُلِّئَ مِنْ أَسْرَى تَمِيمٍ أَدَاهِمَهٌ, Farazd. B. 97[6].

ملك مَلَّكَ *to give in marriage*, with two accusatives, Bukh. iii 403[17].

منح مَنَحَ a. *to forgive* a person for a thing, with two accusatives, Mufaṣṣal 17[12].

مهر مَهِيرٌ *noble born*, Ibn H. 274[11] (Abū Dharr, المهير الصّحيح النّسب).

موت مِيتَ impersonal passive, مِيتَ عنها "She was left a widow," Mubarrad 257[5].

مَوْتٌ—وهو بالموت "when he was at the point of death," Ibn H. 359[10] (وهو يموت in Ṭab. i 1423[5]).

نثر نَثِرٌ adj., كالغَبْيَةِ النَّثِرَةِ "like a spreading rain-storm," Ṭab. i 903[5] (corruptly Ibn H. 14[12]).

نحو كَنَحْوِ *according to...*, which Freytag quotes from an Arabic translation of the New Testament, is found also in Azraqī 7[5].

نردشير نَرْدَشِير *dice* (see Dozy) occurs in Musl. Ṣ. ii 199[14], مَن لَعِبَ بالنَّرْدَشِير فكأنّما صَبَغَ يَدَه فى لَحْمِ خِنزِيرٍ ودَمِه.

نزع نَزَعَ i. used absolutely, *to change one's mind*, Ḥam. 202[18], 244[27].

نزق نَزِقٌ *frivolous, silly* (in parallelism with جاهل), Muwashshà 120[5] [for وتَعْنِى read وتُعْلِنُ?].

نسأ نَسَأَ *to intercalate*—for the construction of this verb, see Ibn H. 29[18] (كانوا يَنْسَؤُون الشُّهورَ), 30[8], 31[2].

نِسَاءَةٌ *the office of intercalator, the right of fixing the intercalation*, Azraqī 125[18] [in Ibn H. 29[12] seq. النّسِاءة is a mistake for النَّسَأَةُ or النُّسَاة, pl. of نَاسِئٌ *intercalator*, see Ṭab. Glossary].

نسخ نَسَخَ a. is not only *to copy in writing* but also *to put in writing* for the first time, as when it is said of the Apostle John نَسَخَ لهم الإِنْجِيلَ, Ibn H. 149[17].

نسل النَّسْلُ *the human race*, Bibl. geogr. viii 77[11].

نسى ناسَى with two accusatives, *to join with* someone *in forgetting* something, ناسيْتُهم بَغْضاءهم, Ḥam. 112[14].

نشج نَشّاجٌ lit. *sobbing* is used by Imru'u-l-Qais (No. 36 *v.* 2) as an epithet of a wine-skin; there is a var. نَشّاحًا *exuding moisture*, but نَشّاجًا is in accordance with Lisān iii 201[12], نَشَجَ الزِّقُّ والحُبُّ والقِدْرُ اذا غَلَى ما فيه حتّى يُسْمَع له صَوْتٌ.

نشد ناشَدَ with two accusatives, *to ask* a person for a thing, يُناشِدُ رَبَّه ما وَعَدَه من النَّصْر "imploring his Lord (to send) the help which He had promised," Ibn H. 444[13].

نصص تَنْصِيصٌ *declaration*, بالتَّنْصيص على قَواعد العَقائد "by declaring the fundamental dogmas," Baiḍ. i 247[5].

نضج أَنْضَجَ *to scorch*, metaph. *to afflict, distress*, Ibn H. 618[8], Muwashshà 120[15].

نطح ناطَحَ *to be near to* a thing (acc.), Ibn H. 26[19] (= Ṭab. i 928[19])—see Dozy.

نظر مَنْظَرٌ—قد كنتَ فى مَنْظَرٍ عن ذا "Thou hast been where thou couldest see all this," Dīnaw. 186[3].

نفح مَنْفَحٌ *the quarter from which a wind blows*, Dīnaw. 36[16].

نفذ أَنْفَذَ *to complete* a verse, Ṭab. ii 1113[10].

نكب نَكَّبَ *to avert* an evil (acc.), Ḥam. 14[24]: for the construction of نَكَّبَ with two accusatives, see Aus ibn Ḥajar (ed. Geyer) No. 12 *v.* 29.

نَكْباء, in Ibn H. 316[18], seems to mean "misfortune," but the true reading is نَكْراء—see Lisān i 327[24].

نكس نَكَسَ u. *to bend the head down* (object understood), Bukh. i 342[20] (var. فنَكَّسَ mentioned in Qasṭallānī)—see also Ṭab. Glossary.

نهس نَهْسَةٌ *mouthful*, Ibn H. 795[15].

هجر هِجْرَةٌ in the phrase كانتْ له هِجْرَةٌ "He was one of the Emigrants," Dīnaw. 149[21], cf. له صُحْبَةٌ "He was one of the Companions of the Prophet," Balādh. 179[9] and often elsewhere.

هدأ هَدَأَ a. *to cease*, said of a feud, Ḥam. 252[2], of rumours (أَصْوات), Ibn H. 467[10] seq., *to cease to trouble* a person (with عن), Ḥam. 266[16].

هدل هَدَّلَ—In Abū Miḥjan No. 14 *v.* 3 the phrase ما هَدَّلَ الوَرَقُ is rendered by Abel "quamdiu folia (de ramis) dependebunt," see also the note on p. 32. But it seems to me much more probable that we should read ما هَدَّلَ الوُرُقُ "as long as the doves coo" (الوُرْقُ = الوُرُقُ), cf. Naq. 555[15]

لَنَا مَا تَمَنَّيْنَا مِنَ العَيْشِ مَا دَعَا هَدِيلًا حَمَامَاتٌ بِنَعْمَانَ هُتَّفُ

For the use of هَدَّلَ in speaking of a large number of individuals, cf. بَرَّكَ, مَوَّتَ etc. (Wright's *Grammar*, 3rd ed. i 31 B).

هزم هَزَائِمُ in Naq. 386[3] must mean *defeats, disasters*, not "fugitives," as stated in the Glossary.

هفو هَفَا ü. *to make a mistake*, هَفَا بِقَوْلٍ, Dinaw. 333[2], *to fail to understand* a thing (with عن), Nöld. Beitr. 186[10].

هكل هَيْكَلٌ—That this word may denote *the chancel* in a Christian church is well known (see Dozy), but it is also applied to *the shrine* in a heathen temple هَيْكَلُ بيتِ الأَصْنَامِ, Fihrist 328[3]; since the passage in question is derived from an ancient Manichaean source this use of *haikal* probably goes back to the heathen Aramaeans.

هلج هَلِيلَجٌ or إِهْلِيلَجٌ *myrobalanum*—both forms are given in the Lisān, but Freytag omits the former, which occurs in Bibl. geogr. viii 21[15].

هند الهِنْدِيُّ is said to mean *aloes-wood* (العُودُ), Ibn Qut. Sh. 117[5] (= Lisān iv 450[8], xv 388[24]).

وتر وَتَرَ i. *to provoke a blood-feud with* someone (acc.), Dīnaw. 40[11], Ṭab. i 759[5].

وثق وَثِقَ i. *to feel sure* that a person will obtain something, وَثِقْتُ له بالنَّصْرِ "I was sure that he would gain the victory," Nāb. No. 1 *v.* 8, similarly No. 20 *v.* 23, and also where it is a question of two persons, لا أَثِقُ لك به "I am not sure that he will support thee," Mubarrad 599[7].

ثِقَةٌ *a trustworthy authority* may be used in speaking of several persons, ليسوا بثِقَةٍ, Musl. Ṣ. i 12[26].

مَوْثُوقٌ *trustworthy* occurs Farazd. B. 4[13].

وحل وَحْلٌ (= وَحَلٌ) *soft clay, mud,* is said in the Lisān to be an incorrect form (لغة رديّة), but it occurs in a verse, Agh. vii 187[16].

ورق وَرَقٌ *foliage* is used metaphorically for *bounty, generosity* (النَّدى), Ḥam. 169[25].

وزر تَوازَرَ *to help one another,* Ibn H. 517[15].

وسد وَسَّدَ *to confer* an office, a dignity etc.—the tradition اذا وُسِّدَ الأَمْرُ الى غيرِ أَهْلِه الخ, cited Lisān iv 475[12], occurs in Bukh. i 24[11].

وسط سِطَةٌ *high rank,* Ibn H. 120[9], cf. الواسطة "eminent persons," Ṭab. Glossary.

وسع سَعَةٌ *prose,* Mufaṣṣal 36[7], 77[12].

وشك أَوْشَكَ *to do* a thing *quickly* or *immediately,* فأَوْشَكْتُ منه ارْتِحالى, Agh. v 156[19].

وعظ عِظَةٌ *an example* (Germ. *Strafexempel*), لِيَجْعَلَه عِظَةً, Dīnaw. 33[10].

وغل واغِلٌ *situated in the interior* of a country, فحَدَّ لهم مَكانًا واغلًا فى ارضهم, Dīnaw. 59[9] seq., من الواغلين فى الشَّمال "of those that dwell in the far North," Bibl. geogr. viii 23[14].

وَغّالٌ *a parasite,* hence, apparently, *a very poor man,* Akhṭal 161[8] [footnote *g* seems to be erroneous, since the poet is referring to the buyer, not to the seller].

وقع وَقَّعَ a.—فوَقَّعَ النّاسُ فى شَجَرِ البَوادى "They began to suggest various kinds of desert trees," Bukh. i 25[6] (= 46[14]).

ولق أَوْلَقُ *a demon that causes madness,* applied metaphorically to *a swift camel,* Yāqūt i 572[7].

يمم تَيَمَّمَ, like يَمَّمَ, may mean *to direct one's course towards* a person or a place (acc.), فتَيَمَّمَ النّبىَّ [not النبىُّ as printed by Krehl], Bukh. i 314[6], تَيَمَّمْتُ أَنا وأُمُّ أَيّوبَ موضعَ يَدِه "Umm Ayyūb and I sought out the place which his hand had touched," Ibn H. 338[15].

A. A. Bevan.

THE CHARACTER OF VOHU MANAH AND ITS EVOLUTION IN ZOROASTRIANISM

As is well known, according to Zoroaster's teaching, *Ahura Mazda*, the "Wise god," god of Heaven and of everything good, is surrounded by a host of ministering angels. These are called *Amesha Spentas*, "Immortal Holy ones," the later Persian Amshaspands. They are six in number. Their names are personifications of abstractions or virtues, a combination which suggests the probability of an intentional, artificial creation, while, on the other hand, they also are worshipped as guardians of several portions of the concrete creation: flocks, fire, plants, metals, water, and the like. In this function, which is very prominent in later times, they play the part of the genii in other religions and exhibit various features which have a more or less primitive character.

For this reason, some persons and notably L. H. Gray (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii, 345 ff.) have held the view that the material aspect is the older and that the names as well as the mystical meaning of those beings are a product of religious speculation. This opinion has been rejected by the majority of the scholars in Iranian philology. They do not seem however to have explained to full satisfaction in what way the material attributes have attached themselves to the moral hypostases. Moreover, the personality of several of the *Amesha Spentas* has a rather complicated character, and here again one has not completely elucidated what the relations are between the various aspects of those deities.

The object of this note therefore is to attempt to make a synthetic study of the character of *Vohu Manah*, the first in rank of the *Amesha Spentas*.

These are the descriptions given of his character by the most recent authors.

A. V. Williams Jackson (*Grund. Iran. Phil.*, ii, p. 637) translates the name by "Guter Gedanke." The archangel is,

according to him, the personification of Ahura Mazda's good mind and divine wisdom. He is working both in God and in men. He is Mazda's counsellor and the supporter of his kingdom. Vohu Manah also presides over the assembly of the righteous in Paradise and welcomes there the souls of the elect.

Bartholomae (*Gātha's des Awesta*, p. 130) prefers to use "Guter Sinn" as a translation. His description applies more especially to the part played by Vohu Manah in the *gāthās*. He is there not only the "good mind" but also the man "whose mind is good and right." Moreover the good mind gives the expectation of the reward. Vohu Manah therefore is also "remuneration, inheritance, gain, blessing, life."

Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 111, 171) conceives otherwise the relation between Vohu Manah and Paradise. This *Amesha Spenta* is the "thought of God and of every good man" and consequently also "Paradise" where "the Best Thought dwells." The writer even thinks it fair to claim that Zoroaster anticipated Marlowe and Milton in the great doctrine that

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

Lawrence H. Mills (*Avesta Eschatology*, p. 73) gives a very exalted and poetical description of Vohu Manah's character:

> "It was a deep yearning in the universe toward all the good, making what was best in their sentient longings real.... It was a warm breath of active sympathy, a passion pervading conscious nature everywhere like a befriending instinct...the quiet force in the love of man for his brother...." Moreover, "it is an attribute and emotion of a Supreme Person; it meant the deep love of Almighty God for all the righteous living under His holy eye."

More recent writers who, however, are no specialists cling to the translation: "Gute Gesinnung."

One finds it in von Schröder's *Arische Religion*, i, 282 and in Orelli's *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, ii, 156. The latter admits that this "Gute Gesinnung" can also apply to man's mind. He adds that being wise, Vohu Manah brings peace.

The most ancient translator of Vohu Manah's name, viz. Plutarch, renders it by θεὸς εὐνοίας.

None of these descriptions is complete. The effort to show the relation between the various meanings is very superficial. It is not surprising therefore that the writers do not agree with one another.

Prior to any enquiry one should point out that the various meanings of Vohu Mánah may be divided into four groups:

(1) The expression refers to forms of the religious spirit and to religion in general.

(2) It is an equivalent of the religious man and the religious community.

(3) It is a designation of Paradise.

(4) It is the name of the tutelary genius of cattle.

Which is the most primitive of those meanings? Are they all derived from a more ancient, or in what relation do they stand to one another? These are the questions which should be answered in the present note.

As to the primitive meaning, it is no doubt advisable to take into special account the use of the term in the *gāthās*, these being the most ancient Iranian text and the purest representative of the Zoroastrian doctrine in its prime. Some caution however is necessary here. The prophet in his preaching was the advocate of a reform. He wanted to substitute for the traditional beliefs of his fellow-countrymen a coherent system with a peculiar kind of classification of the religious feelings. It has often happened that reformers in the domain of religion or ethics borrowed their vocabulary from the current language of the time or from the terminology of some pre-existing creed and gave to those expressions a technical meaning, appreciably different from their previous one.

Now, it is a fact that most of the Zoroastrian terms had already an ethical or religious meaning prior to Zoroaster: *asha* is the *ṛta* of the Vedas, *ârmatay* is the Vedic *aramati*, *haurvatât* is Skr. *sarvatātī*, and so on.

Vohu manah does not seem to have been an exception, since we find that *Vasumanas* was the name of one of the rishis or priests of the Vedic period (the writer of RV. 10, 179, 3, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *Wörterbuch*, iii, 851). A prince of the *Mahābhārata* was named in the same way (*Mbh*. 2, 323; 3, 8504–12, 2536 *sqq*.). It seems therefore

that we have to do with a ready-made expression in India. Now, this compound may safely be brought back to Aryan times if one accepts the very probable conjecture of Weissbach, who reads in the inscription on the grave of Darius: [*V*]*aumaniša*. This name is in perfect parallelism to *Haxāmaniš*, name of the ancestor of the great Achaemenian dynasty. *Haxāmaniš* means "with friendly mind," while *Vaumaniš* is "with a good mind."

The use of *manah* in the compound *Haxāmaniš*, which is obviously more moral than intellectual, induces us to interpret it in the same manner in *Vaumaniš* and in *Vohu manah*.

The meaning therefore cannot have been very different from that of the parallel Greek adjective: εὐμενής, "well-disposed, favourable, gracious[1]."

The word *manas* in Sanskrit also has the meaning of "mood, disposition of mind" besides that of "mind."

We therefore shall not considerably diverge from the truth if we assume that Skr. *vasumanas*, A. Pers. *vaumaniš*, had the meaning of "well-disposed, favourable." Av. *Vohu manah* consequently expressed a favourable disposition of mind, which according to the case may have come fairly near to our concepts of "good will, benevolence, honesty, solicitude, kindness," and perhaps even "good cheer."

That meaning is not only general but sentimental. It refers to the kind of disposition one likes to meet in a person. For a moral adviser or a preacher it will therefore be the state of mind which prepares a man for the acceptance of the teaching, for the practice of the doctrine, for the development of spiritual life.

It is not difficult to explain how a term of that kind when it is adopted by the language of a religion may come to designate a very important element in the conversion and the virtuous life of a believer. And therefore much in the same way as, in Christian language, the "sons of grace" are the righteous and the believers, the Zoroastrians are the men of *Vohu manah* and *Vohu manah* comes very near to the concept of spirituality and "religion."

This explains that through a metonymy, *Vohu manah*

[1] The parallel holds true whether the first element is *esus* as Boisacq contends (*Dict. Et. Gr.*, 298) or *vesus* as most etymologists take it.

in the Avesta is found for *ašavan* "faithful" or for the "community of the faithful." So in the *gâthâs* (Y. 45. 4), Ahura Mazda is called the father of the "industrious *Vohu manah*."

As Bartholomae (*Gathas*, p. 74) points out, industriousness normally applies in the *gāthās* to the husbandmen who practise the religion preached by Zoroaster. So he translates "des feldantreibenden frommen Volks." The "pious people" are thus symbolised here by the abstract expression: *Vohu manah*, "religion, piety."

We should not hesitate therefore to translate, in some curious passages of the Vendidād, *Vohu manah* simply by "the faithful." So in Vd. xix, 20: "Ahura Mazda, thou art never asleep, never intoxicated; *Vohu manah* is being directly defiled, *Vohu manah* is being indirectly defiled; the daêvas (daemons) defile him through the bodies smitten by them, let *Vohu manah* be made clean."

In Vd. xix, 23 the description of the purification is given:

Thus *Vohu manah* shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. Then he shall take up *Vohu manah* with his left arm and his right...and thou shalt lay down *Vohu manah* under the light made by the mighty gods, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away."

Vd. xix, 25:

Thus can *Vohu manah* be cleansed. Thus can the man be cleansed. He shall take up *Vohu manah* with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, Vohu Manah shall say aloud: Glory be to Ahura Mazda, Glory be to the Amesha Spentas, Glory be to all the faithful.

Various commentators, as Darmesteter and Gray, think that in one or two instances *Vohu manah* should be understood here as meaning "cloth," i.e. "cloth made out of the skin of oxen." I cannot convince myself that it is possible to give two so very different meanings to *Vohu manah* in one and the same passage. Now, it cannot be doubted that in more than one place, it refers to a man. So, Wolf is quite right to render here *Vohu manah* by "der Gut(ge)sinn(te)[1]," but, of course, one should understand that it is the man imbued with what is called *Vohu manah*, "Guter Sinn" in the Zoroastrian religion, i.e. "a good religious disposition," and consequently "a faithful, a religious man," and more especially in this passage "a penitent."

[1] *Avesta*, p. 430.

There is a striking proof of the broadness of this concept when applied to a man with religious or simply honest and good feelings. The indefinite pronoun in Pahlavi (*vahmạn*) and Persian (بهمان), as Salemann very sensibly points out (*Grund. Iran. Phil.* i, 1, p. 294), is nothing but the word *Vohu manah*, which has undergone the degradation of meaning inflicted upon *bonhomme* and *brave homme* in French ("un bonhomme quelconque," "quelque brave homme du pays," etc.) and upon "Christian" in Russ. крестьянинъ "peasant." *Vohu manah* has even gone further, since it has come to mean "the first comer, some one."

A very different branching in the semasiological evolution of *Vohu manah* is that which brought it to designate the greatest good of man, the possession of Paradise.

A passage of the *Dīnkart* (ix, 32, 11) shows that even in Sāsānian times the clue to that surprising development was not entirely lost. It is said there that *Vahman* (= *Vohu manah*) is the person's formation of the righteous and laudable desire for wealth and other temporal blessings.

Now this connection between an honest or religious disposition and the securing of a great reward is in complete agreement with the doctrine and the spirit of the *gāthās*. Even there, there is a constant and intentional ambiguity about the nature of the reward. A spiritual or moral blessing, a joy of the soul was no doubt meant, and the wise and the mystic understood it so, but the obvious and *primâ facie* meaning is more material, and the prophet did not object to the majority of his followers understanding that an honest and pious life was the surest means of securing wealth.

The happiness of the blest is designated by:
xšaθrəm ištōiš, "kingdom of wealth" (Y. 51, 2);
xšaθrəm savaṅhō, "kingdom of the useful" (*ib.*);
xšaθrəm haurvatātō, "kingdom of prosperity" (Y. 34, 1);
rāyō ašīš, "reward of wealth" (Y. 43, 1).

One also finds: *xšaθrəm magahyā* (Y. 51, 15) which Bartholomae rather awkwardly translates by "was Zaraθuštra den Bündlern als Lohn in Aussicht gestellt." I have endeavoured in *Muséon* 1908, p. 132, to demonstrate by a comparison of passages that *maga* also means "wealth" so

that "*xšaθrəm magahyā*" is a synonym of the other expressions.

Now, one also finds those expressions of wealth and joy associated with *Vohu Manah*:

vaṅhəuš gaēm mananhō, "the life of V. M." (Y. 43, 1);
m. v. x^vənvaṭ haṅhuš, "the great gain of V. M." (Y. 53, 4);
v. m. ašiš, "the reward of V. M." (Y. 33, 13);
v. m. vyąm, "the share of V. M." (Y. 48, 7);
v. m. āyaptā, "the delights of V. M." (Y. 28, 7);
v. m. mayā, "the blessings of V. M." (Y. 43, 2).

And again: *v. m. magai* (Y. 51, 11) which means "wealth of V. M.," if our interpretation is right.

Moreover the great kingdom of happiness of wealth, which the faithful strive and long for, the *xšaθra vairya* "desirable kingdom," is often called "kingdom of *Vohu Manah*" (Y. 46, 80, Y. 34, 11) or "the house of *Vohu Manah*" (Y. 30, 10), or "the pasture of V. M." (Y. 33, 3).

An indication as to the reason why this great reward is called in that way is provided by Y. 33, 13: "Mayest Thou, O Ahura, grant me as the reward of *Vohu Manah* (i.e. 'of my religious, honest disposition' or 'of my good conscience') the incomparable blessings of Thy Kingdom."

This *Vohu Manah* of hereafter is simply the perpetuation of the *Vohu Manah* of this world. One wishes both together: "Ahura Mazdah shall grant to her soul the glorious heritage of *Vohu Manah* for all times" is the wish of *Jāmāspa* for his bride *Pouručista*, the younger daughter of Zoroaster (Y. 53, 4). One is told very definitely in Y. 34, 13 that the way to that felicity is on "the road of V. M. (good thought, piety, honesty) built by Asha (right) on which the souls of the future prophets shall go to the reward."

Now the heavenly happiness is also designated by the superlative *Vahišta Manah* "the best mind, best disposition," and notably in the very important passage of the *gāthās* where the prophet makes a definite statement of a dualistic character about the part played by the good and the wicked Spirit at the beginning and at the end of things: "And when both those Spirits came together, they established for the first time Life and Destruction and it was decided that at the end of things the tenants of the Drug (Spirit of Deceit)

shall receive the worst existence, while the followers of Asha (right) will secure *Vahišta Manah* (best mind, best disposition)" (Y. 30, 4).

Bartholomae ventures to propose for this passage a rendering of *manah* by "Aufenthalt, Wohnstatt," which is quite unjustifiable. One could only accept that signification if it were attested by other passages or if the well-established meaning "mind, disposition" could not possibly fit in the text. Now, in the only other passage where *manah* is reported by Bartholomae as meaning "dwelling" (Y. 34, 8), the good reward of the righteous is also meant. On the other hand, in Y. 30, 4, *manah* is in parallelism with *aṅhu* "existence," a circumstance which induces us to regard *manah* as meaning "mind" rather than "dwelling."

Vahišta Manah and *Vohu Manah* refer to the same Heavenly felicity and there is no reason why we should consider them as two different words. Besides, in the verse following the famous statement Zoroaster himself gives an interpretation of the expression *Vahišta Manah*: "Of both those spirits," says he, "the deceitful one made choice of the deeds of the *worst spirit*, while the *best spirit* clung to Justice, he whose dress is the firmament, and like him did all those who are prone to please Ahura Mazda by righteous actions" (Y. 30, 5). Although "best spirit" in this text is a rendering of *spəništō mainyuš* and not of *Vahištəm manō*, it is clear that one has to do with the same kind of ideas, i.e. a contrast between the best inspiration (in the latter case it is the spirit of God) and the worst which has as a counterpart the opposition between the best existence and the worst, i.e. the reward of *Vohu Manah*, "best mind" or the punishment of *Aka Manah*, "evil mind."

This word *Vahištəm*, abbreviation of *Vahištəm manō* or *Vahištō aṅhuš*, introduced by the Zoroastrians, substituted itself gradually for other more ancient names, such as *garōnmāna* "house of praise," "house of hymns" (Gâthic *garō dəmāna*), which still survives in Persian : گرزمان.

Vahištəm also penetrated into the vernacular. It is the source of Pers. بهشت. In this word the first *i* is due to an assimilation. In Kurdish one has the normal form : بهشت (Horn. *N. Pers. Etym.* 246).

While we thus have accounted for three of the meanings of *Vohu Manah*, "religion," "faithful," "Paradise," we have not attempted to discover how this moral entity has come to be regarded as the tutelary genius of cattle.

Two circumstances have eventually contributed to that surprising development.

First, it is a well-known fact that in Central Asia, wealth consisted almost entirely in cattle. One was confronted there with a situation similar to that which is revealed for ancient Europe by the fact that Lat. *pecunia*, Engl. *fee*, referring to money, are akin to Lat. *pecus*, Germ. *Vieh*. Since the possession of wealth—at least by the majority of the faithful—was regarded as the corollary and the reward of a good conscience, of an honest disposition of mind and of the conversion to Zoroastrian principles, it was unavoidable that such possession in the imagination of those simple faithful should take the form of large flocks of cattle. A passage like Y. 44, 6 is very characteristic of such a state of mind: "Is it through Thee, that the kingdom (of wealth) will be granted? O *Vohu Manah*, for whom hast thou created cattle, the profitable one?"

The prophet who knew the minds of his men constantly uses metaphors in which salvation and felicity is symbolised by oxen: "To anyone who deserves the reward of the life hereafter let it be granted, beside the fulfilment of all his desires, to possess the ox (or cow?) Azi!" (Y. 46, 19). Paradise is compared by the Iranians, not to a field of asphodels, but to a pasture. In that pasture felicity dwells in the form of an ox. In the language of Zoroaster such expressions have a mystical meaning, as, for instance, in Y. 47, 3: "Thou art the Holy Father of the Spirit that has created for us the Ox, bringer of blessings. Ârmatay is his pasture giving him peace." Ârmatay is the spirit of peace, order and moderation. For the people it is also "the great passive one," i.e. "the earth." The initiated will therefore understand that the felicity of the elect will be enjoyed in a well-harmonized conscience and in a pacified soul. The majority of the faithful will consider the same words as a promise of much wealth and notably of cattle in a better world.

The paradise of *Vohu Manah* is also the paradise of

Wealth, i.e. the paradise of Cattle. *Vohu Manah* brings wealth, i.e. he brings cattle. Beside this reason of a general character why *Vohu Manah* was predestined to become the genius of cattle, there was another, more special to Zoroastrianism and which, no doubt, was the more important.

By his preaching, the prophet aimed not only at converting his fellow-countrymen to religious conceptions superior to the polytheistic beliefs of the Indo-Iranians. He not only endeavoured to eradicate from the worship the use of the intoxicating drink *haoma* (= Skr. *soma*), the slaughtering of cattle, and various superstitious practices related to the cult of the daêvas. He also made an effort to induce his people to give up nomadic existence and form settled communities.

The Aryans on their way to Central Asia and to India had to cross wide stretches of steppes and deserts which have always been occupied by nomads. No doubt, they themselves lived that kind of existence during some time.

When they penetrated into the most fertile grounds of Irân and Punjâb they gradually took to agriculture. It is clear that, whether it was in Bactria or elsewhere, the prophet found himself in a community living in a stage of transition. In his mind, ethics and religion cannot be associated with the adventurous, irregular life of the nomadic tribes, living only too often at the expense of more sedentary people, who are the victims of their predatory spirit. Morality and religion for a Zoroastrian is a question of good sense and sound intelligence. The same soundness of mind should bring a man to understand his own interests and exchange a precarious existence for a well-organised life. It should especially bring him to take good care of his cattle, his main source of income. He should not slaughter them wantonly or for gorgeous sacrifices as were doing the superstitious cowboys of the steppes.

The respect for cattle associated the more naturally with religion, since for the Indo-Iranians, the cow was conceived as a gift of the gods, as a divine being. Good care of cattle can therefore easily be regarded as an act of piety. At any rate, in the eyes of Zoroaster the sound mentality which leads to a religious conversion also brings a man to be careful in his daily life and kind to all the creatures of Ahura Mazda.

So in Y. 31, 10 the industrious toiler in the fields is said to be the "practiser of *Vohu Manah*" (good sense).

In Y. 43, 6 we read that thanks to the influence of *Vohu Manah*, the house and the fields of the Zoroastrian will receive the blessings due to the Righteous.

In Y. 34, 3 the prophet declares that he offers a sacrifice to Ahura Mazda and to Asha (Justice) in order that they, *through Vohu Manah* (good mind), may bring to perfection *all beings* in the kingdom (or the district of the faithful).

The "Good Mind" is thus favourable to all beings, men and cattle. It will deter from any maltreatment of the animals, and thus in Vend. 4, 48, the question is asked: "And who of two men has best understood the 'Good Mind'? He who fills up his stomach with meat or he who doth not so?"

This text, of course, belongs to the later Avesta, i.e. to a time when the relation of *Vohu Manah* to cattle was quite established. The following passage of the *gâthâs* is, however, hardly less explicit: "He who has friendly feelings for the Righteous or...who is full of solicitude for cattle, will have his place in the pastures of Righteousness (*Asha*) and of the Good Mind (*Vohu Manah*)" (Y. 33, 3). Justice for men and "good mind" (solicitude, honesty, kindness) for the animals are therefore represented there as the two cardinal virtues of the Zoroastrians.

These quotations will suffice to show that a definite connection existed between *Vohu Manah* and cattle from the earliest period of Zoroastrianism. There is, however, some distance between a connection of that kind and the functions of a genius of cattle.

Now, there is a gap of the same kind between the material attributes of all the *Amesha Spentas* and their moral characteristics, viz. between *Asha* (justice) and Fire, *Xšaθra* (kingdom) and metals, *Ârmatay* (devotion, harmony) and Earth, *Harvatât* (prosperity) and waters, *Ameretatât* (immortality) and plants. For all of them, there are circumstances which prepared the attribution, but in all cases there is an element of artificiality which shows that the apportionment of the elements of the good creation under the *Amesha Spentas* has been to a certain extent systematic and intentional. It is probably a result of the tendency betrayed by

Zoroaster in his teachings, to cover ancient, naturalistic ideas or deities by conceptions of his own of a moral and spiritual character. The *Amesha Spentas* constitute a group of hypostases which has its full value in Zoroastrian mysticism, independently of their relation to fire, metals and the like. But there was some connection between those elements and those abstract deities. It was therefore easy and advisable to introduce them instead of various nature daemons which the people could not do without.

This is probably the element of truth contained in the thesis of L. H. Gray, which has been rejected because it was impossible to admit that *Asha*, *Vohu Manah* and the like should be regarded as mere spiritualisations of genii. The conclusion of this study is rather that the various meanings and functions of *Vohu Manah* can best be accounted for, if one starts from the meaning of this conception in its moral aspect. It is an abstract notion which has degraded itself to very concrete realities through a process which it is possible to follow in its various directions.

A. J. CARNOY.

LOUVAIN, *May* 1920.

NOTICE SUR UN CALENDRIER TURC

Lors de ma première visite à Constantinople, il y a pas mal d'années, je reçus en présent de deux jeunes savants turcs[1] quelques livres, parmi lesquels se trouvait un charmant calendrier, écrit en noir, carmin, orangé et or, à encadrements d'or. Ce calendrier était tout moderne: il est de l'an 1293 de l'hégire, 1876 du Christ; mais malgré sa date récente, il est composé selon l'ancien système, et il faut pour le commenter avoir recours aux vieux auteurs comme Bîrouni, Ṭousi ou Ḳazwîni. L'étude en est du reste, on peut le dire, assez amusante, car la langue où s'amalgament étroitement des mots arabes, turcs et persans, présente des difficultés variées, que je ne me flatte même pas d'avoir toutes résolues. Je vais dans une première section m'occuper de la partie proprement astronomique; dans la seconde j'étudierai les données relatives aux fêtes, à l'agriculture et à la météorologie.

I

Le titre général du Calendrier est: *Djadwal-i-ma'rifat i taḥwîli sâli 'âlemi u tawârîkh i mechhoureh*; table pour la connaissance du cours de l'an du monde, avec les dates populaires. Les deux premières pages renferment un court préambule sur les concordances de dates, l'éloge du ṣultan, etc., et deux tableaux. Ce calendrier, est-il dit dans le préambule, est celui de l'année 1293 de l'hégire (règne d'Abdul-Azîz); il commence au *Naurouz* le 24 de Safar le bon, le lundi à 1 heure 47 minutes 42 secondes, moment où le Soleil éclaireur et soutien du monde (مهر منير جهنكير) passe au point équinoxial du printemps. C'est le *nauroux Soultâni*

[1] Ces savants étaient: Salîḥ Zéky Bey, directeur de l'Observatoire Impérial de Péra, qui collabora avec moi à l'édition des *Pneumatiques* de Philon de Byzance; il devint recteur du Galata Séraï; et Rîzâ Tewfîḳ surnommé "le philosophe, *el-faïlasouf*" qui joua un rôle important dans la révolution turque, fut député d'Andrinople, devint plus tard ministre de l'Instruction publique et fit partie à la fin de la dernière guerre, de la délégation turque pour la paix. Il a publié deux importants traités de philosophie moderne en turc: le *Kâmous falsafah*, Stamboul, 1330 et le *Falsafah dersléri*, Stamboul, 1335.

dans l'année naturelle, et le jour y est égal à la nuit pour tous les pays. Cette date correspond à l'an 2187 d'Alexandre, à 1876 de la naissance du Christ, 8 du mois d'*Azâr* (le 8 Mars Julien), à l'an copte de Dioclétien[1] 1592, le 12 du mois de *Bermehât*, à l'an 798 de Djélâl ed-Dîn le Seldjoukide[2], 1er du mois de *Fervezdîn*, et c'est l'année 1254 de l'ère solaire de l'hégire, 1293 étant la date lunaire[3].

Suivent deux tableaux accolés de 12 cases chacun, deux carrés divisés par les diagonales et des quarts de cercles dans les angles. Celui de gauche est un thème astronomique, où figurent les signes du Zodiaque avec leurs noms arabes ordinaires, et les noms des planètes et de quelques étoiles, accompagnés de chiffres. Le titre de ce tableau est: "Table de l'horoscope (*tâli'*)[4] de l'année du monde pour l'horizon de Constantinople."

A droite, le titre est: "Table de l'année turque, زائجه سالِ تُرْكَان"; ce second tableau indique les douze années du cycle de 12 ans employé par les Turcs et les Mongols. Les années sont ici appelées dans leur ordre: موش, rat; كاو, bœuf; پارس, léopard; خرگوش, lièvre; نهنك, crocodile; مار, serpent; اسب, cheval; غنم, mouton; ميمون, singe; مرغ, oiseau; سك, chien; خوك, porc. Tous ces noms sont persans à l'exception de *ghanem*, mouton, qui est arabe, et de *maïmoun*, singe, qui est turc. L'année en question est la première du cycle ou l'année souris[5].

[1] Le ms. دقيانوسك.

[2] C'est l'ère *Djélâli* du grand sultan seldjoukide Malek Shah, mentionnée p. ex. dans le *Tarîkhè Gozide* de Mustâufi, éd. et trad. Gantin, I, p. 233.

[3] 1254 est le nombre d'années solaires écoulées depuis l'hégire. Sur les concordances de calendriers on peut voir Émile Lacoine, *Tables de concordance des dates des calendriers*, etc. Paris, 1891.

[4] Horoscope est le mot qui correspond à l'ar. *tâli'*, *ascendens*, déjà dans les anciens traducteurs. V. p. ex. *Die Astron. Tafeln des Muḥ. ibn Mûsâ al-Khwârizmî*, texte latin d'Athelard de Bath, trad. et comm. en allemand de H. Suter, Copenhague, 1914, p. 100. L'ascendant est le point de l'écliptique qui se lève à l'horizon en un moment déterminé.

[5] On connaît ce cycle turco-mongol des animaux. Bîrouni le donne en l'appliquant, non aux années, mais aux mois; le mois *pârs*, panthère, est *Kanoun Ier*; l'ordre est d'ailleurs le même. Le ms. arabe 2570 de la bibliothèque nationale, qui est un calendrier de l'an 983 H. (1575), a un tableau à 12 cases analogue au nôtre où les noms des animaux sont écrits en triple: turc, arabe et persan. Ces données sont intéressantes pour la

Le calendrier lui-même se compose de 13 pages divisées en 6 colonnes. La première contient les données sur la situation et la marche des planètes (Soleil et Lune compris), et les autres données dont nous nous occupons dans la section II. La seconde colonne renferme le nom des jours en turc ; la troisième et la quatrième, les quantièmes des mois arabes et roumis. La dernière est la colonne des *ikhtiyârât*, dont nous dirons seulement un mot à la fin.

Les étoiles ou astérisques cités, soit dans le préambule et l'horoscope, soit dans la première colonne du calendrier, sont la Tête et la Queue [du Dragon], les Cha'ari du Sud[1], les Pléiades, les étoiles *sahm es-se'âdeh* et *sahm el-ghaïb*, et deux astres désignés par les noms de نبتن et هرشل. Ne

philologie turque, et on a déjà étudié la liste d'al-Bîrouni (*Chronology*, trad. Sachau, p. 83, et v. la note). Nous dressons ici la liste des 12 animaux en mongol, d'après Bîrouni, et d'après le ms. 2570 (B), en comparant les noms aux formes du turc oriental et du turc osmanli. Les formes mongoles sont tirées du Dictionnaire de T. J. Schmidt, *Mongolisch-Deutsch-Russisches Wörterbuch*, St Petersburg et Leipzig, 1835 :

(1) Mong. *Cholokanc*, la souris ; Bîr. *Sijkan* ; ms. B. *sîdjân* ; T. osm. *setchân*.

(2) Mong. *Ükar*, le bœuf ; Bîr. *Od* ; B. صغر ; T. osm. *cukuz*.

(3) Mong. *Pârs*, le tigre ; Bîr. *pârs* ; B. *pârs*. Ce nom est placé ici dans la liste des mots turcs, bien que les dictionnaires donnent *pârs* comme persan, avec le sens de panthère. Le ms. B a pour correspondant persan de *pârs*, *youz*, panthère ; et en effet au mot *youz*, Vüllers dit que *pârs* en est le correspondant turc.

(4) Mong. *Tavolaï*, le lièvre gris ; Bîr. *tafshikhân* ; B. *ṭaouchân*, طووشان ; T. or. *târouchkân* (Pavet de Courteille) avec le *tâ* à deux points ; T. osm. *ṭâvchân*, avec le *ṭâ* emphatique.

(5) Mong. *Lov*, le crocodile, le dragon ; Bîr. *lû* ; B. *lov*, لو ; T. or. *lov*, *loy*, لو, لوى.

(6) Mong. *Mokaï*, le serpent ; Bîr. *yylân* ; B. *yilân* ; id. en T. osm., serpent.

(7) Mong. *Morin*, le cheval ; Bîr. *yont* ; B. *yound* ; T. osm. *yonda*, jument.

(8) Mong. *Chonin*, la brebis ; Bîr. *kuy* ; B. *kouyon* ; id. T., mouton. Au persan B a کشفند ; Vüllers : گوسفند, گوسپند, brebis.

(9) Mong. *Metsin*, le babouin ; Bîr. *pîtchîn* ; T. or. et mong. *bîtchîn*, singe (Pavet de Courteille). B et notre ms. ont, au lieu de ce mot, *maymoun*, singe. Au persan B a *ḥamdoun* pour singe. Vüllers dit que *ḥamdounah*, singe, est arabe d'après S H L.

(10) Mong. *Takiy*, la poule ; Bîr. *taghuk* ; B. *dâḳouḳ* ; T. or. *tâvoug*, avec le *tâ* à deux points ; T. osm. *ṭâvouḳ*, avec le *ṭâ* emphatique.

(11) Mong. *Nogay*, le chien ; Bîr. *ît* ; id. B et Turc.

(12) Mong. *Gagay*, le porc ; Bîr. *tunguz* ; B. *ṭoghouz* ; T. osm. *ḏoñouz*, porc.

[1] D'après Freytag الشعرى اليمانى est Sirius ou Canis Major. Id. Bîrouni, *Chron.* p. 261.

voyant pas à quoi peuvent correspondre ces noms dans l'ancienne astronomie, je ne doute pas que l'auteur de l'almanach n'ait voulu désigner par là les 2 planètes de l'astronomie moderne, Neptune et Uranus. Il a appelé cette dernière Herschel, du nom de l'astronome qui l'a découverte.

L'almanach se sert des termes ordinaires pour dire: marche directe (d'une planète), marche rétrograde, arrêt *istiḳâmah*, conjonction, opposition, trine, sextile, quadrature. Il parle aussi des deux planètes heureuses, Jupiter et Vénus, *sa'dëïn*, et des deux planètes néfastes *naḥsëïn*, Saturne et Mars; ex. تسديس سعدين, Vénus et Jupiter sont en sextile; تربيع نحسين, Saturne et Mars sont en quadrature. Le mot *charaf* qui revient souvent, indique certaines situations des planètes, dans lesquelles leur influence est la plus grande. Les astrologues le traduisent par "dignité" ou "exaltation." Il est opposé à *hobouṭ*, descente. On trouvera ces positions indiquées pour chaque planète dans le traité des *Trente Chapitres*, le *sî faṣl* de Naṣîr ed-Dîn Ṭousi (chap. 18)[1]. Ex. dans notre calendrier: شرف قمر شب غه ١ قه ٢٨, exaltation de la Lune à 1 heure 28′ de la nuit. Le mot *iḥtirâḳ* qui revient plusieurs fois, suivi d'un nom d'astre, ex.: احتراق عطارد ونبتن, signifie que l'astre entre dans le rayonnement solaire qui le brûle en quelque sorte[2]. V. aussi le *sî faṣl*, même chapitre.

Un terme remarquable est مثلثه خاكى, *muthellethehi khâki*; c'est le "triangle terrestre," l'un des 4 triangles zodiacaux, qui sont connus en astrologie. Il est formé des trois signes du Zodiaque: le Taureau, la Vierge et le Capricorne. On lit dans le préambule de notre almanach: "*muṭelleṭehi*

[1] Cf. aussi le traité d'astronomie de Muḥammed ibn Mousa, cité plus haut (éd. Suter), pp. 103–4.

Les heures dans notre calendrier sont des heures de jour ou de nuit, *rouz*, *cheb*. Probablement il s'agit d'une division du jour et de la nuit en 12 heures de longueur variable avec les saisons. Le chiffre désignant les heures est surmonté de غه, et celui des minutes, de قه, sans doute les finales de ساعة et دقيقه. Dans l'astrologie contemporaine on compte les heures de midi à midi, les 12 premières, de midi à minuit étant dites heures du soir, et les 12 autres heures du matin; mais cela ne paraît pas être le système de notre calendrier.

[2] Dans le ms. B (2570 de la Bibl. Nat.) au f° 10 v°, je relève l'expression: عطارد محترق الشمس فى الهبوط, qu'on peut traduire: "Mercure dans sa descente brûlé par les rayons du Soleil."

khâkîden bordji sonbolehdeh, dans le signe de la Vierge qui fait partie du triangle terrestre," c'est-à-dire du groupe des trois signes en relation avec l'élément terre[1].

Remarquons pour finir la prévision de 2 éclipses: Une partielle le 15 *Cha'bân* de 3, 36′ à 5, 50′, et une totale le 13 (ou le 14) *Ṣafar* de 1, 31′ à 5, 3′.

II

Je vais maintenant traduire la première colonne du calendrier, en en ôtant toutes les indications astronomiques. Il reste la mention de fêtes musulmanes, chrétiennes, juives, persanes, mêlées à des indications concernant la culture et à celles des changements climatériques. Je me bornerai à une seule remarque avant de commencer: On voit souvent paraître dans ce calendrier le mot *fourtenah*, فورتنه, vent, orage, tempête. Ce sont des petites tempêtes qui sont censées se reproduire à des dates déterminées; il s'agit ici de pronostics. Exemples: Tempête des hirondelles; tempête de la fleur; ce sont des vents qui coïncident avec l'arrivée des hirondelles, qui dispersent les pétales des fleurs, etc.

Traduction.

Mois de Ṣafar l'heureux.—Lundi 24.—*Naurouz sulṭâni.* Commencement de la saison du printemps. Orage. Les humeurs sanguines sont en mouvement. Les reptiles s'agitent.

Mois de Rébî' I^er.—Arrivée des milans (آمدن چيلاق). Les arbres deviennent touffus. Vent du commencement des voyages en mer. Apparition des fleurs. Chant du rossignol. Il est annoncé à Marie qu'elle sera enceinte du Messie. Nuit de la naissance du Prophète. *Naurouz* du Shâh du Khârezm[2]. Orage des hirondelles (قرلنغج فورتونه سى). Azymes (خموورسز)[3]. Accouplement des béliers et des brebis. Mois grec de *Nîsân* (Avril syrien). Saison des tulipes.

[1] Les 12 signes du Zodiaque sont répartis par groupes de 3, dont chacun est en relation avec l'un des quatre éléments: terre, eau, air et feu. Cf. le *Sî faṣl* de Naṣir ed-Dîn Ṭousi, chap. 19.

[2] Sur une réforme du calendrier du Khârezm, cf. Bîrouni, *Chron.* p. 229.

[3] La fête juive; le 15 Nisân en est le premier jour, Bîrouni, p. 275.

Œufs rouges. Tempête du Cygne (قوغو فورتنه‌سی). Eclosion des vers à soie (ایپك بوجكی ظهوری).

Mois de Rébî' II.—Les tulipes atteignent leur perfection. Naissance des abeilles. On sème le sésame et le coton. Les passereaux se réunissent. Crue de l'Euphrate. Jour de Khidr. Orage de la fleur (چچك فورتنه‌سی). La force du printemps se termine (نهاية قوة بهار). La vent d'est souffle. Fin des jours de pluie. Le Nil stationnaire. Mois de Mai (*Maïs*) roumi. Orage qui brise les jeunes rameaux[1]. Apparition des roses et des grenades[2]. Vent des *faukoulich* (petites fleurs). Temps d'attacher (?) la vigne[3]. Orage des Pléiades[4]. L'eau manque à la terre. Fin des vents du printemps.

Djoumâdi I[er].—Ascension de Jésus. Temps de tondre les agneaux. Commencement des chaleurs. Le beïrâm des roses. Vent d'est dit de la courge[5]. Commencement des vents chauds d'été (البوارح)[6]. Rareté des eaux. Frisure des rameaux. Le vent du nord souffle. Fête de la Pentecôte chez les Chrétiens[7]. Saison de la rose à Damas. Changement de l'eau du Nil. Saison de la moisson. Orage du lever des Pléiades[8]. Commencement de la récolte du riz en Egypte. Le 21, on déconseille les purgations. *Hazîrân* roumi (Juin). Le beïrâm des roses chez les Latins (لاتين كل بيرامی). Le vent du nord souffle. Le Nil baisse d'une marque[9].

[1] فليز قويران فورتنه‌سی. Un peu plus loin, au mois suivant: فليز قيران, brisure. Plusieurs indications dans ce calendrier sont ainsi en double.

[2] رسيدن كل وكلنار. *Gulnâr* est la fleur du grenadier, *flos mali punicae*, mais aussi une variété de grande rose à cent feuilles (Vüllers).

[3] باغ اغولمه زمانی.

[4] اولكر فورتنه‌سی, répété ci-après: اولكر طلوع فورتنه‌سی.

[5] قباق ملتمی. *Mèltèm*, vents du nord-est qui soufflent jusqu'au coucher du soleil, pendant une certaine époque, dans le Canal de Constantinople, et portent les noms des fruits de la saison (N. Mallouf, *Diction.*).

[6] Les *bawâriḥ*, cf. Ḳazwîni, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, éd. Wüstenfeld, t. 1, p. 78.

[7] *'Îd Khamsîn*, cf. Dimichqui, *Cosmographie*, éd. Mehren, p. 281.

[8] Les Pléiades, T. or. اولكور, avec *u* long (Pavet de Courteille); notre ms. اولكر.

[9] Une marque au Nilomètre *noḳtah*: سقوط نقطه بنيل. Le ms. porte ensuite, au 29 de ce mois: commencement de la saison de *Kharîf*, l'automne; mention inadmissible et assurément déplacée.

Djoumâdi II.—Vent du retour du jour[1]. Avènement fortuné[2] de l'an 1277. Temps de greffer la feuille[3]. Commencement de la crue du Nil. Tempête de la feuille. Mort de Djirdjîs (S. Georges). Commencement du vent pestilentiel, 53 [jours][4]. Naissance de Jean-Baptiste ; nuit du feu[5]. Fin des vents chauds d'été (*bawâriḥ*). Fête des Apôtres. Hippocrate défend de prendre medecine[6]. *Tammouz* roumi (Juillet).

Redjeb le noble.—Le raisin rougit. Nuit des présents (*leïletu raghâ'ib*)[7]. Fin du temps pour greffer la feuille. Vent de la prune rouge (قزیل اریك فورتنه‌سی). Le beïrâm noir des Juifs[8] (یهودك قره بیرامی). Commencement des jours de la Canicule (*bâkhour*). Jour d'Elie (روز الیاہی). Les dattes sont mûres dans le Hedjaz. Jour de l'ouverture (یوم استفتاح). Fin des jours de la Canicule. Terme de la force de la chaleur. Récolte du coton en Egypte. Août roumi (*Aghostous*). Commencement du jeûne de Marie. Récolte du lin et du pavot (خشخش). Nuit de l'Ascension du Prophète (*mi'râdj*). Fête de la Transfiguration de Jésus aux yeux des Apôtres (*tadjalla*). Saison de la récolte du coton[9] dans le Roum.

Cha'ban l'honoré.—Changement des feuillages. Fin des vents pestilentiels. Récolte du navet et légumes analogues. Mort de Marie. Ascension de Marie. Les cigognes s'en vont (رفتن لقلق). La chaleur commence à faiblir. Tempête du Mihrdjân[10] (مهرجان فورتونه‌سی). Les fruits sont mûrs. Naissance fortunée en l'an 1245. Nuit de l'immunité (*leïla-*

[1] کون دونمی. Ceci est déplacé aussi et se retrouve au 25 Décembre, au Solstice d'hiver, où le sens est clair. Le rédacteur du calendrier a dû se servir maladroitement d'anciens textes, et ne paraît pas avoir toujours compris ce qu'il écrivait.

[2] Avènement du Sultan 'Abdul-'Azîz le 27 juin 1861 ; *djolous humayoun*.

[3] یبراق اشیسی زمانی ; plus loin il est question de قلم اشیسی ; en Ṣafar.

[4] باد سموم. V. les Dictionnaires.

[5] Le feu de la Saint-Jean. Le ms. emploie un mot persan et un mot turc : *âtesh guedjési*.

[6] Cette défense est longuement commentée par Bîrouni, *Chron.* p. 261.

[7] C'est la nuit de la Conception du Prophète. Cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, II, 374.

[8] Probablement les trois jours ténébreux mentionnés par Bîrouni, du 5 au 8 Ṭébeth, mais qui ne doivent pas être ici à leur place (*Chron.* p. 272).

[9] Coton ; ici le turc پموق, plus haut l'arabe قطن. La forme turque est ordinairement پاموق ; on trouve aussi پنبوق.

[10] Sur cette célèbre fête persane, v. Bîrouni, *Chron.*, etc.

tu bérâ'at). Vent du passage des cailles (بلدرجين كچمى فورتونه‌سى). Temps de châtrer les béliers[1]. Martyre de Jean Baptiste. Tempête du milan (چيلاق فورتونه‌سى). Septembre roumi (*eyloul*). Fin de la prohibition des saignées et des purgations. Commencement de l'année mosaïque 5637. Le Nil stable.

Ramadhan le béni.—Naissance de Marie. Commencement de la saison d'automne. Les châtaignes sont noires. Commencement de l'année solaire 1235 de l'hégire. Fête de la Croix. Beïrâm du *djourâb*[2]. La sève diminue dans les arbres. Orage du passage des grues et autres oiseaux (طورنا وقوش كچمى فورتونه‌سى). Fête des Tabernacles[3] (قامش بيرامى). Visite de la robe bienheureuse[4]. Les feuilles commencent à tomber. Fête de la Vierge Marie (*miriam anâ*). Premier jour de l'année syrienne 2188. Octobre roumi (*techrîn ewel*). Début des jours de pluie. Nuit de la décision (*leïlet kadar*). On rentre le foin et le trèfle[5]. Fête des hirondelles[6]. Commencement des plantations. Fête de la rupture du jeûne. Prière 1, 39.

Chewâl l'honoré.—Fraîcheur des eaux. Tempête de la vendange. Jour de l'imprécation (*mobâhalah*). L'eau du Nil est en défaut. Récolte des fèves. Temps de couper les arbres. Saison des vents violents. Vent des poissons. Terme de la force de l'automne. Jour de Kâsim[7]. Descente de la rosée (*nozoul shebnem*). Novembre roumi (*techrîn II*). Le vent du Sud souffle. Les reptiles se cachent[8].

Mois de Dzou'l-Ka'deh. Tempête de la castration des béliers[9]. La sève des arbres descend. Commencement du jeûne de la Nativité, 40 [jours][10]. Vent du retour des

[1] قوچ ايرمه زمانى. La forme ordinaire pour bélier est قوچ.

[2] *Djourâb*, chaussure, bas.

[3] Célèbre fête juive qui dure 7 jours. Cf. Bîrouni, *Chron.* p. 270.

[4] *Khirké i se'âdet*, ou *Khirka i chérîf*, la robe du prophète, vénérée le 15 Ramadhan. Il y a deux de ces robes. V. à ce sujet un long article de d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, II, p. 389.

[5] قره چمن ويونجه اكيلور ; *akîlour*, cf. probablement اوكولمك, être rassemblé, entassé, T. oriental (Pavet de Courteille).

[6] Le même en Rébî' I[er].

[7] Le commencement de l'hiver, la Saint-Démétrius, 26 Octobre (Mallouf).

[8] Id. Kazwîni, *Kosmographie*, I, 75.

[9] قوچ قاتمى فورتنه‌سى. Cf. ci-dessus les béliers châtrés en Cha'ban.

[10] L'ancien jeûne de l'Avent ; id. Kazwîni, I, 75.

Pléiades. Vents et tempêtes. Marie entre dans le *Mihrâb*[1]. Les vents du Nord se font sentir. Fin de la chute des feuilles. Orage de l'hiver rigoureux (l'hiver noir, *karah kîch*). Décembre roumi (*Kânoun Ier*). Les jours connus[2], 10 [jours].

Dzou'l-hiddjeh le noble. Commencement des longues nuits (*cheb yeldâ*). Commencement des quarante[3]. Hanne devient enceinte de Marie. Tempête du retour du jour[4] et saison de l'hiver. Dernière des longues nuits. Jour de *terwiyah*[5]. Jour d'*'Arafah*. Fête des Sacrifices; prière 3, 28. Jours de *techrîk*, 3 [jours]. On commence à défendre les saignées et les ventouses. Janvier des Francs de l'année 1877 (*Kânoun II*). Fête. Tempête du grand froid de l'hiver (*zemhérîr*), 3 [jours]. Nuit de la Nativité de Jésus. Le froid est rigoureux. Le 27, premier jour de l'an de la Nativité 1877. Janvier roumi (*Kânoun II*). Les reptiles se cachent. Les jours comptés, 10 [jours][6].

Moharrem le Sacré.—Fête du Baptême de Jésus dans l'eau du fleuve. Jour de *tâsou'â*. Jour d'*'Achourâ*[7]. Force de l'hiver (*chiddet sermâ*). Fin des quarante [jours][8]. Fête des *Indowan*. Premier des cinquante[9]. Février à la franque (*Chabât*). Accouplement des bêtes (*izdivâdj haïvanât*). Récolte du hinné (*hennâ*). Février roumi (*Chabât*). Fête

[1] *Coran*, III, 32.

[2] Le *Coran* parle de jours connus, *ma'loumât*, chap. XXII, 29: "Qu'ils répètent à des jours fixes le nom de Dieu sur la nourriture qu'il leur a accordé dans leurs troupeaux."

[3] Le jeûne de la Nativité pour le calendrier chrétien. Cf. Kazwîni, I, 75: اوّل الاربعينيات.

[4] كون دونمی فورتنه‌سی. Cf. le *Festum coronae anni* du Calendrier syrien dans Bîrouni, *Chron.* p. 297. Kazwîni, I, 75: Ils disent que ce jour-là, la lumière passe de la limite du défaut à celle de l'excès. C'est le 17 *Kânoun I* dans Kazwîni, le 11 *Kânoun I* dans notre calendrier; exactement ce devrait être au solstice d'hiver.

[5] Les jours de *terwiyah*, *'arafah*, des victimes et de *techrîk*, qui ont tous rapport aux pratiques du pèlerinage, sont expliqués dans Bîrouni, *Chron.* pp. 332-3.

[6] V. *Coran*, II, 199, verset cité dans Bîrouni, p. 333: "Rappelez le nom de Dieu pendant ces jours comptés."

[7] *Tâsou'a* et *'Achourâ* sont deux fêtes chiites, cette dernière bien connue. Cf. Bîrouni, p. 326.

[8] Id. Kazwîni, I, 76. On est au 17 Janvier; le premier des 40 était le 9 Décembre.

[9] Le 15 Moharrem. Ces 50 jours vont jusqu'à la fin de l'année solaire, jusqu'au Naurouz Sultâni.

des chandelles au Saint-Sépulcre (عيد شمع درقمامه). Temps de planter les arbres.

Ṣafar l'heureux.—Accouplement des oiseaux. Grand jeûne des Chrétiens[1]. Premier brasier[2], froid. Récolte des oignons. Second brasier, tiède. On sème les graines de poireaux (كراثه تخمى زرعى). Arrivée des cigognes (آمدن لقلق). L'hiver commence à céder (*inkisâr sermâ*). *Chékier Beyrâm* (fête de la rupture du jeûne) pour les Juifs. La sève des arbres recommence à couler. Troisième brasier, chaud. Temps de tailler la vigne. Temps de greffer le roseau. Orage des jours malheureux (*ḥosoum*). Commencement du froid de la vieille[3]. Mars roumi (*mârt*).

Mois de Rébî' Ier. Fin du froid de la vieille. [Le calendrier s'arrête au 5 Rébî' Ier correspondant au 8 Mars roumi. Il comprend une année solaire.]

La sixième colonne donnant les *Ikhtiyârât* est moins intéressante philologiquement que la première que nous venons de traduire. Elle est aussi moins difficile. Les *ikhtiyârât* ce sont les "choix[4]," c'est-à-dire les choses qu'il est préférable de faire chaque jour, selon le sentiment des astrologues. Ils sont exprimés en petits vers rimés très courts. Il y a un distique en face de chaque journée. Exemple:

تعليم موسيقى استماع اغانى	28 Rébî' I
اعمال سيم وزر تذهيب كمر	29 „
بيع چارپا ترك فصد ودوا	1 Rébî' II
اعمار بسطان ساختن سيف و سنان	2 „

[1] Le Carême. Il est dénommé en persan et en arabe: پرهيز كبير.

[2] *Djamrah.* Il y a trois *djamrah* dans les rites du pèlerinage, pendant lesquelles on lapide Satan par le jet des pierres dans la vallée de Mîna. V. dans Ḳazwîni une explication bizarre de ces trois brasiers, au mois de Chabâṭ (*Cosmographie*, I, 76). Birouni a sur le même sujet un long commentaire, *Chron.* pp. 242–4.

[3] *Bard 'adjouz*; expression connue. V. Bîrouni, p. 265. C'est un froid qui se fait sentir pendant une semaine environ, du 7 au 14 Mars de chaque année (Mallouf, *Diction. turc*). Cf. Ḳazwîni, I, 77; pour lui c'est 3 jours de Chabâṭ et 4 d'Azâr. Ces 7 jours ont des noms.

[4] On traduit aussi les "élections," ou les "sélections." Cf. Bîrouni, p. 217. L'usage de ces "choix" ou occupations recommandées pour chaque jour, a subsisté dans l'astrologie moderne.

Traduction: Apprendre la musique; écouter les chansons.—Travaux d'or et d'argent[1]; dorer la ceinture.—Vendre les bêtes (quadrupèdes); ne pas saigner ni purger.—Cultiver les jardins; fabriquer l'épée ou la lance.

[1] Cf. en Ṣafar: "Œuvre de l'Alchimiste; travaux d'or et d'argent."

CARRA DE VAUX.

LES ISPEHBEDS DE FIRÎM

En 1897, alors que j'étais bibliothécaire au Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, je notai un dirhem frappé à Firîm en l'an 367 de l'Hégire au nom de Roustam ibn Charwîn. M. Tiesenhausen à qui j'écrivis pour le signaler voulut bien me répondre par une lettre pleine de renseignements précieux et l'envoi de feuilles détachées d'un ouvrage de Dorn où il était fait allusion à ce Roustam et à ses monnaies[1]. Je me proposai de publier ce dirhem en utilisant les données que me fournissait si libéralement le grand numismate russe. Mais des circonstances particulières me firent abandonner la numismatique arabe et le cours de mes nouvelles études sembla ne devoir jamais m'y ramener. Comme à ce Roustam se rattachaient certaines particularités intéressantes de l'histoire de la Perse musulmane, je proposai, il y a quelques années, à mon excellent élève et ami, M. Henri Massé, aujourd'hui professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, de reprendre mes notes et de les compléter par sa connaissance spéciale des choses persanes. Il avait accepté; mais c'était la guerre, il ne s'appartenait pas. Il quitta Paris, et, plus tard d'autres travaux, d'autres préoccupations l'empêchèrent d'y donner suite. Avec son consentement, je vais essayer de traiter seul les questions que soulève cette petite monnaie.

Firîm est aujourd'hui inconnu. Mr Guy Le Strange, dans sa traduction du *Nuzhat-al-qulūb*, dit: "position unknown[2]." De l'examen auquel je me suis livré résulte pour moi la conviction qu'il faut l'identifier à la ville de Fîroûzkoûh située dans le Mazandéran sur la route de

[1] Lettre du 2/14 Novembre. L'ouvrage de Dorn est intitulé: *Bemerkungen auf Anlass einer wissenschaftlichen Reise in dem Kaukasus und den südlichen Küstenländern des Kaspischen Meeres in den Jahren* 1860-1861.... *Reise nach Mazanderan*....St Petersburg....1895. (Pages 193 à 253: *Geschichtliche Abtheilung.*)

[2] *The geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb composed by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi*, 1919 (*Gibb Memorial* XXIII, II), p. 158. *L'Encyclopédie musulmane* l'ignore.

Téhéran à Sâri[1]. Il serait trop long d'énumérer ici toutes les raisons qui m'ont paru militer en faveur de cette identification. Je me contenterai d'en exposer les principales.

1°. Le nom de Firîm est connu d'Iṣṭakhrî[2]; mais les géographes postérieurs ne le connaissent que par lui[3]. Fîroûzkoûh au contraire est inconnue à Iṣṭakhrî et mentionnée par Yâḳoût qui l'a vue[4]. Les historiens persans et arabes jusqu'aux environs de l'année 500 mentionnent Firîm, mais non Fîroûzkoûh. Après cette période c'est l'inverse[5].

2°. Firîm est situé sur la route de Sâri à Samnân comme l'indique un passage d'Ibn Isfandiyâr[6] et tel est le cas pour Fîroûzkoûh qui est au point de rencontre de cette route et de celle qui va de Téhéran à Astrabâd. Iṣṭakhrî semble dire que le premier est à une étape, مرحلة, de Sâriyat (= Sâri) et Fîroûzkoûh est vraiment bien éloigné de Sâri pour une seule étape, mais on sait combien ce mot arabe

[1] Sur cette ville, voir Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse* s.v. et, outre les auteurs qu'il cite, Napier dans *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. XI, Session 1875-6. London 1876, p. 166 (carte, p. 62); Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*. Leipzig 1868, index et carte, et la carte de l'Etat-Major russe: *Karta Persii se pogranitchnymi tchastiami aziïatskoï Tourtsii*....Tiflis 1886, feuille A viii, Astrabâd. *L'Encyclopédie musulmane* ignore également cette ville, ne parlant que de celle qui porte le même nom en Afghanistan.

[2] Ed. de Goeje (*Bibliotheca geographorum arab.* I, Leyde 1870), 205 et 207 *b*.

[3] Yâḳoût *mou'djam al bouldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld III, Leipzig 1868, p. 890. L'éditeur écrit فرّيم, mais le redoublement du ر n'est pas indiqué dans le texte, ni dans les notes du tome V. Je maintiens donc, jusqu'à preuve contraire, l'orthographe Firîm. Les géographes qui, comme Idrîsî, ne citent pas Iṣṭakhrî, le copient cependant. Ibn al-Athîr, contemporain de Yâḳoût, le nomme jusqu'en 407, évidemment d'après des sources anciennes (ed. Tornberg, Leyde 1863, IX, 187, l. 17).

[4] *Op. cit. ibid.* 930, l. 7; رايتها peut se rapporter à Waïmat qu'il situe au bas de Fîroûzkoûh.

[5] Je dois cependant noter deux exceptions. D'une part Ibn Isfandiyâr parle de Fîroûzkoûh vers l'année 250 (trad. Browne dans *Gibb Memorial* II, p. 165); d'autre part Melgunof (*op. cit.* p. 59) mentionne Firîm en 607, mais sans aucune référence. Ibn al-Athîr ne connaît que le Fîroûzkoûh d'Afghanistan.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 142. 'Alâ ad-daulat 'Alî est envoyé par son père à Isfahân et celui-ci l'accompagne de Sâri jusqu'à Firîm et lui fait prendre la route par Asrân et Samnân. Ce détail s'applique fort bien à Fîroûzkoûh.

est élastique; d'ailleurs le texte est ambigu et semble plutôt se rapporter à la ville énigmatique de Samhâr (?)[1].

3°. Firîm est située entre Sâri et Téhéran, comme on peut le conclure d'un épisode de l'histoire des Samanides qui nous est conté diversement par trois auteurs; ce qui nous permet plusieurs identifications intéressantes. Rappelons d'abord que Firîm était, à ce que nous dit Iṣṭakhrî, dans les montagnes de Ḳârin et qu'elle était la capitale de la famille de Ḳârin[2]. Ibn al-Athîr, en l'année 314, nous dit que l'émir Samanide Naṣr ibn Aḥmad est appelé par le khalife al-Mouḳtadir au gouvernement de Ray et passe par les montagnes. Il arrive à la montagne de Ḳârin, et là, Aboû Naṣr aṭ-Ṭabarî lui barre la route; il lui faut négocier et ce n'est que moyennant 30,000 dinars qu'il peut passer[3]. Yâḳoût est plus détaillé: "Sânîz, dit-il, est un village de la montagne de Chahriyâr dans le Deïlem, d'où vient le nom de Sanîzî donné à Aboû Naṣr un des partisans de Charwîn fils de Roustam, fils de Ḳârin, roi du Deïlem....Quand Naṣr ibn Aḥmad le Samanide se dirigea sur Ray, il passa par la montagne de Chahriyâr[4]....Aboû Naṣr l'assiégea dans un endroit appelé Hazâr Guirî pendant quatre mois sans qu'il pût ni avancer ni reculer jusqu'au jour où il lui paya trente mille dinars; alors il eut le passage libre[5]." De la comparaison de ces deux textes, il résulte que la montagne de Ḳârin s'appelait aussi montagne de Chahriyâr. L'un et l'autre nom, mais surtout le second, sont mentionnés par Ibn Isfandiyâr (voir l'index). Charwîn fils de Roustam, fils de Ḳârin était maître de cette montagne, donc de Firîm, en 314. C'est en effet, d'après les listes dressées par Dorn[6]

[1] *Op. cit.* 205, l. 11 et note *i*. Sur les variantes de ce second nom cf. aussi 207 note *b*.

[2] *Ibid. ibid.* l. 10 à 12 جبال قارن...ومستقر آل قارن بموضع يسمى فريم وهو موضع حصنهم ونخائرهم ومكان ملكهم (var. بمدينة).

[3] Ed. Tornberg, VIII, 127.

[4] Le texte est altéré; cf. la note de Wüstenfeld, V, p. 236; Barbier de Meynard, *dict. géogr.* § Sânîr a supprimé trois mots embarrassants. La correction de Wüstenfeld n'améliore rien; mais je n'ai pas mieux à proposer.

[5] *Op. cit.* III, 23, § سانيز.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 231. Cf. Melgunof, *op. cit.* p. 49; Ibn Isfandiyâr (trad. Browne), index. Ajouter p. 209 où il faut ainsi corriger "Rustam b. Sharwín" du texte, et retrancher p. 237 où il n'est question que de "Sharwín b. Surkháb."

un des rois de la première dynastie des Bâwendides qui dut régner entre 302 et 337[1] et qui est précisément le père de notre Roustam. Hazâr Guirî, par la comparaison de deux passages d'Ibn Isfandiyâr[2] s'identifie à Hazâr Djarîb, nom donné aux montagnes qui ferment la route de Sâri à Fîroûzkoûh[3]. Il suit de là que le Samanide, venant d'Astrabâd, avait longé la Caspienne jusqu'à Sâri et pris de là la route des montagnes vers Ray, dont le site est proche de Téhéran moderne. Les montagnes de Chahriyâr ou de Ḳârin sont donc celles qui, au Nord de Fîroûzkoûh, forment une chaîne assez escarpée orientée du Sud-Est au Nord-Ouest.

Enfin Ibn Isfandiyâr nous dit que le Samanide marche de Boukhârâ avec 30,000 hommes pour conquérir le Ṭabaristân et l'Irâḳ et entre dans les montagnes du Ṭabaristân. Aboû Naṣr était gouverneur des montagnes de Chahriyâr; il bloque les routes. Le Samanide est obligé d'implorer le Sayyid (alide) Ḥasan qui lui envoie deux ambassadeurs. Ceux-ci moyennant 20,000 dinars le libèrent à la condition qu'il retourne dans le Khorasan[4]. La route de Boukhârâ à Ray passe par Astrabâd et cela confirme ce que nous venons de dire plus haut. Toutefois il est possible que le Samanide soit allé directement sur Fîroûzkoûh par les montagnes sans longer la Caspienne. Dans ce cas il ne rencontrerait pas sur son chemin Hazâr Djarîb, ou bien il faudrait supposer qu'à cette époque ce dernier nom s'étendait plus au Sud jusqu'au centre des montagnes par où passe la route directe: Astrabâd—Fîroûzkoûh—Téhéran. Les montagnes de Chahriyâr seraient alors non plus au Nord, mais à l'Est de Fîroûzkoûh. On peut hésiter entre les deux trajets. Le premier me paraît mieux répondre à la carte moderne.

4°. Dans plusieurs passages d'Ibn Isfandiyâr, Chahriyâr-koûh (montagne de Chahriyâr) paraît désigner une ville qui ne saurait être que Firîm; par exemple il énumère

[1] Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane* (*Public. de l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes*, 2e série, VIII), tome II, p. 194, note 1.

[2] Pp. 185 et 238.

[3] Il me semble que les cartes les placent beaucoup trop à l'est. Melgunof (*op. cit.* p. 150) dit que le district de ce nom comprend 'Alîabâd, qui est précisément le point où la route de Sâri commence à pénétrer dans les gorges du Talâr.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 213.

(p. 240): Dâmghân, Chahriyârkoûh, Damawand et Ḳazwîn. Ce sont à n'en pas douter des noms de ville. Or il dit (p. 95) que Firîm est appelé "Kúh-i-Ḳárin" ce qui l'identifie, comme nous l'avons vu, à Chahriyârkoûh. L'échange de ces noms de Chahriyâr et de Ḳârin rend vraisemblable la substitution à l'un et à l'autre de Fîroûz dans la composition du nom moderne de la ville. Peut-être aussi y a-t-il eu un Firîmkoûh[1]. Chahriyâr, Ḳârin, Fîroûz sont des noms d'hommes bien connus et on comprend fort bien leur substitution réciproque. J'ignore à quoi répond Firîm ou, comme Ibn Isfandiyâr l'écrit deux fois, Pirîm (Parîm ?)[2].

Roustam ibn Charwîn était donc maître de Firîm en 367 comme en 355[3]. Ibn Isfandiyâr paraît l'ignorer et considère comme le vrai successeur de Charwîn, son autre fils Chahriyâr. Il le mentionne seulement en passant, dans deux passages que nous utiliserons bientôt[4]. Mais j'ai retrouvé dans le manuscrit de Paris une autre mention de Roustam qui ne figure pas dans l'excellente traduction de Mr Browne parce qu'elle est une remarque ajoutée par Ibn Isfandiyâr (ou son continuateur) à une citation de Niḍhâmî. Cette citation a été supprimée par le traducteur qui renvoie à l'original où la remarque susdite ne figure pas. Elle est ainsi conçue : "Et Roustam aussi était fils de Chahriyâr et, au temps de Ḳâboûs, il était lieutenant de son père dans la région montagneuse de Firîm et de Chahriyârkoûh[5]." Nous savons déjà par la monnaie que Roustam était fils de Charwîn et non de Chahriyâr et les textes que nous allons citer nous en apporteront d'amples confirmations. Il faut donc rectifier et dire qu'il était le lieutenant de son frère à Firim et ajouter qu'il se rendit indépendant, puisqu'il frappa

[1] جبل فريم dans Ṭabarî, *Chronique*, ed. de Goeje, III, 1529.

[2] *Op. cit.* 99, 128.

[3] Date de la monnaie publiée par Fraehn ; voir plus loin.

[4] *Op. cit.* 92 et 225. Une autre mention (p. 209) est fautive, et il convient de lire "Sharwin b. Rustam" au lieu de "Rustam b. Sharwin" comme le prouve la date de 311. Nous avons noté cette erreur plus haut (p. 119, note 6).

[5] *Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément persan* 1436 (Catalogue Blochet, No. 500) 153 r°, l. ult. ورستم هم پسر شهريار بود ودر عهد قابوس قائم مقام پدر بود در كوهستان فريم وشهرياركوه. Mîrzâ Mouḥammad a été induit en erreur par ce texte auquel il se réfère dans la préface de son édition du *Marzubân-nâmeh* (*Gibb Memorial* VIII), p. 6, note 2.

une monnaie où ne figure pas le nom de son frère, marque évidente qu'à ce moment il ne reconnaissait pas son autorité.

Dans les œuvres manuscrites de Fraehn, Dorn a relevé une précieuse indication ; c'est que ce Roustam est le père de la fameuse Chîrîn, femme du Bouweïhide Fakhr ad-daulat et mère de Madjd ad-daulat souvent nommée simplement "la Dame, Sayyidat" d'où le nom de Sayyidâbâdh donné à deux localités au voisinage de Ray[1]. C'est Yâḳoût qui nous donne ce renseignement dans son dictionnaire géographique[2] et il donne au père de Chîrîn le titre d'ispehbed. Dorn se demande si Roustam est le frère de Chahriyâr[3]. Cela n'est pas douteux, car Ibn al-Athîr mentionne ce Roustam comme oncle maternel de Ḳâboûs[4] ce que confirme al-Bîroûnî qui mentionne dans la ligne ascendante féminine de Ḳâboûs "les rois des montagnes surnommés les Ispehbeds du Ṭabaristân...car son oncle maternel est l'ispehbed Roustam ibn Charwîn ibn Roustam ibn Ḳârin ibn Chahriyâr ibn Charwîn ibn Sourkhâb ibn Bâw etc.[5]" C'est donc bien le Bâwendite Roustam, contemporain de Ḳâboûs. Or, comme Dorn le remarque, Chahriyâr était également l'oncle maternel de Ḳâboûs[6] et, par suite, le propre frère de Roustam. Il est même bien

[1] *Op. cit.* 232. [2] *Op. cit* III, 211, l. 3 et 4.

[3] Fraehn avait d'abord lu sur la monnaie: Roustam fils de Chiroûyeh, puis: fils de Charwîn. La monnaie de Paris porte Charwîn sans l'ombre d'un doute: il faut donc répondre affirmativement à la question de Dorn (*ibid. ibid.*): "Ist Scherwin und Schirujeh ein und derselbe Name?"

[4] *Op. cit.* VIII, 506, l. 5. L'index porte tout à fait par inadvertance: Roustam frère de Wachmaguir. Le texte ne peut prêter à aucun doute: وكان قابوس اخوه [c'est-à-dire : اخو بيستون] زايرا خاله رستم بجبل شهريار. Cf. Ibn Isfandiyâr, 92 et 225. Dans le texte du manuscrit de Paris correspondant à ce second passage on lit: Roustam ibn Chahriyâr ibn Charwîn (*Supp. persan* 1436, 140 r°), erreur que nous avons déjà relevée, p. 121.

[5] *The Chronology of ancient nations*, trad. Sachau, Londres 1879, p. 47; texte, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1876, p. 39, l. 8 à 11.

[6] *Op. cit.* 232. Il renvoie à son édition de Zahîr ad-dîn, préface p. 29, note 1, où il a rapporté d'après Mouḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [ibn Isfandiyâr] l'épisode de Firdausî. C'est celui que Mr Browne a supprimé dans sa traduction, pp. 238–9, en renvoyant à sa traduction du *Chahár Maqála*. C'est là qu'en devrait trouver (p. 81) la phrase citée par Dorn; mais elle n'y est pas. C'est donc encore une remarque ajoutée par Ibn Isfandiyâr (ou son continuateur). Cf. ms. de Paris; *Supplément persan* 1436, 152 r°, l. 12 et 13; Ethé dans *ZDMG.* XLVIII (1894), pp. 91–2, d'après les mss. de Londres et d'Oxford.

remarquable qu'al-Bîroûnî, dans son éloge généalogique n'ait pas nommé plutôt le suzerain Chahriyâr (probablement l'aîné) que le vassal et lieutenant.

Roustam était également le père d'un personnage non moins fameux que Chîrîn : Marzubân, l'auteur du *Marzubân-nâmeh*, comme l'attestent Ibn Isfandiyâr qui lui donne le titre d'ispehbed[1] et al-Bîroûnî qui lui confère le titre encore plus pompeux d'ispehbed Djîlidjîlân en lui dédiant un de ses livres[2]. Frère de Chîrîn, il était donc l'oncle maternel de Madjd ad-daulat. C'est donc lui qu'Ibn al-Athîr désigne en l'année 388, comme à la tête des armées de Ray[3]. Mais quelques lignes auparavant, l'historien a parlé de Roustam ibn Marzubân, oncle maternel de Madjd ad-daulat, qui gouvernait la montagne de Chahriyâr[4], et je suis convaincu qu'il y a une méprise et qu'il faut lire : Marzubân ibn Roustam. Cette méprise se retrouve doublement dans Ibn Isfandiyâr qui, racontant les mêmes événements, nomme ce même Roustam comme Ispehbed de Chahriyâr[koûh] puis le fait partir de Ray contre l'ispehbed Chahriyâr[5]. Cette interversion généalogique est passée chez les autres auteurs persans sous l'influence même de ces textes erronés d'Ibn Isfandiyâr[6]. Étant donné le titre pompeux que lui décerne

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 86, "The *Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam b. Shirwin Parím* (پریم)." Je crois qu'il faut entendre que Marzubân était ispehbed de Firîm. Sur cette filiation cf. Schefer, *Chrest. persane* II, 194 et la préface de Mr Browne à l'édition du *Marzubân-nâmeh* par Mîrzâ Mouḥammad de Ḳazwîn (*Gibb Memorial* VIII, Londres 1909), p. xiii. Mais l'hypothèse présentée par Mîrzâ Mouḥammad (sa préface, p. 6) qu'il faille faire de Roustam le fils de Chahriyâr ibn Charwîn ne peut être acceptée, pour les raisons dites plus haut (p. 121).

[2] Ed. Sachau, préface p. 40, l. 15–16. Cf. la traduction, p. 381 (note de p. 47, l. 32).

[3] *Loc. cit.* IX, 99, l. 20. L'index porte, j'ignore pourquoi, la mention : رستم بن شهريار (المرزبان). Cf. Ibn Khaldoûn, *Kitâb al 'ibar*, Boûlâḳ 1284 Heg., IV, 498, l. 18.

[4] *Ibid.* l. 2 et 3. Cf. Ibn Khaldoûn, *ibid. ibid.* l. 8. Defrémery, *Histoire des Samanides par Mirkhond*, Paris 1845, page 212, note *b*, a remarqué cette différence dans Ibn Khaldoûn, mais ne l'a pas vue dans Ibn al-Athîr dont le premier auteur n'est que le copiste.

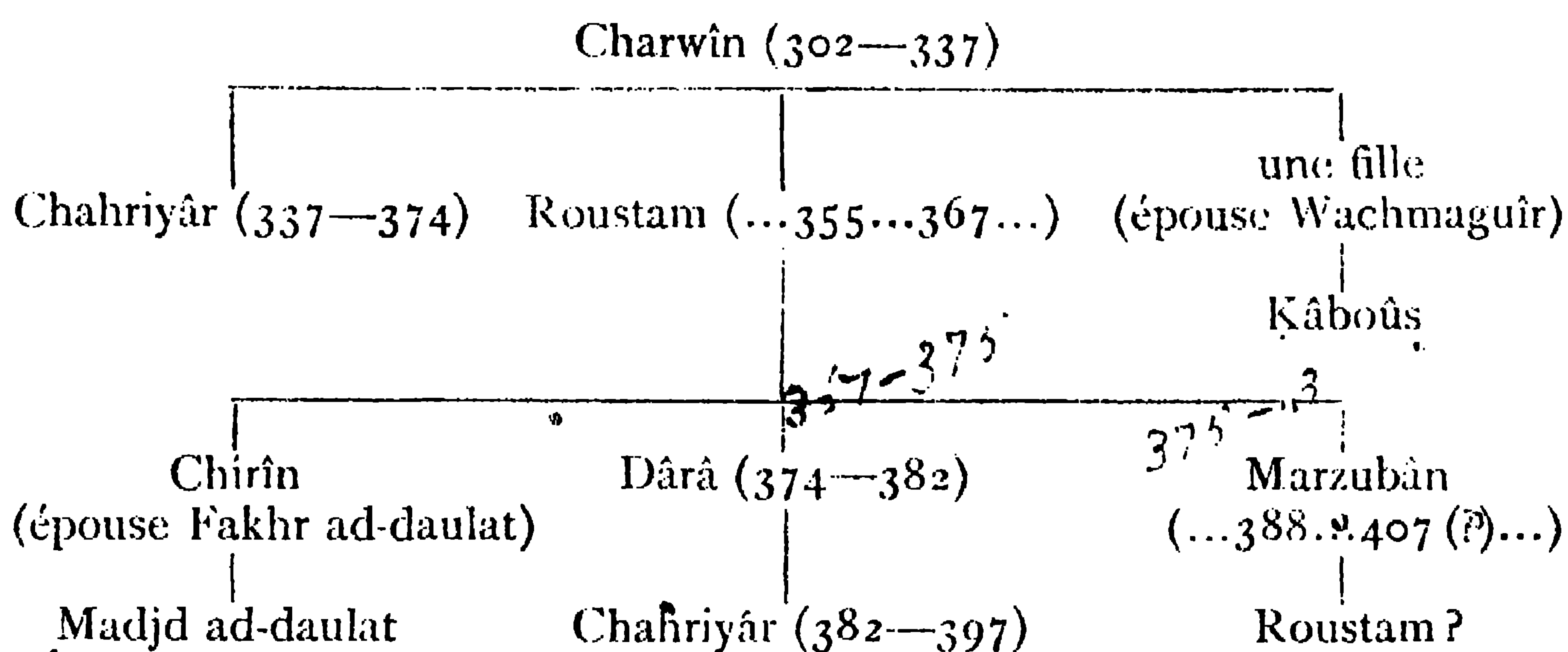
[5] *Op. cit.* 228, 230, 231. Même récit répété, p. 239 bis.

[6] Je crois qu'en réalité ils ne lui appartiennent pas. Je partage l'opinion de Rieu (*Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (I), p. 204) que la quatrième section est addition d'un autre auteur. Cela explique la répétition de l'histoire des Bâwendites et diverses erreurs de noms. Même le passage que Rieu croit devoir lui attribuer dans cette dernière section

al-Bîroûnî son contemporain et ami, il est impossible que Marzubân n'ait pas succédé à son père dans la petite principauté indépendante de Firîm. Peut-être y a-t-il frappé monnaie lui aussi. Il lui a succédé après 367. Chassé par son oncle et suzerain Chahriyâr ibn Charwîn il est réinstallé par son neveu Madjd ad-daulat ; chassé à nouveau par un autre Chahriyâr, son neveu également, il se réfugie à Ray, d'où Madjd ad-daulat l'envoie contre ce second Chahriyâr qu'il bat et fait prisonnier. Tels sont les faits qu'Ibn Isfandiyâr et Ibn al-Athîr attribuent à l'oncle maternel de Madjd ad-daulat que le premier appelle constamment Roustam et le second tantôt Roustam et tantôt Marzubân. La parenté alléguée ne s'applique qu'à ce dernier. Faut-il admettre l'existence d'un fils avec lequel il aurait été confondu ? Ce n'est pas impossible évidemment, mais je ne le crois pas nécessaire.

J'ajouterai qu'Ibn al-Athîr signale en 407 l'ispehbed résidant à Firîm. Il est associé à Madjd ad-daulat et à sa mère (Chîrîn) contre un révolté : Ibn Foulâdh[1]. Je crois qu'il s'agit encore de Marzubân.

Voici le petit tableau qui me paraît résulter des précédentes discussions :



C'est de Dârâ que descend la deuxième branche des Bâwendites[2]. J'ai donné la date des chefs de la dynastie

me paraît lui être étranger. Dhahîr ad-dîn n'a fait que copier Ibn Isfandiyâr, comme Dorn son éditeur nous en avertit (*Muhammedanische Quellen* I, préface p. 28). Il en est probablement de même de Mirkhond (Defrémery, *op. cit.* texte 101, trad. 212).

[1] *Op. cit.* IX, 187, l. 17.

[2] Dorn, *op. cit.* 233 ; Melgunof, *op. cit.* 49. Ibn Isfandiyâr 239 nomme Dârâ sans indiquer la filiation et il faut supprimer dans l'index la mention :

principale d'après le nombre d'années que Dorn et Melgunof leur assignent dans leurs listes. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre ne donne les références précises qui permettraient de contrôler l'établissement de ces listes. Dorn donne à Chahriyâr fils de Dârâ 35 ans de règne, mais dit positivement qu'il mourut en 397. Pour résoudre cette petite difficulté il faudrait reprendre tous les textes relatifs à la série des Bâwendites, discuter les chiffres donnés pour les années de règne. Ce serait dépasser le cadre de cette étude. »

Il ne me reste plus qu'à signaler quelques particularités de la monnaie de Firîm. Celle qui a été publiée par Fraehn[1], datée de 355, porte les noms du khalife al-Mouṭî' et du Bouweïhide Roukn ad-daulat et au revers la formule chiïte علی ولی الله avec le nom de (lu à tort : شرويه) رستم بن شروين. Tiesenhausen m'a signalé un autre dirhem décrit par Erdmann (*Numi Asiatici*, p. 233) et plus correctement par Fraehn dans le deuxième volume de ses manuscrits[2]. On y trouve les mêmes noms de khalife et d'émir bouweïhide ; dans la marge du droit après la mention de la frappe à Firîm, on lit بامر رستم puis la date 361. La formule chiïte y figure comme dans le précédent. La monnaie de Paris porte, avec le nom du même khalife, ceux de 'Aḍoud ad daulat Aboû Chadjâ' et de Mouayyid ad daulat Aboû Manṣoûr avec la formule chiïte et رستم بن شروين. On voit par là que Roustam reconnaissait la suzeraineté des Bouweïhides.

A ce sujet, Fraehn remarque que Roukn ad-daulat conquit en 351 le Ṭabaristân et le Djourdjân qui plus tard

"b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín." Dans la généalogie que Ḍhahîr ad-dîn donne d'un Bâwendite postérieur (ed. Dorn, p. 270–1) je relève : "Dârâ b. Roustam b. Charwîn b. Roustam b. Sourḥâb b. Ḳârin b. Chahriyâr b. Ḳârin b. Charwîn b. Sourḥâb b. Bâw, etc." Le père de Dârâ est bien le Roustam dont al-Bîroûnî nous a donné la généalogie (voir plus haut, p. 122).

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1ère Série, t. IV (1825), p. 278 ; cf. du même auteur *Recensio numorum Muhammedanorum Academiæ Imp. Scient. Petropolitanæ*, St Pétersbourg 1826, p. 600 ; *Opera inedita*, ed. Dorn, II, 359, No. 3 ; Dorn, *Monnaies de différentes dynasties musulmanes* (*Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* IV), St Pétersbourg 1881, p. 152 ; *Bemerkungen auf Anlass einer wissenschaftlichen Reise in dem Kaukasus*, St Pétersbourg 1895, p. 231 et 232. Lindberg a publié la même monnaie avec la mention : رستم شرويه. *Essai sur les monnaies coufiques...des Bouides* (dans *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord pour* 1844, p. 233–4). Voir à ce sujet les remarques de Defrémery dans le *Revue Numismatique*, Paris 1847, XII, p. 167 (réimprimé dans ses *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, Paris 1854, 1ère partie, p. 166).

[2] Lettre citée, p. 2.

devaient revenir aux Ziyârides[1]. En 366 il mourut à Ray laissant le pouvoir à son fils ʿAḍoud ad-daulat. Celui-ci chassa son frère Fakhr ad-daulat de la ville de Ray pour la donner à son autre frère Mouayyid ad-daulat. C'est ce que disent Ibn Khaldoûn[2] et Ibn Isfandiyâr[3]. Fakhr ad-daulat s'était enfui auprès de Ḳâboûs et celui-ci avait partie liée avec son oncle Roustam. Mais notre monnaie prouve que Roustam dut se rallier de gré ou de force à ʿAḍoud ad-daulat et à Mouayyid ad-daulat, vainqueurs à Astrabâd. C'est ce qu'Ibn al-Athîr confirme implicitement quand il dit que le ḳâḍi ʿAbd al-Djabbâr, le fameux docteur mouʿtazilite, était grand ḳâḍi de Ray et des pays soumis à l'autorité de Mouayyid ad-daulat[4]. Dans un autre passage du même historien, en l'année 366, ʿAḍoud ad-daulat donne un ordre à son frère Fakhr ad-daulat à Ray; or c'est Mouayyid ad-daulat qui l'exécute[5]. Il faut, je pense, corriger Fakhr en Mouayyid. Ce dernier dut rester maître de cette ville et du Ṭabaristân jusqu'à sa mort survenue en 373.

Nous avons dans ce dirhem de 367 un curieux exemple de la hiérarchie féodale constituée à cette époque dans les États musulmans. Le khalife est le suzerain spirituel, ʿAḍoud ad-daulat le suzerain temporel; Mouayyid ad-daulat le premier vassal, Roustam le second vassal. Firîm était comprise dans le fief de Ray.

Sur la formule chiïte des monnaies de Roustam les remarques de Fraehn reproduites par Dorn[6] sont plus justes que celles de Lindberg, critiquées avec raison par Defrémery[7]. Il n'en est pas moins étrange de lire une telle formule sur une monnaie où le khalife abbasside est reconnu comme suzerain. Fraehn dit que les Bâwendides étaient très dévoués aux Alides. Cela est certain, mais il en était de même des Bouweïhides et aucun d'eux n'a manifesté ses sentiments de cette manière sur la monnaie. C'est, je crois, un exemple unique et je ne vois aucune manière vraiment satisfaisante de l'expliquer.

[1] Cité d'après ses ouvrages manuscrits par Dorn, *Bemerkungen*, p. 232.
[2] *Op. cit.* IV, 154.
[3] *Op. cit.* 225.
[4] *Op. cit.* VIII, 510, 511.
[5] *Ibid. ibid.* 497.
[6] D'après ses ouvrages manuscrits, dans *Bemerkungen*, p. 232.
[7] *Loc. cit.* Lindberg a supposé que Roustam était un Alide et Fakhr ad-daulat son tuteur.

PAUL CASANOVA.

PARIS, 15 *Avril* 1920.

AVESTAN *URVAN*, 'SOUL'

The most important psychological concept in Mazdeism, corresponding to our word "soul," appears all through the Avesta, from the Gāθās downwards, as *urvan* (gen. *urunō*), and is perpetuated in the Pahlavi *rubāno* and Modern Persian *ravān* (wherein the *v* instead of *b* is a curious throw-back to the primitive form).

The etymology has been much disputed and seems obscure[1]. Bartholomae, in his great Avestan Dictionary, *s.v.*, dismisses A. V. Williams Jackson's derivation (in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 674) from √*var*, to choose, with a contemptuous "falsch."

And yet I venture to think that Jackson is right. The sense certainly agrees well. The *urvan* is taken by all to mean that part or faculty of the human compound that is held morally responsible for man's actions and will have to bear the consequences of them, good or bad, after death; in Bartholomae's own words, "beim Menschen von der unsterblichen Kraft, *die alle seine Handlungen bestimmt* und nach dem Tode zu verantworten hat" (*s.v.*, italics mine). In other words, it is the power which exercises free will, the power of choosing (*var*) between good and evil.

Its formation would then be a reduction of an original **var-van* to *urvan*, which seems quite regular.

(1) With *var* = *ur*, compare the roots:

vaç	p. p. *uχta*
vas	*ušta*, grace, happiness; *ušti*, will
vaχš	*uχšyeite*
vap	*ufyāni*, *ufyemi*
vaj (*vag*)	*uγra*
van	*ūna*
var	*urvāta* (*vrāta*)
var (protect)	*ūra* (flock)

[1] Among curious suggestions are those of a native Parsi scholar, K. E. Kanga, '*ūrū*, wide + *an*, to live,' *Avesta Dictionary*, *s.v.*; and of de Harlez, who suggests the Semitic *ruakh* (*Langue de l'Avesta*, Glossary, *s.v.*).

(2) The termination *-van* is by no means an uncommon one, cf.

aša-van	holy, from aša	
ad-van	way,	ad-
kərəθ-van	doer,	√kar-
is-van	powerful,	is-
maga-van	adept (of the religion)? from maga-	
āθra-van	priest	

This appears to me to give a perfectly simple and satisfactory etymology, more satisfactory I think than Williams Jackson's own "prob. *ruvan*" (*Avesta Reader*, Vocabulary, *s.v.*).

L. C. CASARTELLI.

JÚHÍ IN THE PERSIAN LITERATURE

Juh'a or Si Joh'a is a well-known personality all over Northern Africa, to the Arabs as well as to the Berbers. Most of the anecdotes related about this curious fool and jester in Arabic and Kabyle popular literature are attributed by the Ottoman Turks to the Qádi Naṣru'd-dín Khója, who is said to have lived in the times of Tímúr-i-lang. Under one or the other of these names the Oriental "Eulenspiegel" has been known in southern and eastern Europe. Juh'a has become the Giufà or Giucca of the Sicilians, the Calabrians, and the Toscans. Naṣru'd-dín Khója lives in the traditions of the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Croats, and even the Roumanians are acquainted with the "Nastratin Hogea."

The Juh'a-Naṣru'd-dín stories have been carefully studied during the last thirty years. Prof. *René Basset*, the well-known Orientalist, has in his instructive introduction to the French translation of the Kabyle version of the legends of Juh'a published by *S. Moulieras*[1] pointed out that the Arabic text, published at Búláq, is only a translation from Turkish, and, further, that Juh'a is, nevertheless, a much older literary figure than Naṣru'd-dín, the كتاب نوادر جحا being mentioned in the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad b. Isḥáq an-Nadím, who died at the end of the 4th century A.H. (995 A.D.). M. Basset sums up his thesis about the relation between the different versions in the following manner: "A la fin du IV^e siècle de l'hégire, il existait chez les Arabes des recueils de plaisanteries analogues à ceux qu'on composa plus tard en Occident (Til Ulespiègle, Schimpf und Ernst, les sages hommes de Gotham, les sept Souabes, etc.), et qui renfermaient des traits de naïveté tantôt spirituels, tantôt ridicules, parfois obscènes, qu'on retrouve chez tous les peuples et dont il faut peut-être chercher l'origine dans l'Inde. De ces recueils arabes qui fournirent plusieurs chapitres aux auteurs des *Kitâb el Adab*, un seul survécut, et l'on groupa autour de son héros Djoh'a les anecdotes qui se rapportaient à ceux qu'énumèrent

[1] *Les Fourberies de Si Djeh'a.* Paris, 1892.

l'auteur du Fihrist et d'autres. Au xv^e ou au xvi^e siècle, ce recueil qui, par transmission orale, avait déjà passé en Occident, fut traduit en turk, et le principal personnage identifié avec un certain Nasr eddin Hodja, dont l'existence est au moins douteuse....Cette version turke fut maintes et maintes fois remaniée, et l'un des remaniements fut traduit (avec des additions) en arabe vers le milieu du xi^e siècle de l'hégire, xvii^e de notre ère. Déjà la tradition orale, peut-être à la suite de la conquête turke, avait porté dans le Maghreb un grand nombre d'anecdotes dont quelques-unes pénétrèrent chez les Kabyles, et qui doivent être jointes à celles que nous possédons dans les recensions écrites."

On the other hand, *Albert Wesselski*, the German folklorist, to whom we are indebted for the most complete translation of all the stories of Juḥ'a-Naṣru'd-dín[1], makes the following statement: "Für das Verhältnis Nasreddins zu Dschoha ist die Feststellung wichtig, dass aus der Zeit vor Nasreddins angeblichem oder wirklichem Leben noch keine einzige Dschohageschichte bezeugt ist, die als Quelle eines Nasreddin'schen Schwankes angenommen werden müsste, während das sonst Nasreddin zugeschlagene Gut wahrlich nicht gering ist."

For my part, I incline to the opinion that the Turkish "sottisier" of Naṣru'd-dín, which is the main source of the Arabic version of the *Nawádir* of Juḥ'a, is not a translation from the old كتاب نوادر جحا as named in the *Fihrist*, but an independent collection, in which probably a great many of the stories of the older book have been incorporated. Most of the anecdotes of the modern versions are "wandering" stories to be met with all over the world, and a great number of them are current even among the Persians; we find some of them in the 8th century A.H. in *'Ubaid Zákání*[2], and personally I have heard others from the mouth of the *Sayyid Faiḍu'lláh Adíb* in Teheran[3], but in all these Persian stories the hero is nameless. Of the stories forming the old collection mentioned in the *Fihrist*, only three have hitherto been brought to light. They are related in the كتاب مجمع الامثال of

[1] *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, 1–2. Weimar 1911.

[2] Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Introd. p. xxxix.

[3] Arthur Christensen, *Contes persans en langue populaire* (Copenhague 1918), nos. 1, 6, 14, 15, 20, 24, 27, 49, 53.

Maidání. None of them occurs in the Turkish version, and one only has been inserted in the modern Arabic collection, but it is evidently taken from the book of Maidání[1].

It has escaped the notice of M. Basset as well as Herr Wesselski that there exists in Persia a series of stories concerning Juḥ'a, whose name is written in Persian Juḥí or Júḥí. In the Díván of *Anvarí*, who died about 586 A.H. (1190 A.D.), we find the following verse[2]:

از حسد فتح تو خصم تو پی کرد اسب

همچو جحی کز خدوك چرخهٔ مادر شکست

and the explanation of the last hemistich is given in lexicographical works such as the *Kashfu'l-lughat* under the heading جُحی: "A jester who said witty words; it is related that one day he uttered a witticism in an assembly, but nobody laughing at that, he got vexed and after returning home broke the spinning wheel of his mother."

Jalálu'd-dín-i-Rúmí (d. 672 A.H. = 1273 A.D.), in his famous *Mathnaví*, has narrated three anecdotes about this fool. Here the name is written جوحی, probably for metrical reasons. In modern lithographed editions we find the false writing جوجی.

1. The first anecdote is to be found in the second book[3]. I reproduce the translation of C. E. Wilson[4].

A boy was bitterly lamenting and beating (his) head before his father's bier;

Exclaiming, "O father, to what place, pray, are they taking you to put you under the earth!

They are taking you to a narrow and wretched house, in which there is no carpet or mat.

(In it) neither lamp at night, nor bread in the day; neither scent nor sign of food.

Neither is its door in good condition, nor is there any way to (its) roof; no neighbour too is there to be as an asylum (to you).

[1] Wesselski, *l.c.*, Introd. p. xxxiii, note 2.

[2] Ed. Tabríz 1266, p. 50.

[3] Ed. Bombay 1310, II, p. 70.

[4] The *Masnavī* by Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī, Book II, transl. by C. E. Wilson (London 1910), vol. I, p. 272. The translator, in a short note, points out the identity between Júḥí and the Juḥ'a of the Arabs.

Your eyes which people kissed—how will they be in a dark and wretched house?

A pitiless house, and a narrow place, in which neither face remains nor colour."

In this fashion he was reckoning up the qualities of the place, whilst he let fall tears of blood from his eyes.

Júḥí said to his father, "O honoured (father), by Alláh! they are taking him to our house!"

The father said to Júḥí, "Do not be a fool!" He rejoined, "O father, hear the indications.

These indications which he has given one by one apply without (any) lying or doubt to our house.

(In it) there is no mat, nor lamp, nor food; its door is not in good condition, nor its court, nor its roof[1]."

2. In the fifth book of the *Mathnaví*, the poet relates the following story, which is too coarse to be translated into English[2]:

واعظی بد بس گزیده در بیان   زیر منبر جمع مردان و زنان
رفت جوحی چادر و روبند ساخت   در میانِ آن زنان شد ناشناخت
سائلی پرسید واعظرا براز   موی عانه هست نقصانِ نماز
گفت واعظ چون شود عانه دراز   پس کراهت باشد از وی در نماز
یا بآهك[3] یا ستره بسترش   تا نمازت کامل آید خوب و خوش
گفت سائل آن درازی تا چه حد   شرط باشد تا نمازم کم بود[4]
گفت چون قدری جوی گردد بطول   پس ستردن فرض باشد ای سئول[5]
گفت جوحی زود ای خواهر ببین[6]   عانهٔ من گشته باشد[7] اینچنین

[1] This anecdote is also to be found in the Turkish tradition of Naṣru'd-dín (Sottisier de Decourdemanche, no. 165; Wesselski, no. 229). Mendoza has made use of the plot in his "roman picaresque" *Lazarillo de Tormes* (*Biblioteca de los autores españoles*, III, p. 86). Further parallels by Wesselski, I, p. 262. A curious variation in Hammer's "Rosenöl," II, p. 313 (no. 191), taken from the *Nuzhatu'l-udabá*.

[2] Ed. Bombay, 1310, V, p. 78. I follow, generally, the readings of an old manuscript (dated 1037 A.H.) in my possession, noting as variants the readings of the Bombay edition.

[3] var. بنوره.   [4] var. تا نماز اکمل بود.

[5] Hereafter the Bombay edition has the following verse:

پیش جوحی یك زنی بنشسته بود   هوش‌را بر وعظ واعظ بسته بود

[6] var. گفت اورا جوحی ای خواهر ببین.

[7] var. عانهٔ من باشد اکنون.

بهر خشنودئ حق پیش از دست   کان بمقدارِ کراهت امدست
دست زن در کرد در شلوار مرد   کیر ا[1] بر دست زن آسیب کرد
نعرهٔ زد سخت اندر حال زن   گفت واعظ بر دلش زد گفت من[2]
گفت نه بر دل نزد بر دست زد   وای اگر بر دل زدی[3] ای پر خرد

3. The third story of Júḥí is narrated in the sixth book of the *Mathnaví*[4]. As it is a rather long-winded story I only give a summary: Júḥí in his penury calls upon his wife to make use of her beauty and allurements to make a good capture. So she appears before the Qáḍi and makes a complaint against her husband, and she invites the Qáḍi to come to her house and speak with her about the affair. In the evening the Qáḍi steals into the house of Júḥí and makes merry with the woman. Suddenly Júḥí approaches and knocks at the door. The Qáḍi conceals himself for fear in a chest. Júḥí enters and says that he has made up his mind to destroy the empty chest which is only a cause of trouble to him, because people think he keeps gold in it. He means to burn it up in the street before the eyes of all. Early in the morning he calls for a Ḥammál, loads the chest on his back, and goes through the street with him. The Qáḍi in the chest addresses the Ḥammál, who at first does not understand whence the voice comes, but finally comprehends that it comes forth from the chest. The Qáḍi asks him to send for his deputy, that he may buy the chest for gold from the foolish owner. The deputy arrives and asks for the price of the chest, and Júḥí demands a thousand pieces of gold, and as the deputy hesitates he offers to open the chest, so that he may judge for himself whether it is not worth that sum of money. Finally the deputy buys the chest for a hundred dínárs.—A year after, Júḥí, being again in want of money, calls upon his wife to repeat the former trick. She appears anew among other female plaintiffs in the hall of the Qáḍi and complains of her husband, but makes another woman expose the affair, in order that the Qáḍi may not recognize her by the voice. The Qáḍi orders the plaintiff

[1] var. خرزهاش.
[2] Hereafter a spurious verse is given in the Bombay edition.
[3] var. زند.
[4] Ed. Bombay VI, p. 100.

to go and fetch the defendant. Júḥí comes, and the Qáḍi, who does not know him, because he himself had been sitting in the chest when the former bargain was made, asks: "Why do you not allot to your wife what is necessary for the support of life?" Júḥí answers that he is very poor, having not even a shroud, if he should happen to die; the game at dice has brought him into such destitution. The Qáḍi now recognizes him and says: "It was with me you played that game; last year you made a big throw, this year it is my turn to win the game. Play with somebody else, but keep your hands from me."

These three stories as well as the anecdote to which the verse of Anvarí makes allusion are at all events two or three centuries older than the Turkish collection that goes under the name of Naṣru'd-dín, and belong, together with the three anecdotes quoted by Maidání, to the older tradition. Whether that is the case, too, with the five following Persian anecdotes I cannot tell; they belong certainly to a tradition distinct from that represented by the Turkish stories of Naṣru'd-dín and the *Nawádir* of Juḥ'á, as only one of them is to be found in those collections. Four of the stories in question, together with the three stories from the *Mathnaví*, given in a somewhat shortened form, make up the 14th chapter of the popular book *Riyáḍu'l-ḥikáyát* of Ḥabíbu'lláh Káshání[1]. The heading of that chapter runs as follows:

حکایات جوحی[2] در جمله از حکایات متعلّقه بآن شخص ظریفی که نام او جوحی بود.و درین باب هفت حکایت است.

4. It is related that Júḥí said: Once a woman came to me and said: "I have got an affair with you." I said: "What affair have you got?" She answered: "Come with me." I went with her, until she stopped before the shop of a painter. She said to the painter: "Draw the portrait in his likeness," and having said so, she went away. The painter began to laugh. I said: "For God's sake, explain this matter to me." He answered: "Some time ago that woman said to me: 'Draw for me a portrait of the Devil.' I said: 'I have never seen the Devil'; I did not know in what likeness I should

[1] Teheran 1317 A.H.
[2] The name is always written جوجی.

paint him, till this moment when she brought you hither and said: 'Draw the portrait in his likeness[1].'"

5. Once Júḥí came to the bank of the Tigris. He saw here some blind men who desired to cross the river. He said: "What will you give me, if I bring you over?" They said: "Each [of us] will give you ten nuts." "Well," said Júḥí, "let each take hold of the belt of the other, and let him who is the foremost hold out his hand to me." They did so, but when they were in the middle of the river, the water was too strong for them. The current carried away one of the blind men. They cried: "O Júḥí, the water has carried away our comrade!" "Alas!" said Júḥí, "now I have lost ten nuts." Then the current carried away another. They cried: "O Júḥí, the water has taken another of our comrades." "Woe to me!" said [Júḥí], "twenty nuts are gone out of my hands." Now the water took a third man. They cried: "We are drowning all of us." [Júḥí] said: "What harm will that do you? all the damage will be for me, for I lose ten nuts for everyone of you that the water carries away[2]."

6. Júḥí had an ass. When he wished to bring it forth from the house, it would go out quickly, but when he drew near his house, he had to force it in by means of a stick and chains. People said to him: "As a rule asses run quickly, when they approach the house of their master. Why does your ass act contrariwise?" He answered: "Because that ass knows the stable of his master, in which there is nothing."

7. A person made a complaint against Júḥí: "I demand of you [a debt of] two túmáns." He took him before the

[1] In another version (Jámí's *Baháristán* [ed. Schlechta-Wssehrd, p. 67]; Hammer, *Rosenöl* II, p. 312, no. 188, from the *Nuzhatu'l-udabá*) the hero of the story is the celebrated writer Jáḥiẓ. I have found the same plot in Danish and German collections of amusing stories from the 18th century: *Den lystige Kiöbenhavner* (Copenhagen 1768), I, p. 10, and *Vade Mecum für lustige Leute* (1776), II, no. 288.

[2] This anecdote of Júḥí is to be found in another popular book, the *Laṭá'if u ẓhará'if* (p. 25 of the edition 1295, *sine loco*, probably Teheran). Here, too, the name is written جوحی. In a shorter form it has been adopted among the Turkish stories of Naṣru'd-dín (Decourdemanche, no. 54; Wesselski, no. 14) and has passed to the Arabs, the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Croats.

Qáḍi in order to bring an action against him. [Júḥí] denied [the debt]. The Qáḍi asked him to swear to the fact. [Júḥí] said: "O Qáḍi, in this town nobody is more trusted than you; please take the oath in my place, so that this man may be made easy in his mind[1]."

Finally I have found the following joke by Júḥí, but only in the *Laṭá'if u ḏhará'if*[2]:

8. It is related that Júḥí said: "My mother and I are two skilful astrologers, and our predictions never fail." They asked: "How can it be as you say?" He answered: "It is done in this way that I for instance say: 'It will rain,' and my mother says: 'It will not rain,' and one of us must needs be right."

That Júḥí was a popular figure in the days of Jalálu'd-dín-i-Rúmí is evident from the fact that Jalálu'd-dín makes use so often of the current stories about this personage to illustrate his religious and philosophical views. But it is a noticeable thing that, at the present day, Júḥí is much less known in Persia, which we may infer, first from the small number of stories about him preserved to our days in Persia, and secondly from the fact that the name has been corrupted to Jújí. This corruption, which is due to the Arabic characters, shows that the name of the old jester has been transmitted through the literature only and does not live on the lips of the people.

[1] The *Laṭá'if u ḏhará'if* (p. 23 of the named edition) has the same story. Dr Nicholson calls my attention to a Júḥí story given in the 6th book of the *Bahár istán* of Jámí [ed. Schlechta-Wssehrd, p. 75], which had escaped me because Schlechta-Wssehrd's edition of the *Bahár istán* is not to be found in Copenhagen. Turning over the leaves of a manuscript of the *Bahár istán*, I found the story concerned, evidently the original of which the above anecdote is a later version. A certain person demands of Júḥí a debt of ten dirams, but has no witness and declares that the oath of Júḥí cannot be trusted. Júḥí proposes that the Qáḍi should call upon a certain Imám known for his trustworthiness and let him take the oath in his place.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN.

CHARLOTTENLUND, DENMARK.

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SOME RARE AND IMPORTANT ARABIC AND PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF ḤĀJJĪ 'ABDU'L-MAJĪD BELSHĀH; NOW EITHER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OR IN THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF PROFESSOR EDWARD G. BROWNE[1]

I. Ḳur'ān and Ḳur'ānic Literature.

1. The latter portion of the *Ḳur'ān*. Dating, probably, from about the xth century A.D. 16°.
2. *Majāzātu'l-Ḳur'ān*. An exposition of the metaphors and other figures of speech employed in the *Ḳur'ān*, by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusain, known as Sharīf Riẓā (d. 406 A.H., 1015 A.D.). Probably xiiith century.
3. *Mushkilu'l-Ḳur'ān*. The first volume of Ibn Ḳutaibah's expositions of the difficulties of the *Ḳur'ān*—extending to the end of Chapter xiii. Date of transcription not later than 573 A.H.
4. *Asbābu'l-nuzūl*. Dissertations on the occasion of the revelation of the various sūrahs of the *Ḳur'ān*, by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wāḥidī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 468 A.H.). Fine naskhi hand, probably of the xiiith century A.D.
5. *Jawāhiru'l-Ḳur'ān*. Discourses on the theology and ethics of the *Ḳur'ān*, by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 505 A.H.). Fine Arabic naskhi, dated 649 A.H., 1251 A.D.
6. *Al-Tibyān*. Vol. viii of an extensive commentary on the *Ḳur'ān* (embracing Sūr. 33^{70}–48^{29})—possibly by Al-Tha'ālibī (d. 427 A.H.). On recto of the first folio, it is attributed to Al-Ṭūsī, for which there appears no evidence, the work not being the production of a Shī'ite at all.

   The oldest part was probably transcribed in the xiith, the remainder in the xivth century.

[1] Those in Professor Browne's collection are marked with an asterisk.

7. *Shifā'u 'l-ṣudūr.* A portion of a commentary on the *Ḳur'ān*, by Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibnu 'l-Ḥasan al-Naḳḳāsh al-Mauṣilī (d. 351 A.H.). The treatment is mainly textual and grammatical, embracing Sūr. 63^{3}–70^{44}, with three detached leaves relating to Sūrs. 58^{2}, 59^{3-5}, 59^{7-8}. Fine Arabic naskhi of the XIIth or XIIIth century.

8. *Ma'āni 'l-Ḳur'ān.* The commentary of Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl called Zajjāj (d. 310 A.H.) on the *Ḳur'ān*. Sūrahs 1–10 and 112–114 missing. Fine naskhi of the XIIth or XIIIth century.

9. *Al-Wasīṭ.* A commentary on the *Ḳur'ān*, by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468 A.H.). Not all in the same handwriting: mainly XIIIth or XIVth century.

10. *Aswilatu'l-Ḳur'ān.* A series of discussions on the difficult passages of the *Ḳur'ān*, by Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Rāzī (cir. 700 A.H.). Dated 860 A.H., 1456 A.D.

11*. *A Persian commentary on the Ḳur'ān*, of the Haggadic type. Most of the interpretations are given on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās. Having regard to the authorities quoted, it was probably composed in the XIth century A.D. It is imperfect at the beginning and the end, commencing with سورة الزّمر. So far as it is ascertainable, no other copy seems to exist. Probably transcribed in the XIVth century A.D.

II. SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

12. *Ru'ūsu 'l-masā'il.* An anonymous treatise on the fundamental questions of Moslem law and religion in catechetical form. Replies compiled from the great Moslem religious authorities. Written in a neat naskhi probably in the late XIIIth or early XIVth century A.D. Apparently unique.

13. *Al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt.* A portion of Avicenna's treatise on philosophy. Imperfect and out of order. Fine MS of, probably, the XIIIth century A.D.

14*a*. *Kashfu 'l-tamwīhāt.* Replies by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abi 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Āmidī (d. 631 A.H.) to the strictures of Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Fakhru 'l-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606 A.H.) on Avicenna's *Ishārāt*.

14*b*. The commentary of Al-Ṭūsī on the *Ishārāt*. Oldest part of MS dated 675 A.H.

15. *Rasā'il Ikhwāni 'l-Ṣafā.* Philosophical Encyclopaedia of "The Brethren of Purity." Vol. II, Risālah VII of pt 2 to Risālah III of pt 3. Fine MS of the XIIIth or early XIVth century.

16. *Kitāb 'Usrati 'l-maujūd.* A commentary by Zainu 'l-Dīn ibn Yūnus al-Bayāẓī (d. 622 A.H.) on an unnamed work on Scholastic theology (*Kalām*). Imperfect at the end. Dating probably from the XIVth century A.D.

III. Medical Works.

17*. *Maḳālāt fī khalḳi 'l-insān.* A treatise on the nature of man, dealing mainly with anatomy, pathology and medicine; but also partly psychological: imperfect at the end. Apparently transcribed before 489 A.H., 1096 A.D.
This and the two following works are by Abu'l-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh, called Ibn Tilmīḏ, physician to the Caliph Al-Muḳtadī.

18. *Aḳrābāḏīn Madīnati 'l-Salām*, or *Aḳrābāḏīn Baghdād.* A treatise in twenty chapters on compound medicaments in use at the hospital at Baghdād in the author's time. The 170 folios were written in the most beautiful naskhi in 625 A.H.

19. *Ḳuwa 'l-adwiyah.* A companion work to the former on simple medicaments in use at the hospital. Not only are the names given in Arabic, but their equivalents in Persian and Syriac are also added throughout. The volume, consisting of 224 folios, is written in a beautiful, clear naskhi and claims to have been written in 654 A.H. No copies of either of these two works are otherwise known.

20*. *Taḏkiratu 'l-kaḥḥālīn.* Biographies of famous oculists by 'Īsa ibn 'Alī, Christian physician at Baghdād about 961 A.D. Transcribed in 400 odd A.H. The date is partly covered over.

21*. *Dakhīrah i Khwārazmshāhī.* The Medical Encyclopaedia of Ismā'il Jurjānī. An exceptionally fine copy of Bks III (commencing with *makālah* 4 of *bakhsh* 1), IV and V. Written in a most elegant Arab naskhi script in the XIIIth century A.D.

22*. Two other copies of parts of the same work. One containing Bks I–III, transcribed in the XIIIth century A.D.; the other Bk VI, and written, probably, in the XIVth century A.D. Both somewhat imperfect.

23*. *Kānūn fi'l-ṭibb* of Avicenna. Consisting of Bk III, *fann* 1–9, on therapeutics. Fine XIIth or early XIIIth century A.D. copy.

In a note on the fly-leaf it is stated that a certain Sayyid Abu'l-'Izz Sa'id ibn Ḥasan read it to Hibat Allāh ibn Sa'īd (who died 560 A.H.?).

24*. *Mūjiz fī 'ilmi 'l-ṭibb.* A compendium of medicine, abridged from the Kānūn of Avicenna, by 'Alī ibn Abi'l-Ḥazm al-Kurashī. Transcribed in the XVIIth or early XVIIIth century A.D.

25*. *Minhāju 'l-bayān.* A treatise on simple and compound medicaments, by Abu 'Alī Yaḥya ibn 'Īsa ibn Jazlah. Defective at the end of pt 2. There is a note of ownership with date, i.e. 775 A.H., on the fly-leaf of pt 1. Written in a rather crude but old hand, probably in the XIVth century A.D.

26*a**. *Taḳwīmu 'l-adwiyah.* A tabulated list of remedies, by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥubaish ibn Ibrāhīm Tiflīsī (c. 600 A.H.). Written in a Persian hand dating from the XVIIth century A.D.

26*b**. *Taḳwīmu 'l-abdān.* A treatise on the regimen of the human body in tabular form, by Yaḥya ibn 'Īsa ibn Jazlah.

27*. *Khulāṣatu 'l-tajārib.* An extensive treatise on medicine in Persian, composed in the city of Rai in 907 A.H. by Bahā'u 'l-Daulah Sirāju 'l-Dīn Shāh Ḳāsim ibn Muḥammad Nūrbakhshī. Date partly effaced, but in the XVIIth century A.D.

28*. *Ghāyatu 'l-bayān fi tadbīr badani 'l-insān.* On the regimen of the human body. No author mentioned; but the work is dedicated to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān ibn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Khān (1088–99 A.H.). No other copy apparently known. Dated 1089 A.H.

29*. *Aḳrābādīn.* A pharmacopoeia, by Nūr ibn 'Abdi 'l-Mannān. One of the very few Turkish works in the collections. Dated 1040 A.H. No other copy of the work is announced.

30*. Two copies of *Tashrīḥ i Manṣūrī.* A Persian treatise on the anatomy of the human body, by Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. With six whole-page anatomical coloured drawings. Older copy dating from about 1050 A.H., later about the XVIIIth century A.D.

IV. Astronomical Works.

31*. *Zīju 'l-mufradāt.* A Persian treatise on the astrolabe with extensive astronomical tables, by Abu Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ayyūbi 'l-Ṭabarī, called Ḥāsib (the mathematician), who flourished during the earlier part of the XIIIth century A.D. The present copy must have been written during the author's lifetime. Only a fragment of 26 leaves of this work at Munich is otherwise known.

32*. *Zīj i Ilkhānī.* A neat XVth century copy of Al-Ṭūsī's astronomical tables. Slightly imperfect.

33*. *Al-tafhīm li-awā'il ṣinā'ati 'l-tanjīm.* The Arabic version of Al-Bīrūnī's treatise on astronomy. Dated 839 A.H. (1426 A.D.).

V. Geography.

34*. *Ṣuwaru 'l-aḳālīm.* A treatise on geography with a large number of coloured maps in good style. Imperfect at both ends, but an interesting and uncommon work. Date probably XVIth—XVIIth century A.D.

VI. Mysticism.

35. *Risālah Ḳushairiyyah.* The famous treatise on Ṣūfism, by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Hawāzin (d. 465 A.H.). Written by the author's famous son Sharaf in 582 A.H.

36. *Maṭla'u 'l-khuṣūṣ fī sharḥi 'l-fuṣūṣ.* A commentary, by Dā'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rūmī al-Ḳaiṣarī (d. 751 A.H.), on Ibnu 'l-'Arabī's Ṣūfic work entitled *Fuṣūṣu 'l-ḥikam.* Written in the author's lifetime.

37. *'Awārifu 'l-ma'ārif.* A treatise on mysticism, by Abu'l-Ḥafṣ Shihābu 'l-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh Suhrawardī (d. 632 A.H.). Followed by three brief tracts of the same nature. Dated 709 A.H.

38*. *Mirṣādu 'l-'ibād.* A Persian work on mysticism, by 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Najmu 'l-Dīn Dāyah. Completed at Siwas in 620 A.H. Copied at Cairo in 768 A.H. in a fine naskhi hand.

39*. *Miftāḥu 'l-asrāri 'l-Ḥusainī.* A treatise on mysticism, by 'Abdu 'l-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad Yūnus al-Dumāwandī. The title is the chronogram for the composition, i.e. 1180 A.H. Transcribed in the XIXth century. No other copy of this or the following two works is announced.

40*. An Account of the Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfic works, by Muḥammad Shafī' ibn Bahā'i 'l-Dīn 'Āmilī. Dated 1178 A.H.

41*. *Maṭā'inu 'l-ṣūfiyyah.* A refutation of Ṣūfic tenets, by Muḥammad Rafī' ibn Muḥammad Shafī' Shīrāzī. A Persian work in the author's autograph, dated 1221 A.H.

VII. Historical Works.

42. *Kitābu 'l-ma'ārif.* A historical work beginning with the creation and extending down to the Caliphs, by Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim, called Ibn Ḳutaibah (b. 213, d. 276 A.H.). Though edited by Wüstenfeld in 1850, MS copies are rare. Transcribed probably in the XIIIth century A.D. except four modern folios at the beginning and one at the end.

43. *Zubdatu 'l-fikrat fī ta'rīkhi 'l-hijrat.* A general history of Islam from the beginning down to 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), by Al-Amīr Ruknu 'l-Dīn Baibars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār (d. 725 A.H.). The present volume contains *juz'* three of the eleven parts which made up the complete work and gives the events of the years 42–121 A.H. Slightly defective at the beginning. No other copy of this part is announced in the catalogues. The date is partly erased but it is probably 732 A.H.

44. *Fatḥu 'l-wahbī.* A commentary on Al-'Utbī's *Ta'rīkh i Yamīnī*, by Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Manīnī. Though the British Museum has an edition of this work, only two other MSS are known to exist. Dated 1286 A.H.

45*. *Tajāribu 'l-salaf.* A history of Islām from its rise until the extinction of the Caliphate in 1258 A.D. Compiled for the Atābeg Naṣru 'l-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fazlānī (d. *cir.* 730 A.H.), by Hindūshāh ibn Sanjar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kīrānī. Though mentioned by Ḥājji Khalīfah, II, p. 191, no other copy has been announced. Dated 1268 A.H. (Pers.).

46. *Ḥusnu 'l-muḥāḍarah.* History of Egypt by Jalālu 'l-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Dated 1270 A.H. Though this work has been printed, the British Museum possessed no MS of it before.

47. *Ḏikr i islām i Najāshī.* A history of the early wars of the Muslims, beginning with the conversion of the Najāshī and ending with the conquest of Caesarea. The account is romantic rather than literally historical, after the manner of Wāḳidī. XVIIth century A.D. No other copy is announced.

48. A history of the 'Abbāsī Caliphs from Hārūnu 'l-Rashīd to Al-Mutawakkil, by an unnamed Tunisian author. Revised by Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad وادران (?) al-Tūnisī, who added an appendix of the governors of Tunis under the 'Abbāsids from Al-Saffāḥ down to Al-Muḳtadir. Completed on 4th Rabī' II, 1172 A.H. The latest author cited is Al-Suyūṭī. Written in Maghribī script in the XVIIIth century. The only copy known to exist.

VIII. TRADITIONS AND TRADITIONISTS.

49. *Kitābu 'l-sunan.* An extensive collection of traditions as to the rules, sayings and doings of Muḥammad. Compiled by Sulaimān ibn Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, known as Abu Dā'ūd (d. 275 A.H.). In ten *juz'* or parts, with a *samā'* or note, stating the person before whom it was read, after each part in another handwriting. Transcribed probably in the XIIIth century A.D.

50. Another copy of portions of the traditions extending from *Kitābu 'l-jihād* to the end, i.e. *Kitābu 'l-adab.* The copy was finished on 9th Jumādā II of the year 511 A.H. Collation completed 3rd Du'l-Ḥijjah, 5?5 A.H.

51. *Urjūzatu 'l-Makkiyyah.* A collection of traditions, without compiler's name. No other copy is apparently known. Dated 816 (?) A.H.

52. *Talkhīṣu 'l-mustadrak.* Pt 2 of a work on tradition, by Ḥakim Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'aim Nīshāpūrī (d. 378 A.H.). Redacted and arranged by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḏahabī (d. 748 A.H.). Dated 1134 A.H. A unique copy.

53. *Al-tibru 'l-muḏāb fī bayān tartībi 'l-aṣḥāb.* A work on tradition derived from the Companions of the Prophet, by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥāfī al-Shāfi'ī. Transcribed probably in the XVIIth century A.D. No other copy is announced.

54. *Tahḏību 'l-kamāl fī asmā'i 'l-rijāl.* A greatly augmented recension of Ibn Najjār's (d. 643 A.H.) biographies of traditionists entitled *Kitābu 'l-kamāl,* by al-Mizzī (d. 742 A.H.). Vol. I, wanting introduction and some folios at end; while others are damaged. Last notice is that of Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad ibn Riyāẓ ibn Farrukh al-Wazzān. Arab naskhi without diacritic points, probably of the XIVth century. The only other copy of this volume announced is at Cairo.

55. *Naḳdu 'l-rijāl.* An account of Shī'ite traditionists, by Muṣṭafa ibnu 'l-Ḥusain al-Tafrīshī. Only one other copy announced, Brit. Mus. Suppl. to Arab. Cat., 636. Dated 1255 A.H.

IX. Arabic Poetry.

56*. Poems by Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abu'l-ʻAlā al-Maʻarrī, with a commentary. The text is partly identical with the author's Siḳṭu 'l-zand. Imperfect at beginning and end. Dated xiiith—xivth century A.D.

57*a*. *Dīwān*. A collection of poems by Abu Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Nāṣiḥu 'l-Dīn Arrajānī (b. 460 A.H., d. 544 A.H.). Only partially identical in contents with Brit. Mus. Or. 3167; having more of the poems rhyming in the last letters of the alphabet than that codex, and to that extent it is supplementary. Dated, probably, xiith or early xiiith century A.D.

57*b*. Poems by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl ibn ʻAbdi 'l-Khāliḳ al-Kātib. Died, according to a marginal gloss of same date as the MS, in 528 A.H. Apparently unique.

57*c*. Poems by Al-Khalīlu 'l-Auḥad Muḥammad [ibn] Abi Zaid ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad ibnu 'l-Ḥasanī(?) ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Khāziz (?).

58. *Dīwān* of Muḥammad ibnu 'l-Ablah (d. 579 A.H.). Of this poet's work only a few poems in the British Museum collections are otherwise known. Dated 881 A.H.

59. *Rauẓatu 'l-nāẓir wa-nuzhatu 'l-khāṭir*. A poetical anthology here attributed to ʻAlī ibn ʻAlī al-ʻUmariyyah. Ḥājjī Khalīfah attributes it to ʻAbdu 'l-ʻAzīz al-Kāshī. Brockelmann attributes it to Aḥmad ibnu 'l-Ḥusain al-ʻAzāzī. No other complete copy is announced. Extracts are found at Berlin.

X. Jurisprudence.

60. *Sharāʼiʻu 'l-islām*. The most important and popular treatise on Shīʻite law, by Najmu 'l-Dīn Jaʻfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥillī (d. 676 A.H.). In the author's handwriting. A note in Persian on the fly-leaf gives the history of the identification of the script as that of the author. A fine copy dated 662 A.H. The margins are modern, with copious notes by Abu'l-Ḳāsim Fundaraskī.

61. *Masāliku 'l-afhām.* A commentary on the *Sharā'i'* of Al-Ḥillī, by Zainu 'l-Dīn ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Āmilī. Completed in 964 A.H. The only other copy announced is at Leiden.

62. *Multaka 'l-biḥār min muntaka 'l-akhbār.* A treatise on Ḥanafī law, by Muḥammad al-Zauzanī al-Rashīdī. See Ḥājjī Khalīfah, VI, p. 196. Dated (if it is not the date of the archetype) 697 A.H. No other copy is announced.

63. *Kitābu 'l-badī'* or *Badī'u 'l-niẓām.* A treatise on Ḥanafī law, by Muẓaffaru 'l-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Baghdādī, called Ibnu 'l-Sā'ātī (d. 694 or 696 A.H.). Probably XVth century A.D.

64. *Muntaha 'l-wuṣūl fī kalāmi 'l-uṣūl.* Fundamentals of Shī'ite law, by Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf Ibnu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726 A.H.). Dated 687 A.H. Apparently unique.

65. *Irshādu 'l-adhān.* A treatise on Shī'ite law, by the author of the preceding. Dating from the XVIIth century. Copies of this work are rare.

66. *Al-Kāfī.* A treatise on Zaidī law, by Muḥammad ibn Murtaḍa called Muḥsin. Copied probably in the XIXth century. No other copy of this work is announced.

67. *Shifā'u 'l-ghalīl fī ḥall mushkil mukhtaṣari 'l-Shaikh Khalīl.* A commentary, by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ghāzī al-'Uthmānī al-Miknāsī (d. 919 A.H.), on Khalīl ibn Isḥāk al-Jundī's compendium of Moslem law according to the Mālikite school. Composed in 905 A.H. Transcribed probably early in the XVIth century A.D. No other copy is announced.

XI. PERSIAN POETRY.

68*. *Maṣnavī i Ma'navī* of Jalālu 'l-Dīn Rūmī. A neat copy of daftar I, though slightly imperfect at the beginning and end. Copied in the XIVth century A.D.

69*. *Maẓharu 'l-'ajā'ib.* A Ṣūfic poem by Farīdu 'l-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. This copy is more extensive than that already in the British Museum—the only other copy known to exist. Copied in 1286 A.H.

70. *Sī Faṣl.* A collection of poems by 'Aṭṭār. Apparently unique. Copied in 1298 A.H.

71*. *Dīwān of Ḳaṭarān.* The contents differ almost entirely from that already in the British Museum. Copied in the XIXth century A.D.

72. *Dīwān,* by Shamsu 'l-Dīn Muḥammad Lāhijī called Asīrī (d. 927 A.H.). Copies of this *dīwān* are not common. Transcribed in the XVIIth—XVIIIth century A.D.

73. *Dīwān* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī called Mushtāḳ of Iṣfahān. The British Museum had only a few ghazals of this poet's work. Copied in the XIXth century A.D.

74. *Dīwān* of Saḥāb. Only isolated poems are otherwise found in *tazkirahs.* Dating from, probably, the XVIIIth century.

75*a*. *Haft Lashkar.* An epic poem dealing with the same themes as the later additions to the *Shāhnāmah,* such as the *Barzanāmah.* No author is mentioned.

75*b*. *Farasnāmah.* A short poem on horsemanship, by a certain Ṣafī Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū. No copy of either work seems to be announced. Dated 1255 A.H.

76. *Dīwān of Mirrīkh.* Apparently a unique copy. Dated 1256 A.H.

77. *Dīwān of Wāḳif.* The only other known copy is in the Bodleian Library. Probably XVIIIth century.

78*. *A tazkirah,* or biographies and extracts from the poetical works of Persian poets, by Darvīsh Nawā. Unique copy. Probably XIXth century A.D.

XII. Arabic Grammar and Prosody.

79. *Thimāru 'l-ṣinā'at.* Discourses on the various sections of Arabic Grammar, by Ḥusain ibn Mūsa ibn Hibat Allāh al-Dīnawarī. Dated 583 A.H. (1188 A.D.). Apparently unique.

80. *Al-Kāfiyyah.* Ibn Mālik's famous versified treatise on Arabic etymology and syntax. Dated 755 A.H. MSS of this work are rare.

81*a*. *Khizānatu 'l-laṭā'if.* An anonymous commentary on Abu'l-Fatḥ Nāṣir ibn 'Abdi 'l-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizi's treatise on Syntax entitled *Al-miṣbāḥ.*

81*b*. A tract entitled *Risālah 'ilmiyyah inshā'u 'l-Rashīd.* A number of letters written to different personages in which the correct meaning and mode of writing some words in Arabic, especially in the *Ḳur'ān*, are discussed by the famous Rashīdu 'l-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 509 A.H.). Dated 751 A.H. No copy of either work is known to exist except that one *risālah*, or letter, of 81*b* is at Berlin and catalogued anonymously.

82*a*. *Al-mufaṣṣal.* A treatise on Arabic Grammar, apparently in imitation of Zamakhsharī's work of that name, by Aḥmad ibn Bahrām ibn Maḥmūd.

82*b*. *Nuḳāwatu 'l-īḍāḥ.* A commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt*, by the same author. An autograph copy made in 679 and 677 A.H. respectively. Interesting calligraphically. Apparently unique.

83. *Dastūru 'l-lughah.* A treatise on Arabic Grammar arranged in 28 books according to the number of moon-stations, and each book into 12 chapters according to the number of months, by 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain ibn Ibrāhīm al-Naṭanzī called Ḏu'l-Bayānain (d. 497 or 499 A.H.). Dated 715 A.H. Copies of this work are not common.

84. *Al-Kāfī fī 'ilmi 'l-'arūẓ wa'l-ḳawāfī.* Also called *Sāwiyyah.* A poem on prosody by Ṣadru 'l-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sāwī (d. 749 A.H.), with an anonymous commentary. In XIVth—XVth century naskhi. Copies are very rare.

XIII. LEXICOGRAPHY.

85. *Mujmalu 'l-lughat.* An Arabic lexicon arranged according to the alphabetical order of the initial letters of words, by Abu 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad called Ibnu 'l-Fāris Ḳazwīnī (d. 395 A.H.). Imperfect at the beginning—wanting words beginning with *alif*—and at the end wanting the *yā*-words. In this copy the letter *wāw* precedes *hā* as in the Persian order. Copied probably about the XIth century A.D.

86. *Jana 'l-jannatain.* An Arabic lexicon compiled by Fakhru'l-Dīn Abu'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-Ḳāsim. Dated 593 A.H. Apparently a unique copy.

87. *Mukhtaṣaru'l-jamharah.* An abridged version of (apparently) the lexicon of Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan called Ibn Duraid (d. 321 A.H.). Differing greatly from the extended work represented by Brit. Mus. Or. 5811. Fine naskhi copy of probably the XIIth century A.D.

88. *Al-Sāmī fi'l-asāmī.* A dictionary of Arabic terms explained in Persian by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maidānī (d. 518 A.H.). Contents differ much from Brit. Mus. Or. 3268 and the Teheran lithographed edition. Dating probably from the XIIIth century.

89. *Al-Ṭirāzu 'l-awwal.* A lexicographical work of some importance, by 'Alī Ṣadru 'l-Dīn al-Ḥusainī. Dated 1277 A.H. No other copy announced.

XIV. Addenda of Theological and Philosophic Works.

90. A treatise on Muslim theology and ethics. Composed in Persian about 500 A.H. It is imperfect at the beginning and at the end, but written in a very fine old naskhi hand of probably the XIIIth century A.D. Persian MSS of that date are rare. The copy is, apparently, unique.

91. *Bayānu 'l-ḥaḳḳ.* A philosophical work treating in turn of ethics, physics, and metaphysics. The above title occurs in, and is probably intended to apply to, only the last section of the work. The first part consists of sections or chapters (*faṣls*) extracted from a work entitled *Risālatu'l-akhlāḳ.* A note on the fly-leaf, referring to Ḥājjī Khalīfah, attributes the work to Sirāju 'l-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Abi Bakr al-Urmawī (d. 682 A.H.). But it is on the same plan as Al-Fārābī's treatment of Aristotle's works. Date partly erased, but it is 600, odd, A.H. The copy is apparently unique.

E. Edwards.

DIE MAS'ALA ZUNBŪRĪJA

Die *mas'ala zunbūrīja* gehört zu den zahlreichen grammatischen Streitfragen (nicht weniger als 121 verzeichnet der *'Inṣāf* des Ibn al-'Anbārī, ed. Weil), die die Philologenschulen von Baṣra und Kūfa schieden. Zur raschen Orientierung für alle die, die bisher von dieser *mas'ala* noch nicht gehört haben, mögen folgende Sätze aus dem drei Seiten langen Kapitel, das Ibn al-'Anbārī (*'Inṣāf* ٢٩٢–٢٩٥) ihr gewidmet hat, hier Platz finden:

ذهب الكوفيّون إلى أنّه يجوز أن يقال: «كنتُ أظُنُّ أَنّ العَقْرَبَ أَشَدُّ لَسْعَةً من الزّنبور، فإذا هو إيّاها». وذهب البصريّون إلى انه لا يجوز ان يقال: «فإذَا هُوَ إيّاها» ويجب أن يقال: «فإذَا هُوَ هِيَ». أمّا الكوفيّون فاحتجّوا بالحكاية المشهورة بين الكسائىّ وسيبويه؛ وذلك أنّه لمّا قدِم سيبويه على البرامكة فطلب أن يُجمَع بينه وبين الكسائىّ للمُناظَرة، حضر سيبويه فى مجلس يحيى بن خالدٍ وعنده وَلَداه جَعْفَرٌ والفَضْلُ ومَن حضر بحُضورهم من الأكابر...... فحضر الكسائىّ فأقبل على سيبويه فقال: «تسئلنى أو أسئلك؟» فقال: «بل تسئلنى أنت». فأقبل عليه الكسائىّ فقال: «كيف تقول؟ كنتُ أظنّ أنّ العقربَ أشدُّ لَسْعةً من الزُّنبور، فإذا هو هى، أو فإذا هو إيّاها؟» فقال سيبويه: «فإذا هو هى، ولا يجوز النصبُ». فقال له الكسائىّ: «لحنتَ». ثمّ سأله عن مسائلَ من هذا النحو نحو: خَرَجْتُ فإذا عبدُ اللّه القائمُ والقائمَ. فقال سيبويه فى ذلك بالرفع دون النصب. فقال الكسائىّ: «ليس هذا من كلام العرب؛ العربُ تَرفع ذلك كلّه وتَنصبه». فدفع ذلك سيبويه ولم يُجِزْ فيه النصبَ. فقال له يحيى بن خالد: «قد اختلفتما وأنتما رئيسَا بلدَيْكما؛ فمَن ذا يَحْكُم بينكما؟» فقال له الكسائىّ: «هذه العربُ ببابك؛ قد اجتمعَتْ من كلّ أوْبٍ ووفدتْ عليك من كلّ صُقْعٍ، وهم فصحاء الناس وقد قنِع بهم أهلُ المِصْرَيْن وسمع أهلُ الكوفة والبصرة

منهم. فيُحْضَرون ويُسْألون». فقال له يحيى وجعفر: «قد أنصفتَ» وأمر بإحضارهم. فدخلوا وفيهم أبو فَقْعَس وأبو زِياد وأبو الجَرّاح وأبو ثَرْوان. فسُئلوا عن المسائل التى جَرَتْ بين الكسائيّ وسيبويه. فوافقوا الكسائيّ وقالوا بقوله الخ.

Andere Stellen, an denen unsere Streitfrage erörtert oder wenigstens erwähnt wird, sind: Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī-l-labīb*, ed. Kairo 1302 (mit der *Ḥāšija* des Muḥammad al-'Amīr), I, ٨٠—٨٤ (vgl. dazu Sacy, *Anthol. gramm. arabe* 199—201 und 'Abd al-Hādī Naǧā al-'Abjārī, *al-Qaṣr al-mabnī 'alā ḥawāši-l-Muġnī* I, ٤٦٣—٤٨٢, s. auch Howell, *Grammar* I, 763 und Lane, *Lexicon*, unt. إذا), Maqqarī, *Analectes* II, ٤٧٥—٤٧٨, Ḥarīrī, *Séances*[2] II, ٤٤٩, Schol., Šarīšī, *Šarḥ al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrīja*, ed. Būlāq 1284, II, ١٨١ f., Ibn Ḫallikān, ed. Būlāq 1299, I, ٤٨٧ (= Brünnow-Fischer, *Chrestomathie* ١٠٠; vgl. Slane's Uebersetzung II, 397), 'Abu-l-Fidā', *Annales musl.* II, 74 f. und Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften* I, 385. Nach Weil, a. a. O. 199, findet sie sich "in fast wörtlicher Uebereinstimmung [mit der Fassung des *'Inṣāf*] auch in Sujūṭī's *'Ašbāh* III, ١٠, wo sie den *'Amālī* des 'Abu-l-Qāsim az-Zaǧǧāǧī entnommen ist". Die *'Ašbāh* sind mir z. Z. nicht zugänglich. In der Kairo 1324 mit dem Kommentar des 'Aḥmad b. al-'Amīn aš-Šinqīṭī erschienenen Rezension der *'Amālī* des Zaǧǧāǧī sucht man unsere *mas'ala* vergebens; sie stand wohl nur in der grossen und mittleren Ausgabe des Werkes (s. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, ed. Flügel, I, 431, wo aber als Verfasser der *'Amālī* für Zaǧǧāǧī fälschlich Zaǧǧāǧ erscheint, Ḥarīrī a. a. O., unten, Muḥammad al-'Amīr, *Ḥāšija* zum *Muġnī*, a. a. O. I, ٨٠, unt. ٨٣, pu. u. a.).

Als Gegner im Streit um die Gültigkeit von فإذا هو إيّاها erscheinen an den angegebenen Stellen durchweg Sībawaih und Kisā'ī; einzig 'A'lam aš-Šantamarī, bei Maqqarī, II, ٤٧٥, 2 ff., weiss zu berichten, dass die Ueberlieferung an Stelle von Kisā'ī auch dessen Hauptschüler Farrā' nennt. Stärkeres Schwanken herrscht hinsichtlich der vornehmen Persönlichkeit, vor der die Disputation stattgefunden haben soll; die Stimmen verteilen sich nämlich ungefähr in gleicher Zahl auf den Grosswesir Jaḥjā al-Barmakī und den Chalifen Hārūn (s., abgesehen vom *'Inṣāf*, *Muġnī* I, ٨٠, 17, Ḥarīrī

II, ٤٤٩, Schol., Z. 9f. 16, Maqqarī II, ٤٧٥, 7, auch Ibn Ḫallikān a. a. O.). Trotz dieser Widersprüche könnte die Disputation als historisch anzusehen sein. Das Schulbeispiel, von dem die Streitfrage ihren Namen *az-zunbūrīja* erhalten hat, lautet gewöhnlich so wie im *'Inṣāf*, also كنت أظنّ أنّ العقربَ أشدّ لسعة من الزنبور، فإذا هو هى (إيّاها) (d.i.: "Ich glaubte, der Skorpion stäche heftiger als die Hornisse, und siehe, sie ist [in dieser Beziehung wie] er"; Slane a. a. O. gibt die Worte فإذا هو هى bzw. إيّاها fälschlich mit "and behold! it was so" wieder). Ibn Ḫallikān hat aber: كنت أظنّ الزنبورَ أشدَّ لَسْعًا من النَّحْلة، فإذا هو هى (إيّاها), 'Abu-l-Fidā': كنت أظنّ لسعةَ العقرب أشدَّ من لسعة الزنبور، فإذا هو هى (إيّاها) und Muṭarrizī, bei Ḥarīrī a. a. O. Z. 8, schlecht: كنت أظنّ أنّ العقربَ غيرُ الزنبور، فإذا هى هو (إيّاه). Als Verfechter der ausschliesslichen Gültigkeit von فإذا هو هى hat zweifellos Sībawaih zu gelten; den von 'A'lam a. a. O. ٤٧٥, 10 (s. auch ٤٧٦, 3 v. u.) angeführten "vereinzelten Aeusserungen", denen zufolge sich Sībawaih für die Ausdrucksweise فإذا هو إيّاها entschieden hätte, liegt sicher eine arge Gedankenlosigkeit zu Grunde. Kisā'ī und seine Schule haben den Akkusativ إيّاها natürlich nicht ausschliesslich, sondern nur neben dem Nominativ هى für zulässig erklärt. Vgl. im *'Inṣāf* (s. oben) und *Muġnī* I, ٨٠, 3 v. u. den Satz: فقال الكسائىّ: «العربُ ترفع ذلك كلّه وتنصبه...», und zu letzterer Stelle die Bemerkung Muḥammad al-'Amīr's: كذا حكايةُ... الزجّاجىّ. وحكى الرضىُّ تَبَعًا للأنْدَلسىّ أنّ الكسائىّ أَوْجَبَ النصبَ، وهو ظاهرُ نَظْمِ حازمٍ الآتى. قال الشارح: «ولعلّ الصوابَ حكايةُ المصنّف، وإلّا لَرَدَّ سيبويه عليه بما وَرَدَ فى التنزيل (Koran-Stellen, wie der Kommentator sie hier meint, sind: فألْقَى عَصاهُ، فإذا هى ثُعْبانٌ مُبينٌ. ونَزَعَ يدَه، فإذا هى بَيْضاءُ للناظرين 7, 104 f., فألْقاها، فإذا هى حَيّةٌ تَسْعَى 20, 21, فإذا هُمْ خامدون 36, 28, auch فإذا هى شاخصةٌ أبْصارُ الّذين كفروا 21, 97).

Die Hauptfrage ist natürlich, wer Recht hat, ob die Kūfenser oder die Baṣrenser. Wie letztere, so lehnt auch 'A'lam die Satzfügung فإذا هو إيّاها unbedingt ab: والكوفيّون

يُجيزون النصبَ..وهو غلط بيّن وخطأ فاحش؛ لا تقوله العربُ ولا تَعَلُّق له بقياس, a. a. O. ٤٧٨, 20f. Sein Urteil scheint mir aber übereilt. Die theoretischen Erwägungen, mit denen die kūfischen und andere, jüngere, arabische Philologen die Zulässigkeit des Akkusativs إيّاها zu begründen suchen, sind allerdings—dieses Verdikt trifft ja leider auf die meisten Theorien der arabischen Grammatiker zu—im wesentlichen öde Scholastik. Beachtung verdienen aber doch Angaben wie: قال الشيخ ابن بَرّىّ مَلِك النُحاة: ذكر أبو القاسم الزَجّاجىّ أنّ أبا زيد الأنْصارىّ حكى عن العرب «فإذا هو إيّاها»، كما ذكَر الكسائىُّ. قال الزجّاجىّ: «فإمّا أن يكون سيبويه بَلَغَتْه هذه اللغةُ ولم يَقبلها ولا عرّج عليها لشُذوذها، أو لم تَبلغه فأنكرها». وأبو زيد الأنصارىّ من أَجَلّ علماء البصرة، وهو ممّن أَخَذَ عنهم سيبويه. فقد ثبت عنه هذه اللغةُ وإن كانت شاذّة فى قياس العربيّة Ḥarīrī, a. a. O., Schol., Z. 5 v. u. ff. (ähnlich *'Inṣāf* ٢٩٤, 5 ff. und Šarīšī II, ١٨١, 5 v. u. ff.), besonders da auch Zağğāğī der baṣrischen Schule angehört.—Der einzige abendländische Gelehrte, der m. W. bisher zu der Ausdrucksweise فإذا هو إيّاها Stellung genommen hat, ist Fleischer. Er hält sie offenbar nicht für erfunden, denn er schreibt a. a. O.: "...oder man betrachtet إيّاىَ u. s. w. an und für sich als Nominativ, wie das إيّاها in dem von den arabischen Grammatikern viel besprochenen فإذا هو إيّاها statt فإذا هو هى..., entsprechend dem althebräischen אֵת, אֶת־ mit folgenden Substantiven und dem neuhebräischen אוֹתוֹ u. s. w. im Nominativ...; entsprechend ferner dem ägyptisch-arabischen إيّاه als Deutewort im Subjektsnominativ, wie in الرجل ايّاه ما جاش وايّاك البارح 'cet homme n'est pas venu avec vous hier', Tantavy, *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, S. 75". Ich stimme ihm zu. Unsre Satzfügung erscheint ja sogar in den Makamen des Baṣrensers Ḥarīrī, ٤٤٩, 2: فإذا هو إيّاه "und siehe, er ('Abū Zaid as-Sarūğī) war es selbst". Hier könnte freilich eine Einwirkung unsrer *mas'ala* anzunehmen sein. Aber nominativisches إيّاه, إيّاها, إيّاك usf. findet sich auch sonst. So liest man Jāqūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, ١٠٤٧, 9: اقول: هى إيّاها "ich sage: das ist sie (die gewollte Pfeilschussweite)" und ebd. ١٣, 15 (= *Muštarak* ٣٣٨, 9): ...وإيّاه أُرِيدَ بقولهم فى المثل:...

"und er (der Berg Qāra) ist gemeint, wenn man im Sprichwort sagt...." Und zu إيّاكَ نَعْبُدُ in Sure 1 wird die Lesart إيّاكَ تُعْبَدُ überliefert (*Muġnī* I, ٨٤, 3 ff.: ضميرُ النصب [أى إيّاها] استُعِيرَ فى مكانِ ضميرِ الرفع. قاله ابنُ مالك، ويَشهد له قراءةُ الحسن «إيّاك يُعْبَدُ» ببناء الفعْل للمفعول und dazu *al-Qaṣr al-mabnī* I, ٤٧٩, 4 v. u. ff.: فإيّاك مبتدأ استُعيرَ لضمير الرفع وهو أنت وإن كان ضميرَ نصب؛ والأصلُ: أنت إلهٌ يُعْبَدُ. وقُرِئَ بالفَوْقيّة؛ والأصلُ: أنت تُعْبَدُ، فأُتِىَ بإيّاك مكانَ أنت. Vgl. auch im Christlich-Arabischen: امه ايه, d. i. أُمّه إيّاه, statt أمّه هو "seine Mutter", فى مرتبته اياه "in seiner Ordnung", لانه هو ايه الشيطان "denn der Satan selbst", s. Graf, *Der Sprachgebrauch d. ältesten christl.-arab. Literatur* 60 f. Das Auftreten der Akkusative إيّاىَ, إيّاكَ, إيّاه usf. in gewissen Satzfügungen der klassischen Sprache, in denen sie von einem ungeschulten Sprachgefühl wohl als Nominative empfunden werden mochten, konnte ja leicht dazu führen, sie schliesslich für أنا, أنت, هو usf. einzusetzen. Satzfügungen dieser Art sind: وإيّاى (فإيّاى) فٱرْهَبُونِ Sure 2, 38. 16, 53, وإيّاى فٱتّقُونِ Sure 2, 38, فإيّاى فٱعْبُدُونِ Sure 29, 56, وخرجتْ هى وإيّاه سِرْتُ وإيّاه Caspari-Wright, *Grammar* II, 84, 1, 1001 *Nacht*, ed. Kairo 1311, I, ٦, 11, أكلتُ أنا وإيّاه ebd. ٨, 27 u. o. (Dozy, *Suppl.* I, 45 b hat dieses وإيّا verkannt; s. schon Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften* II, 480), ولا لنا أميرٌ سِواك، ولا مقدَّمٌ إلّا إيّاك Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie* 78, unt. (auch dieses—offenbar nur zur Gewinnung eines Reimes mit سواك an Stelle von أنت gesetzte—إيّاك hat Dozy falsch beurteilt; er erklärt es für einen Nominativ, übersieht dabei aber, dass nach إلّا bei voraufgehender Negation der Akkusativ zwar weniger gewöhnlich als der Nominativ, aber keineswegs verpönt ist), وإنّا أو إيّاكم لَعَلَى هُدًى Sure 34, 23 u. a. Der Ersatz des Nominativs der selbständigen persönlichen Fürwörter durch den Akkusativ ist ja auch in den abendländischen Sprachen nicht selten. Vgl. für das Romanische Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik d. roman. Sprachen* II, 93: "Mehrfach sind die betonten Nominative durch die Akkusative verdrängt, vgl. *moi*, *toi* im Frz., *mi*, *ti* in der östlichen Champagne, der Dauphiné

und den Waldenser Mundarten sowie in ganz Oberitalien, sogar in Venedig und im Emilianischen, *te* für *tu* selbst in Lucca und Pisa.......", 96: "In Frankreich und Norditalien sind dann wie bei der 1. und 2. Person die ursprünglichen Akkusative in den Nominativ gerückt: *lui eux, lui lei loro,* letztere selbst im Toskanischen......", auch III, 70 ff. In der englischen Umgangssprache der niederen und z.T. selbst der mittleren Volksklassen sind Wendungen häufig wie: *it's me*; *nobody was present but us*; *she did it better than him*; *Harry and me are going* usf. usf.—Nach allem scheint mir, wie gesagt, unser فإذا هو إيّاها als mundartliche Nebenform von فإذا هو هى sehr wohl denkbar.

Nach dem *Inṣāf* (s. oben), *Muġnī* I, ٨٠, unt., Maqqarī II, ٤٧٠, 19 ff. und Šarīšī II, ١٨١, 20 ff. hat Sībawaih auch die Ausdrucksweise خرجتُ فإذا عبدُ اللّه القائمَ abgelehnt. Das erscheint durchaus glaubhaft, denn diese Konstruktion—mit determiniertem Zustandsakkusativ—ist überaus hart und wohl auch kaum aus der Literatur zu belegen. (Ich bin freilich m. W. auch der Satzfügung فإذا عبدُ اللّه القائمُ, mit determiniertem Nominativ, noch in keinem Texte begegnet.) Dass die Kūfenser القائمَ für zulässig erklärt haben, hat seinen Grund offenbar in ihrer—sehr gewaltsamen—Lehrmeinung, ein Zustandsausdruck könne in gleicher Weise indeterminiert wie determiniert sein; s. Šarīšī a.a.O.: ومَذْهَب الكوفيّين فى الحال أن تكون نَكِرةً ومَعْرِفةً. Ganz unglaubhaft ist dagegen die Ueberlieferung, Sībawaih habe weiter auch die Konstruktion فإذا عبدُ اللّه قائمًا verworfen; s. Maqqarī a.a.O. Sein *Kitāb* (II, ٣٣٨, 9 f.) erwähnt allerdings nur die Konstruktion فإذا عبدُ اللّه قائمٌ. Aber das besagt natürlich nicht viel. قائمًا ist ja völlig einwandfrei: es ist *ḥāl* zu عبدُ اللّه, dem Subjekt des den Begriff des Daseins involvierenden und daher in sich abgeschlossenen Satzes فإذا عبدُ اللّه ("und siehe, 'Abdallāh war da, stehend"), während قائمٌ natürlich das Prädikat des durch فإذا eingeleiteten Nominalsatzes عبدُ اللّه قائمٌ bildet ("und siehe, 'Abdallāh stand da"). 'A'lam, Maqqarī II, ٤٧١, 9 ff., weist denn auch jene Ueberlieferung mit Nachdruck zurück, und andre Grammatiker stellen unbefangen قائمٌ und قائمًا als gleichberechtigt hin; s. Ibn Ja'īš ...

unt. und Howell I, 762 f. Freilich habe ich auch für فإذا ع' قائمًا keinen Beleg, während es für فإذا ع' قائمٌ an solchen nicht fehlt (s. Buḫārī, vokal. Stambuler Ausg. v. 1315, VI, ١٩٦, 4 f.: فخررْتُ لوجْهي... فإذا رسولُ الله صلعم قائمٌ على رأسي; Ṭabarī, *Annales* II, ١٢٨٢, 12 f.: فدخلتُ... فإذا ابنُ حيّان جالسٌ; ebd. ٣٧٠, 17: فدخلتُ... فإذا رأسُ الحُسيْن موضوعٌ بين يديه und Ibn Hišām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, ٤٥٩, 8 f.: فرجعتُ إلى بيتي... وإذا أبو يَزيد سُهَيْلُ بن عمرو في ناحية الحُجْرة مجموعةٌ[1] يداه إلى عُنُقه بحَبْل und vgl. Reckendorf, *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse d. Arabischen* 477 ff.; so sogar فبيْنَما نحن على تلك الحالة، وإذا بصاحب المَرْكَب واقفٌ على جانبها 1001 *Nacht* III, ٢, 3 v. u. und نَظَرْنا فإذا برايات الحانات أمثالُ النُّجوم Hamadānī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. Bairūt 1889, ٢٣٩, 5). Aber die Zulässigkeit von فإذا ع' قائما wird, indirekt, bestätigt durch das Nebeneinander von قائمًا und قائمٌ in Ausdrucksweisen, die mit der unsrigen auf das engste verwandt sind. Ich denke an Fälle wie: وها هو ذا واقفًا في دارك Ibn Hišām, *Sīra* ٩١٥, 2, neben وهو ذا واقفٌ في دارك Ṭabarī, *Annales* I, ١٩٨٨, ult. f.; هو ذاك جالسًا في الحجْر Ibn Hišām ٤٦٠, 11, ها هو ذاك جالسًا في الحجر Ṭabarī I, ١٣٣٨, 13, neben هو ذلك جالسٌ في الحجر *Aġānī* IV, ٣٢, 13; فتلْك بيوتُهم خاويةً Sure 27, 53, neben der Lesart خاويةٌ (s. z. B. Baiḍāwī z. St.); هذا جِبْريلُ آخذٌ بعنانِ فرَس Ibn Hišām ٤٤٤, 17, = Ṭabarī I, ١٣٢١, 2 und *Aġānī* IV, ٢٧, 5 (s. auch Brünnow-Fischer, *Chrestom.* ٥٦, 5), neben der Variante آخذًا am Rande von Wüstenfeld's Cod. P; هذا عمرُ بن الخطّاب متوشّحًا بالسيف Caspari-Wright II, 278 AB usf. Vgl. Ibn Jaʿīš ٢٣٥, 10 ff., *Muġnī* I, ٨٤, 21, Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften* I, 592 f. und vor allen Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik d. classischen Arabisch* 49 f.

[1] So übereinstimmend in verschiedenen Hss. der *Sīra*, die ich vor Jahren teilweise kollationiert habe. Dagegen natürlich ebd. Z. 13 f.: حين رأيتُ أبا يزيد مجموعةً يداه إلى عنقه.

A. Fischer.

HIMMLISCHE UND IRDISCHE NAMEN

Ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων'....

(*Il.* I 403–404.)

Die Vorstellung von Doppelnamen[1] begegnet auch in islamischen Kreisen. Neben den *irdischen* unter den Mitmenschen gebräuchlichen eignet man hervorragenden Personen Namen zu, mit denen sie von den *Himmlischen* bezeichnet werden. In dieser Weise hat man die beiden Namen des Propheten Aḥmed und Muḥammed auf die beiden Sphären verteilt. Jener sei sein *himmlischer*, dieser sein *irdischer* Name, اسمه فى الارض محمّد وفى السماء احمد, so lässt man den Zauberer Saṭīḥ in einem Orakelspruch dem Grossvater des Propheten, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, verkünden (*Sīrat ʿAntar*, ed. Śāhīn XV 151, 7 v. u.; ebenso in einem Orakel des Ḳoss b. Sāʿida, *ibid.* XXV 86, 9)[2]. Vgl. *Letters of Abu-l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī*, ed. Margoliouth, 76, 6.

Gern werden dabei auch andere, besonders die Benennungen erwähnt, unter denen jene Personen in den heiligen Schriften vorherverkündigt seien. Sogleich wieder in erster Linie Muḥammed selbst, worüber *ZDMG* XXXII 373–376[3]. Während sich die alte Traditionslitteratur mit fünf Namen Muḥammeds begnügt[4], hat die spätere Theologie den Kreis immerfort erweitert und es bis zu tausend Namen des Propheten gebracht[5]. Die volkstümliche Litteratur will der

[1] Vgl. Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*², 202 ff.

[2] In der Ausgabe Kairo (maṭb. Śerefijja) 1306–1311 = XV 68, 7; XXV 48, 3; vgl. Basset, *La Bordah du Cheikh el Bouṣîri* (Paris, 1894), 61.

[3] Im Taurāt vorzugsweise *al-Mutawakkil* (Ibn Saʿd 1/2, 87, 16; 88, 21) mit Misverstehung des auf Muḥ. bezogenen Verses, Jes. 42, 1 („der Vertrauende" für „auf den ich vertraue"). Über Verwechslung von אתמך mit אשמח im selben Vers, s. *RÉJ* XXX 2.

[4] *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, IV 248, Buchārī, *Manāḳib*, nr. 17, Muslim V 118. Vgl. Sprenger, *Das Leben u. d. Lehre des Moh.* I 156 ff., Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds* (Stockholm, 1918), 274 ff. Der Lexikograph Abu ʾl-Ḥusejn ibn Fāris (st. 395/1005) verfasste eine Abhandlung u. d. T. المُنْبِئ فى اسماء النبىّ, zitiert im *Itḥāf al-sāda* (Kairo) VII 163 unten.

[5] Die Litteratur in den Kommentaren zu den soeben angeführten Ḥadīṯ-Stellen.

gelehrten Überlieferung in diesem Punkte mit ihrer Steigerung der Polyonymie nicht nachstehen. Muḥammed habe verschiedene Namen nicht nur im Himmel und auf Erden, in den heiligen Schriften früherer Religionen, sondern auch in den verschiedenen Naturbereichen werde er mit je verschiedenen Namen gerufen: mit einem anderen auf dem Kontinent als in den Meeren[1]; mit je anderen bei den verschiedenen Vertretern des Tierreichs; ja sogar in jedem der sieben Himmel sei er unter je anderen Namen bekannt. Darüber wird der Wüstenheld ʿAntar, als er um auf die Spur des Mörders seines Sohnes Ġaḍbān geführt zu werden sich an den Kāhin Ḳoss (in der Erzählung ständig "Ḳajs") b. Sāʿida wendet, von letzterem in einer weitläufigen, fast gnostisch klingenden Rede belehrt:

اسمه فى التوراة المقدهليا (so!) وفى الانجيل طابا وفى الزبور الفارقليطا وفى صحف آدم امشيطا وفى صحف شعيب الياء وفى صحف شيث بريا وفى البرّ عبد القادر وفى البحر عبد القاهر الخ.....اسمه فى السماء الاوّل عبد القائم.....وعند الملائكة المقرّبين محمّد (*Sīrat ʿAntar*, *ibid.* xxv 88).

Eine ähnliche Belehrung hatte der Held bereits früher in bezug auf die verschiedenen Namen des ʿAlī vom Zauberer Saṭīḥ angehört (*ibid.* xv 152).

Dieselbe Tendenz, die Würde der grossen Gestalten des Islams durch ihnen verliehene Vielnamigkeit zu erhöhen, können wir auch, wenn auch nicht in so überschwänglichem Maas an der minder volkstümlichen, der theologischen Tradition näher stehenden Litteratur erfahren. Da werden z. B. verschiedene Namen des Chalifen ʿOmar auf verschiedene Regionen verteilt: *al-Fārūḳ* sei sein *himmlischer* Name; im Inǵīl heisse er *al-Kāfī*; im Taurāt *Manṭiḳ al-ḥaḳḳ*; in der ǵenne *al-Sirāǵ* (Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *Manāḳib al-ʿaśara*, I 189). Vom Epithet des Chalifen ʿOṯmān als *ḏū-l-nūrejn* (weil zwei Töchter des Propheten seine Gattinnen waren) lässt man ʿAlī bezeugen, dass dies sein Name *im Himmel* sei (Ibn Ḥaǵar, *Iṣāba* II 1153). Dem ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz offenbart der Prophet, dass sein Name unter den Menschen

[1] Hier *al-Māḥī* (Abū Nuʿejm; s. Tor Andrae, l.c. 63).

zwar ʿOmar laute, dass er jedoch bei Gott Ǵābir heisse: واسمك عند الله عزّ وجلّ جابر (bei Ibn al-Ǵauzī, ed. C. H. Becker, 144 ult.)[1].

Wenn ihre Nebennamen auch nicht, im Gegensatz zu ihren irdischen, geradezu als *himmlische* bezeichnet werden, so möchte ich doch die Söhne des ʿAlī der hier behandelten Gruppe anreihen.

Nach einer auch in sunnitischen Kreisen verbreiteten Tradition seien den Enkeln Muḥammeds (durch Fāṭima) vom Propheten die Namen Ḥasan, Ḥusejn, Muḥassin[2] gegeben worden als arabische Aequivalente der aramäischen Namen Śabbar, Śabīr[3], Muśabbir[4], die angeblich die Söhne Aharons geführt hätten (Śahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 164, 8; vgl. Metz, *Abulkâsim*, Einleitung 27; H. Lammens, *Fâṭima*, 43). Auch dadurch sollte dokumentiert werden, dass ʿAlī als "Bruder" Muḥammeds zu betrachten sei und zu diesem im selben Verhältniss stehe, in dem Aharon zu Moses stand (Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 15; *ZDMG* L 119). Schīʿiten stellen die Bedeutung jener aramäischen Namen neben den von den Enkeln des Propheten tatsächlich geführten in der Weise dar, dass Ḥasan und Ḥusejn im Taurāt unter ersteren vorherverkündigt seien: وقد سبق اسمهما في تورية موسى وكان اسمهما في التورية شبّرا وشبيرا (Ḥillī, *Kaśf al-jaḳīn fī faḍā'il amīr al-mu'minīn* [Bombay, 1298], 68, 8). In pathetischer Rede gebrauchen schīʿitische Schriftsteller, wenn sie von den Söhnen ʿAlī's zu reden haben, mit Vorliebe jene fremde Namen. Sie beabsichtigen dadurch in Hörern und Lesern die feierliche Stim-

[1] In einem im *LA* s.v. عصب II 95 nach Azhārī mitgeteilten apokalyptischen Ḥadīṯ über die Zukunft des islamischen Reiches wird in der dort gegebenen, übrigens lückenhaften Chalifenfolge zwischen Manṣūr und Mahdī ein Chalife mit Namen Ǵābir eingeschoben.

[2] Ausser diesem jung verstorbenen Sohn des ʿAlī wurde dieser Name auch einem während des Abzuges der gefangenen Frauen des Ḥusejn nach der Kerbelā-katastrophe bei Aleppo todt zur Welt gekommenen Kind des Ḥusejn gegeben. Über das diesem Kinde geweihte maśhad s. Sobernheim in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, 379–390.

[3] Im Persischen, das den Konsonanten *p* ausdrückt, sind die Namen, dem aram. Original שׁפּיר entsprechend شُپّر und شپيرا (Nāṣir Chosrau, *ZDMG* XXXVI 506).

[4] Der Name مُشَبِّر auch echt arabisch; Schol. *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, Index s. v.

mung gegenüber dem Andenken der Märtyrer-Imame zu steigern; z. B. in einem Trauergedicht auf die ʻAliden:

ودارَ عليٌّ والبتولُ وأحمدُ * وشُبَّرُها مولى الورى وشبيرُها

(bei Naǵafī, *al-Muntachab fī-l-marāṯī wal-chuṭab* [a. R. der *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibijjīn* vom Verfasser der *Aǵānī*, Bombay, 1311] 116, 7); oder in einem Trauergedicht des Sejf b. ʻUmejr auf Ḥusejn:

واخوه سِبط المصطفى وحبيبُهُ * هذا الشبيرُ وصِنْوُ ذاك الشُّبَّرُ

(*ibid.* 225, 10). Diese Namen sind zweifellos gemeint unter den verstümmelten Formen bei John P. Brown, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism* (London, 1868), 172, wenn bei der Initiation in den Bektāšī-Orden die fünf Beistände des Aspiranten nach den *ahl al-kisā* (*ZDMG* I. 120) benannt werden als ʻAlī, Zehrā (= Fāṭima), Sheppar (= شَبّر), Shāh Peer (= شپير), und Hazrat-i Kubrā (nach Brown = der Mahdī).

Die Annahme von verschiedenen, himmlischen und irdischen Namen derselben Person wird von den Ṣūfī's gern auf die von ihnen verehrten hervorragenden Heiligen angewandt.

Vom Gründer der Stadt Fēs, dem heiligen Idrīs sagen sie, dass dieser blos sein äusserlicher Name gewesen sei; im Kreise der Gottesmänner und der Leute der Gottesgegenwart führe er den mystischen Namen *Faḍl*: وهذا الذى ذكرناه من ان اسمه ادريس هو اسمه فى الظاهر وعند اهل الله واهل الحضرة فيقال له فضل (Kettānī, *Salwat al-anfās* [Fēs 1316] I 69).—Von einem andern Hauptheiligen des maghribinischen Islams, *Abū Madjan* sagt Muḥjī al-dīn ibn al-ʻArabī, dass er in der Oberwelt unter den Namen *Abū-l-Naǵā* bekannt sei; so nennen ihn auch die Geisterwesen[1]: كان يُعْرَف فى العالمِ العُلويّ بابى النجا وبه يسمّونه الروحانيّون (*Futūḥāt mekkijja*, 24. Kap. [Kairo 1329] I 84, 3).—Das Epithet *al-bāz al-ašhab* (der graue Falke), das man dem ʻAbdalḳādir al-Ǵīlānī gab[2], wird nach einer Version damit motiviert, dass er im

[1] Über den Begriff der *rūḥānijjūn* s. Ichwān al-ṣafā (Bombay), IV 289, 12; vgl. *ibid.* 230.

[2] Dasselbe Epithet wird gewöhnlich dem berühmten Šāfiʻiten Abū 'l-ʻAbbās b. Surejǵ (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳ. Šāf.* II 87, 1) und dem Manṣūr al-ʻIrāḳī, mütterlichem Oheim des Aḥmad al-Rifāʻī (T.A. s. v. *bāz*, IV 11, 7) verliehen.

Himmelreich (فى الملكوت) diesen Namen führe (*Loghat al-'arab*, III 413 Anm.).

Die *riǵāl al-ġajb* (abdāl, ḳuṭb und dessen beide Assistenten) haben neben ihren gewöhnlichen Namen mystische, zumeist theophore, mit ihrem mystischen Beruf zusammenhängende Benennungen, die bei Blochet, *Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman* (*Journ. asiat.* 1902, II 52; 66–67) nach ṣūfischen Quellen mitgeteilt sind.

Diese Namendoppelung ist nicht auf Personen beschränkt. In einem in das Musnad al-Śāfi'ī (lith. Agrah 1306) 40 aufgenommenen gedehnten Ḥadīt[1] belehrt Engel Gabriel den Propheten über die Vorzüge des *Freitags.* Unter anderen eröffnet er ihm, dass dieser Tag *bei den Himmlischen "jaum al-mazīd"* (Tag der Vermehrung) genannt werde: وهو عندنا يوم المزيد, weil Gott an demselben auf goldenen, mit Edelsteinen ausgelegten Thronen um ihn versammelten Engeln, Propheten, Märtyrern und Gerechten, die ihn um sein Wohlgefallen bitten, die Gewährung ihrer Bitte und überdies noch die *Vermehrung* des von ihnen Gewünschten zusichert[2]: قد رضيت عنكم ولكم علىّ ما تمنّيتمْ ولدىّ مزيد. Auf Grund dieses, gewiss aus einem einfacheren Kern erweiterten Ḥadīṯ ist jene Benennung des Freitags als himmlischer Name desselben in die theologische Litteratur eingedrungen: وهو (يوم الجمعة) عند الله يوم المزيد كذلك تسمّيه الملائكة فى السماء (Ġazālī, *Iḥyā*, I 173) und sie wird in mystischen Gebeten, sowie auch in

Ein anderer hervorragender Śāfi'it, Abū Muḥammed al-Muzani erhielt den Ehrennamen *al-baz al-abjaḍ* (Subkī, l.c. 85, 10). Einen jüdischen kabbalistischen Autor aus Tarudant Namens Moses b. Maimūn (schrieb ca. 1575) ehrte man mit dem Epithet *al-bāz* (Azulai, *Śēm ha-gedōlīm*, 2. Abteilung s.v. hēkhal kōdeś). Aber auch ein berüchtigter Dieb in Spanien zur Regierungszeit des Mu'tamid erhielt das Epithet als *al-bāzi al-aśhab* (Maḳḳarī, ed. Leiden, II 509).

[1] Das Ḥadīṯ in üppiger Entfaltung bei Ibn Ḳajjim al-Ǵauzijja, *Ḥādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ* (Kairo 1325), II 102; 105 ff. passim; *ibid.* 124 ist auch von einem *dār al-mazīd* die Rede, in das die Seligen am Freitag eingelassen werden.

[2] Auch andere Motivierung: فانّه اذا كان الاسبوع سليما يكون يوم الجمعة فيه مزيد الانوار والبركات: Zuwachs an Erleuchtungen und Segnungen (Suhrawardī, *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Kap. 63 [a. R. des *Iḥjā* IV 461]). Vgl. die jüd. kabbalistische Anschauung von der sabbathlichen נְשָׁמָה יְתֵרָה.

rhetorischer Absicht in einem Buchtitel (Brockelmann, II 380) als Synonym des Freitags gebraucht. Weitere Belege sind in meinem Aufsatz "Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam" (D. Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch [Breslau, 1900] 88–89) angeführt.

I. GOLDZIHER.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PERSIA & EGYPT UNDER ISLAM UP TO THE FÂṬIMID PERIOD

In his *Literary History of Persia*, Professor Browne has shown the importance of the part taken by Persia in the development of Muhammadan literature. It is probable, indeed, that there is hardly an element among all the constituents of the general Islamic system towards which Persia cannot be shown to have made a substantial contribution. Accordingly, it is worth considering how and in what degree the influence of Persia extended itself under the Muhammadans to the west. The effects seem to have been felt in Egypt as strongly as anywhere else.

The following deals with the period when Egypt was united politically with Persia as a member of the Khalîfate, a space of rather more than three centuries beginning with the Islamic conquests. Lower Mesopotamia ('Irâq) is treated as Persian for the purpose in view. The authorities drawn on are the well-known Arab historians. Much of the material they supply is fragmentary and disconnected. Even if it were possible to collect every single relevant fact from their works, there are aspects of the subject which would remain obscure. The contemporary papyri, when they become available, are sure to add to our knowledge with regard to it. The abbreviations used in the references seem not to require explanation, except the following:—Suyûṭî = Ḥusn el Muḥâḍarah. Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam = Br. Mus. MS. Stowe or. 4. K͟hiṭaṭ = El Maqrîzî's *K͟hiṭaṭ*. *El Mukâfa'ah*—by Aḥmad ibn Yûsuf. Cairo, 1914.

A party of Persians, known as El Fârisiyîn, accompanied 'Amr ibn el 'Âṣi on his invasion of Egypt. According to one account, they were remains of the troops of Bâḍân, who had been governor of Yaman for the King of Persia before Islâm; they had been converted to Islâm in Syria and had then volunteered to serve in the religious war[1]. One wonders

[1] *K͟hiṭaṭ*, I, 298.

how they could have got to Syria unconverted. A second account says "it is alleged that there were among them a band of Persians who had been in Ṣan'â'[1]," implying that most if not all of them came from Persia, presumably as prisoners taken in the Mesopotamian campaigns. El Fârisîyîn, who were few, seem to have settled at Fusṭâṭ, where they had a *Khiṭṭah* and a mosque, which latter was still known in the third century of the Hijrah[2].

Ka'b ibn 'Adî et Tanûkhî el 'Ibâdî, a ṣaḥâbî, was the son of a bishop of Ḥîreh, and had been a partner of 'Umar before Islâm. Ka'b was sent on a mission to the Muqauqis in 15 A.H. and took part in the conquest of Egypt. He settled in Egypt and must have had a following of some magnitude there, for one of the early divisions of the Arabs in Egypt was named after him—Âl Ka'b ibn 'Adî et Tanûkhî[3].

The great schism in Islâm caused some movement from 'Irâq to Egypt. Ḥujr ibn 'Adî, a prominent supporter of 'Alî, who seems to have been settled at Kûfah, appears in Egypt as an envoy from Muḥammad ibn Abî Bakr to Mu'âwiyah[4]; and 'Amr ibn el Ḥamiq, one of the regicides, who is connected with Ḥujr and with Kûfah, is connected with Egypt also[5], though it is not clear whether his association with Kûfah dates from before his association with Egypt. 'Abdallâh ibn Saba', a mysterious Jew of Ṣan'â' said to have been at the bottom of the conspiracy against 'Uthmân, settled in Egypt after travelling to Kûfah and Baṣrah[6]. About 130 Azd were banished from Baṣrah to Egypt by Ziyâd in 53 A.H. and settled in Fusṭâṭ[7]. Ḥanash ibn 'Abdallâh, of Ṣan'â' and related to the tribe of Saba', was one of the Persians of Yaman and had been with 'Alî at Kûfah. He came to Egypt after the assassination of 'Alî and settled there. Ḥanash seems to have been a leader of some distinction in the west and had an adventurous career in North Africa and in Spain[8].

[1] Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam, fol. 49 a. [2] do., fol. 48 b.
[3] *Mushtabih*, 334; Ibn Duqmâq, iv, 39; Suyûṭî, i, 131; Kindî, 70.
[4] Kindî, 28. [5] Suyûṭî, i, 128.
[6] Ṭabarî, i, 2942–4; Sam'ânî, 288. [7] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 298.
[8] Ibn Sa'd, v, 391; Sam'ânî, 288 b; Ibn Adârî, i, 15; Maqqari, i, 3.

Mûsâ ibn Nuṣair, the conqueror of Spain, was the son of a captive taken at 'Ain et Tamr near Anbâr in 12 A.H., and before entering the service of 'Abd el 'Aziz ibn Marwân in Egypt had held an administrative post at Baṣrah. It seems likely that Mûsâ's family settled in Egypt, for two or three of them were in the public service there at the end of the Umaiyad period[1].

'Abdallâh ibn Khuḍâmir of Ṣan'â' and a maulâ of the tribe of Saba' was Qâḍi of Egypt from 100 to 105 A.H. and his son Yazîd held the same post in 114 A.H.[2] The name Khuḍâmir seems certainly to be Persian.

El Laith ibn Sa'd, the celebrated jurist, who was born in Egypt at Qalqashandeh in 94 A.H., belonged to a family which came originally from Iṣfahân and were maulâs of the family of the chiefs of the tribe of Fahm in Egypt. They were particularly associated with Khâlid ibn Thâbit, the first of these chiefs in Egypt, so the relationship was probably established in the first half of the first century. Khâlid, who was a ṣaḥâbî and took part in the conquest of Egypt, appears once or twice in Egyptian history, and was living in 54 A.H. El Laith's father is said to have been a maulâ of Quraish and then to have taken military service (iftaraḍ) with Fahm and so to have become related to the tribe[3].

The dîwân, the qairawân used to denote the whole of the area covered by the camp of the Arabs at Fusṭâṭ[4], and the furâniq[5] or guide of the post, are Persian terms that were current in Egypt in the first century.

One comes to the 'Abbâsid period. Large numbers of Persians invaded Egypt on the establishment of the 'Abbâsid Khalîfate in 132 A.H. = 750 A.D. The eye-witness whose account is preserved by Severus puts the number of the 'Abbâsid army that pursued Marwân to Egypt as 100,000 horse[6], implying a greater total, since the army would not have been made up entirely of horse, and he saw in this host a people different from the Arabs with whom he was acquainted. He always calls them Khurâsânians. These "Musauwidah" were not of course entirely Persians, but the

[1] Ṭabarî, i, 2064; Ibn 'Adârî, i, 24; Kindî. [2] Kindî.

[3] *Er Raḥmat el ghaithîyah*, 3, where Thâbit is to be read for Nâshir; Suyûṭî, i, 114; Kindî.

[4] Suyûṭî, ii, 7. [5] Kindi, 62. [6] Seybold, 191.

Arabs among them would have been derived from Persia and the East. The one Arab section of the army actually named, the Muḍarîyah, were under the leadership of a chief who was a member of Tamîm[1], a tribal group which is connected with Kûfah, Baṣrah, Marw, Iṣfahân and the East generally and appears hardly to have extended westward at all until the 'Abbâsid movement brought it to Egypt and North Africa. The slayer of Marwân, 'Âmir ibn Ismâ'îl, who was the leader of the vanguard of the army[2], came from Baṣrah. He belonged to the Arab tribal group of Maḍḥij, but perhaps as a maulâ. At all events, he spoke Persian to his men and urged on the charge with "*yâ jawânagân dihîd*[3]."

A great part of the 'Abbâsid army returned to the East soon after their victory, and when Ṣâliḥ ibn 'Alî left Egypt in 137 A.H. = 755 A.D. most of their cantonment at El 'Askar fell into ruin. El 'Askar was maintained, however, up to the time of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn and seems until then to have remained the usual dwelling-place of the 'Abbâsid governors and their troops[4].

The list of the governors of Egypt between 132 A.H. = 750 A.D. and the war between Amîn and Ma'mûn 196 A.H. = 812 A.D. shows that those first appointed were prominent supporters of the 'Abbâsids who had been instrumental in bringing the dynasty to power. Later, the office was frequently conferred on some member of the 'Abbâsid family, a near relative of the reigning Khalîf. During the time, there were a number of other governors, some of whom were distinguished as military leaders and some of whom had been governors of other provinces of the empire and belonged perhaps rather to a bureaucratic than to a military class. On three or four occasions, Arabs of Egypt acted as governors; but this was unusual and as a rule the governors came from the East. A fair proportion of them were Persians, like Abû 'Aun, a native of Jurjân, and Harthamat ibn A'yan who came from Balkh[5]. The majority were Arabs, but so intimately connected with Persia as to imply a Persian following and belongings. Thus Mûsâ ibn Ka'b seems to have

[1] Kindî, 99, l. 9.
[2] Kindî, 96.
[3] Ṭabarî, iii, 51.
[4] See *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 304.
[5] *Bib. G. Ar.*, vii, 305.

spent years as an 'Abbâsid missionary in the remotest parts of Khurâsân[1], Muḥammad ibn el Ash'ath had been governor of Fâris in 130 A.H. under Abû Muslim[2] and the Muhallab family, to which Yazîd ibn Ḥâtim belonged, had given governors to Khurâsân more than once. The governors who were 'Abbâsids may be taken to have stood for Mesopotamia and the entourage of the court at Baghdâd. One feature about the whole of this series of governors was the frequency of changes. The average term of office was less than a year and a half. The continual travelling to and fro of governors and their retinues must have in itself quickened relations between Persia and Egypt.

The organisation of the troops of Egypt under the 'Abbâsids is not entirely clear. Sâliḥ ibn 'Alî "added 2000 fighting men (*muqâtil*) to Egypt[3]"; perhaps this means that he increased the military establishment to that extent. The 'Abbâsids seem to have instituted *arbâ'* in Egypt[4], and presumably this signifies that they divided the troops there into four divisions.

From a work by El Jâḥiẓ referring to a date not very much later, the army of the Khalîfate would seem to have been divided into five divisions—Khurâsânians, Turks, clients, Arabs, and "Banawîs[5]," i.e. "Abnâ'," and this suggests that there may have been two Persian divisions in Egypt—Khurâsânians and Abnâ'. The arrival of 1000 Abnâ' in Egypt in 194 A.H. is recorded[6].

The institution known as the *shurṭah* seems to have represented a force kept on a permanent military footing, to be reinforced when necessary from the rest of the "ahl ed dîwân." Under the 'Abbâsid governors, there were two *shurṭahs* in Egypt—that of El 'Askar, *esh shurṭah el 'ulyâ*[7], and that of Fusṭâṭ. A full list of the captains of the *shurṭah* is given by Kindî, and during the time in question they were nearly all Arabs and mostly Arabs of Egypt. This list relates, however, to the *shurṭah* of Fusṭâṭ and the names of captains of the *shurṭah* of El 'Askar occur only once or twice[8].

[1] *El Akhbâr et Ṭiwâl*, 337. [2] Ṭabarî, ii, 2001.
[3] Kindî, 193. [4] Kindî, 71.
[5] Translated by Mr Harley Walker, *J.R.A.S.* 1915, p. 637.
[6] Kindî, 147. [7] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 304, l. 30. [8] e.g. Kindî, 102.

It is probable that the troops of Egypt fell into two main divisions: the Arabs of Egypt corresponding to the *shurtah* of Fustât, and the Eastern troops, who were the principal support of the governors and were largely composed of Persians, and were connected with the other *shurtah.*

The arrival of troops from abroad in Egypt in the second century under the 'Abbâsids is recorded in the years 143, 169, 172, 178, 191, and 194 A.H. by Kindî. Doubtless, however, these were not the only occasions. One reads, indeed, that Es Sarî ibn el Hakam, who was a Khurâsânian, belonged to the military following (*jund*) of El Laith ibn el Fadl and entered Egypt in the reign of Er Rashîd[1], apparently, therefore, between 182 and 187 A.H. when El Laith was governor and not at one of the dates referred to. Probably most of the governors enlisted some troops of their own. There is evidence that some of the families that came in from the East in the period in question settled in Egypt. Two members of the Muhallab family are mentioned who were in Egypt 24 and 29 years respectively after the departure of Yazîd ibn Hâtim[2]. The family of 'Abd el Jabbâr el Azdî, Khurâsânians first connected with Egypt in 150 A.H., appear in Egyptian history during the rest of the century. 'Abd el Jabbâr, an officer of El Mansûr, had revolted in Khurâsân in 141 A.H., and had been taken and executed. His family were transported to Dahlak, where some of them were captured in an Indian raid, and others escaped and managed to regain favour[3]. They seem to have got to Egypt in this way. The settlement of 'Abbâsid troops in Egypt would have formed colonies like the Khurâsânian colonies at Qairawân and Baghâyah in North Africa alluded to by Ya'qûbî[4].

The strength of the Khurâsânian party in Egypt appears in the war between El Ma'mûn and El Amîn, when the Khurâsânians naturally took the part of the former. They eventually possessed themselves of the province, which was held by a semi-independent Khurâsânian dynasty—that of Es Sarî ibn el Hakam and his sons—for about eleven years, from 200 to 211 A.H. The Khurâsânians were able,

[1] Kindî, 148. [2] Kindî, 135, 138.
[3] Tabarî, iii, 134–6.
[4] *Bib. Geo. Arab.*, vii, 348, 350.

not only to keep the Arabs of Egypt in check, but also to fight among themselves. In connection with these events, it is mentioned that the family of 'Abd el Jabbâr referred to were among the leading people of Khurâsân in Egypt at the end of the second century[1].

The overthrow of the dynasty of Es Sarî by 'Abdallâh ibn Ṭâhir, a Persian from Bûshanj near Herât[2], meant the introduction of still more Persian troops into Egypt.

The followers of 'Abdallâh ibn Ṭâhir naturally included many Persians. The names of some of them are given. Among them may be noted a member of the Sâmânid family, who was made governor of Alexandria[3]. Some four years later, 'Abdallâh was followed by the celebrated Persian general Afshîn, who came to quell disturbances, and was still continuing operations at El Ma'mûn's visit in 217 A.H. After 'Abdallâh ibn Ṭâhir, a good proportion of the governors of Egypt were Persians; and, the Arabs soon disappearing almost entirely from the military sphere, one finds many Persian names in the list of the captains of the guard; but Turks, first heard of in Egypt in 214 A.H.[4], began gradually to displace the Persian military element there and by the time of Ibn Ṭûlûn it had become eclipsed. Persians as soldiers do not again appear with any great prominence.

So little is forthcoming about most of the 'Abbâsid non-military officials in Egypt in the second century that their nationality rarely appears. The *Kharâj* was generally in the hands of the governors. Abû Qaṭîfah (164 A.H.)[5] and 'Umar ibn Mihrân (176 A.H.)[6] are two special *wâlis* of the *Kharâj* who came from the East. The names of the *ṣâhib el barîd* are rarely given: Wâḍiḥ (169 A.H.)[7] and Yazîd ibn 'Imrân[8] (174 A.H.) were Easterns. The *qâḍis* of Egypt were at first Egyptian Arabs. The first alien *qâḍi*, who was appointed in 164 A.H., came from Kûfah. Afterwards the appointment of *qâḍis* from the East became more and more frequent and in El 'Umarî (185–194 A.H.) there is an example of one who brought with him the corrupt and

[1] Kindî, 165.
[2] Ibn Khallikân, i. 235, 260.
[3] Kindi, 184.
[4] Kindî, 188.
[5] Kindî, 123.
[6] Ṭabarî, iii, 626.
[7] Ṭabarî, iii, 561.
[8] Kindî, 384.

dissolute manners of Baghdâd at the time of Er Rashîd. The *râwis* of Egypt in the second century included two of Khurâsân, who must have come to Egypt early in the century, perhaps with the 'Abbâsid army of conquest, two belonging to Baṣrah and four or five belonging to Kûfah[1]. When 'Umar ibn Mihrân was given charge of the *Kharâj*, "the domains" (*ḍiyâ'*) were also put under his control. This expression is elucidated by an allusion to the factor of Zubaidah over El Buḥairah in 184 A.H.[2], showing that a large tract of land in Egypt was at that time the property of the Khalîf's wife. One hears of the factor of Harthamah ibn A'yan over his *ḍiyâ'* in Egypt in 196 A.H.[3] Harthamah had left Egypt nearly 20 years before.

One may note Ṣâliḥ ibn Shîrzâd, who was in charge of the *Kharâj* in 214 A.H.[4], as obviously a Persian.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mudabbar[5] appears to have become administrator of the *Kharâj* in Egypt in 247 A.H.[6], and he held the post on the arrival of Ibn Ṭûlûn in 254 A.H. Aḥmad's brother, Ibrâhîm, was a prominent official at Baghdâd[7], and the family *nisbah*, Rastîsânî[8], though the place to which it refers appears to be unknown, suggests a Persian origin. Aḥmad had estates in Egypt[9].

Yûsuf ibn Ibrâhîm ibn el Dâyah, foster-brother of Ibrâhîm ibn el Mahdî, or more probably of El Mu'taṣim, was a secretary to the former and employed by him at Sâmarrâ. Shortly after the death of Ibrâhîm ibn el Mahdî in 224 A.H., Yûsuf "removed to Egypt with his family and retinue, in order to farm the estates of persons who had grants of land in Egypt. At the time the Turkish generals were becoming all-powerful at the court of El Mu'taṣim and the influence of their Arab patrons was disappearing. Egypt was a rich agricultural country and much of its land had been given in grants. Its revenue was in the hands of Aḥmad ibn Mudabbar (?) and his associates. It was distant, too, from the disturbances and tumults caused by the generals[10]."

1 According to the lists of Suyûṭî. 2 Kindî, 392.
3 Kindî, 149. 4 Kindî, 185.
5 Or Mudabbir. Both vocalisations are vouched for.
6 *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 81, Note 1. 7 Ṭabarî; *Aghânî*.
8 Ibn Khallikân, ii, 344. 9 Ibn Sa'îd, *Frag.* 16.
10 *El Mukâfa'ah*, introduction, xiv.

Yûsuf ibn Ibrâhîm had many *diyâ'* in his name on the register in Egypt for 250 A.H.[1] He died in Egypt in the reign of Ibn Ṭûlûn[2]. His brother Isḥâq is mentioned in Egypt[3]. Yûsuf's son Aḥmad, the author of the life of Ibn Ṭûlûn and other works, who died somewhere between 330 and 340 A.H., seems to have spent his life in Egypt[4].

Here may be noticed Wathîmah ibn el Furât, a Persian merchant of embroidered stuff, who travelled westward from Persia as far as Spain and seems to have settled in Egypt, for he died there in 235 A.H., and 'Umârah, his son, who died in 289 A.H., is classed as an Egyptian. Both Wathîmah and 'Umârah were historians of some repute[5].

In about 247 A.H., a partisan of El Muntaṣir, who had fled to Egypt in disguise, found there were so many people of Baghdâd in Fusṭâṭ that he did not feel safe from being detected in the town[6].

The followers of Ibn Ṭûlûn were mostly Turks, but the list includes some Persians or Mesopotamians, like El Wâsiṭî. One may note Aḥmad ibn Abî Ya'qûb the historian, a descendant of Wâḍiḥ mentioned above, who seems to have passed the earlier years of his life in the East, but was in charge of the *Kharâj* of Barqah in 265 A.H.[7], and as being the author of two poems lamenting the overthrow of the Ṭûlûnids in 292 A.H., appears to have spent a long time in Egypt, if not to have made Egypt his home[8]. By employing an Egyptian secretary instead of one from 'Irâq, Ibn Ṭûlûn departed from a customary practice[9].

A conspicuous Eastern family that settled in Egypt in the time of the Ṭûlûnids was that of the Mâdarâ'îs. Sam'ânî believes them to have come from the neighbourhood of Baṣrah[10]. The name of one of their ancestors, Rustam, shows that they were of Persian origin, and Iṣṭakhrî refers to them as one of the Persian families that had managed to gain a high place in the official world, like the Barmakids and the family of Sahl to which Dû er Riyâsatain belonged[11]. The family seem to have been in a humble position in

[1] *El Mukâfa'ah*, 115.
[2] Yâqût, *Irshâd*, ii, 159.
[3] *El Mukâfa'ah*, 11.
[4] Yâqût, *Irshâd*.
[5] Ibn Khallikân, ii, 171.
[6] *El Mukâfa'ah*, 36.
[7] Ibn Sa'îd, *Frag.* 62.
[8] Kindî, 250, 252.
[9] Ibn Sa'îd, *Frag.* 15.
[10] Fol. 499.
[11] *Bib. Geog. Arab.*, i, 146.

Mesopotamia early in the second half of the third century[1]. One of them 'Alî ibn Aḥmad appears to have come to Egypt in 272 A.H.[2] He became vizier to Khumârawaih and to Jaish after him and was assassinated in Egypt in 283 A.H.[3] Other members of the family are mentioned in Egyptian history of about this time. Two who are prominent are Abû Zunbûr and Muḥammad ibn 'Alî, son of the vizier of Khumârawaih, both of whom were in close touch with the central official circle at Baghdâd, and were proposed as vizier to the Khalif at different times[4]. Abû Zunbûr held important posts in Egypt, connected generally with the *Kharâj*, and died in 317 A.H.[5] Muḥammad ibn 'Alî was vizier to the last Ṭûlûnids from 283 to 292 A.H. and afterwards was in high positions. He succeeded Abû Zunbûr as administrator of the *Kharâj* in 318 A.H. and was the virtual ruler of Egypt at the time of the entry of Ikhshîd, which he opposed, but he afterwards gained favour with the Ikhshid dynasty. He died in 345 A.H.[6] The enormous wealth amassed by the Mâdarâ'îs is shown by Abû Zunbûr having been fined 1,100,000 dînars on one occasion[7]. The net revenue of the estates of Muḥammad ibn 'Alî in Egypt, apart from the land-tax (*Kharâj*), was 400,000 dînars[8]. The last Mâdarâ'î mentioned, who is classed as an Egyptian, died in 392 A.H.[9]

Another Eastern family of distinction which was connected with Egypt was that of Ibn el Furât. Towards the end of the third century it had acquired great influence in the official circle at Baghdâd. Two of its members were viziers. The family are said to have come from Nahrawân[10], near Baghdâd. If Dr Tallqvist is right in connecting with it Naufal ibn el Furât (who was in charge of the *Kharâj* of Egypt in 141–3 A.H.[11]) and Wathîmah and his son 'Umârah, who have been mentioned above[12], its association with Egypt extended over a long period, but it seems that the relationship is not established. El Faḍl ibn Ja'far ibn el Furât, a nephew of the ill-starred vizier of Muqtadir, was allied by marriage with El Ikhshîd, and it was at his instigation and

[1] Hilâl, 92.
[2] His son came to Egypt in this year at the age of 14. *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 155.
[3] Ibn Sa'îd, 163. [4] 'Arîb, 73; Hilâl, 347. [5] See Hilâl and 'Arîb.
[6] Hilâl; 'Arîb; Ibn Sa'îd; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 155. [7] Hilâl, 45.
[8] *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 155. [9] Sam'ânî. Fol. 499. [10] Hilâl, 8.
[11] Kindî, 108, 109; Ṭabarî, iii, 142. [12] Ibn Sa'îd, 93, 94.

with his support that El Ikhshîd possessed himself of Egypt. El Fadl was "inspector" of Syria and Egypt and was in Egypt for some time during El Ikhshîd's reign. After the death of El Fadl in 327 A.H., his son Ja'far, known as Ibn Hinzâbah, became one of the principal officers of the Ikhshîd dynasty and was vizier when the Fâṭimids arrived[1].

The *qâḍis* of Egypt in the third century and the first half of the fourth were not often Egyptian Arabs. A few of them were natives of Syria, but the majority came from Baghdâd. The *râwis* of Egypt in the third century, according to Suyûṭî's lists, include 2 from Kûfah, 2 from Baṣrah, 2 or 3 from Baghdâd, 1 from Wâsiṭ, 1 from Raqqah, 3 from Marw (Merv), 1 from Jurjân and 1 from Raiy; in the part of the fourth century up to 360 A.H., the figures are 2 from Baghdâd, 1 from Wâsiṭ, 1 from Marw, 1 from Raiy, 1 from Dînawar, 1 from Qazwîn, 1 from Nîsâbûr, 1 from Nasâ.

Some of the Eastern authors connected with Egypt in the period referred to, apart from theologians and writers of law, have been included in the above. It may be useful to give a full list. Abû Nuwâs, the celebrated poet of the court of Er Rashîd, who was probably of Persian origin though his derivation and early history are obscure, visited Egypt either in 190 or 191 A.H. 'Abd el Malik ibn Hishâm, a native of Baṣrah, the author of the well-known life of the Prophet, died at Fusṭâṭ in 218 A.H. Wathîmah †235 and his son 'Umârah †289 A.H., both historians, have been mentioned above. Abû Bishr ed Dûlâbî, originally from Raiy, a historian, came to Egypt in about 260 A.H.[2] and died in 310 A.H. El Ya'qûbî, the geographer and historian belonging to the same period, has been mentioned. Yamût ibn el Muzzari', of Baṣrah, had visited Egypt often; he died in 304 A.H. Aḥmad ibn Yûsuf ibn el Dâyah, the historian, has been mentioned above. In his *Mukâfa'ah* he gives two or three narratives that had been related to him by Ya'qûbî. Mas'ûdî, perhaps the greatest Arab historian of his time, visited Egypt more than once and died there in 345 A.H. He belonged to a Baghdâd family. 'Abdallâh el Farghânî, a continuator of Ṭabarî, appears to have dwelt in Egypt from sometime before 329 A.H. till his death in 362 A.H.[3]

[1] See Ibn Sa'îd; Ibn Khallikân, i, 110. [2] Sam'ânî, fol. 233 b.
[3] *Brit. Mus. MSS.* Ṣafadî, Add. 23358, fol. 20; Dahabî, or., 48, fol. 79 b

The result of the above may be summarised briefly. There is no sign of much connection between Persia and Egypt up to the end of the Umaiyad period. Still, a few Persians appear in Egypt even in the first century of the Hijrah and there was then some movement from 'Irâq to Egypt. Under the 'Abbâsids, Persia dominated Egypt. There was a virtual Persian military occupation lasting for the best part of a century, followed by a generally Persian administration carried on by clerks from 'Irâq and continued for about as long. The exploitation of Egypt for the benefit of dependants of the court at Baghdâd and other Easterns can be seen to have begun quite early and seems to have gone on all the rest of the time. This would have brought a number of Persians or Persianised people not only to Fusṭâṭ, but to the country parts of Egypt. Others of the same sort came there for other occasions, as for instance in quest of traditions. One suspects that there was a regular stream of trade between Baghdâd and Egypt, though the authorities mention only one Persian merchant.

RHUVON GUEST.

PARTICELLE INTERROGATIVE E NEGATIVE NELLE LINGUE SEMITICHE

Che nel parlar familiare, e grazie al tono della voce, una particella interrogativa possa prendere valore negativo non deve sorprendere. Così, per quel che riguarda l' italiano, nel parlar toscano l' interrogativo "che?" ha spessissimo nel linguaggio familiare il valore di negazione: "che, che!" equivale a "ohibo!" "niente affatto." E analogamente alle particelle interrogative, una particella affermativa può, per il tono della voce, prendere significato negativo. Quando, p. es., ad un' affermazione si risponda: "sì eh?" si viene a mettere in dubbio e a negare l' affermazione stessa.

Già altrove (*Revue Biblique*, Nouv. Sér. VII (1910)) toccai della particella לא in principio di iscrizioni nabatee, che a mio giudizio, non deve tradursi "vah" o "wohlan" e molto meno "nein," mentre è una particella affermativa, come וע, הלא nella quale il tono della voce suppliva alla mancanza di أ, הֲ; essa equivale a dire "come no?!" cioè "certamente!" Questo valore affermativo s' indebolisce poi nell' uso, e la particella introduce semplicemente la proposizione seguente. Nello stesso modo s' indebolisce in ebraico הֲלֹא e viene ad equivalere al semplice הִנֵּה e non è forse casuale che tale corrispondenza si osservi nelle Cronache (Paralipomeni) dove l' הנה sostituisce il הלא del testo più antico e vivace (cf. II Re xv 36; xx 20; xxi 17 con II Chr. xxvii 7; xxxii 32; xxxiii 18; xxxv 27) e che הלא sia tradotto generalmente dai LXX con *ἰδού*. Il passo di Rut ii 8, הלא שמעת בתי è stato tradotto dai LXX (contro l' accentuazione masoretica) *οὐκ ἤκουσας, θυγάτηρ;*, e anche meno esattamente nella Volgata: "audi filia," mentre potrebbe ben tradursi; "hai inteso bene eh?! figliuola mia."

Il processo indicato spiegherebbe perchè, specialmente nell' arabo, una particella negativa o affermativa prende il valore rispettivamente di affermazione o di negazione. La

negativa إِنْ è frequente nel Corano e antiche poesie, nè si esige che sia seguita da إِلَّا, come taluni grammatici pretendono (v. Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* s.v.). Ora l' identica particella إِنْ dal tono della voce prende valore affermativo equivalendo a dire "come no?!" "certamente," che poi s' indebolisce in una semplice introduzione della proposizione, come הלא in הִנֵּה. Questo si vede chiaro in espressioni come: إِنْ قام زيد che è dato come equivalente a قد قام زيد (v. *Lisān* xvi 177). Tale uso sembra che in seguito si andasse perdendo, tanto che lo stesso al-Kisā'ī non intendesse dapprima la citata espressione, e credesse l' إِنْ condizionale. E lo stesso si può osservare in riguardo del passo del Corano (lxxxvii 9) فذكّر إن نفعت الذكرى ove il senso più ragionevole "certo è giovevole l' ammonizione," non è generalmente seguito e nei commenti più noti (Kaššāf, in Bayḍāwī, nei Ǧalālayn ecc.) l' إِنْ è inteso come condizionale, cercandosi di dare al passo un senso plausibile. I grammatici considerano questa إِنْ come مخفّفة من الثقيلة, ma crederei più probabile l' inverso, che cioè إِنَّ sia un rafforzamento di إِنْ, ed infatti è usato come semplice affermazione, p. es., nelle parole attribuite ad Ibn az-Zubayr, che a quel tale che gli disse: لعن الله ناقتي حملتني اليك, rispose: إِنَّ وراكبها. L' incertezza che nasceva dal doppio senso di إِنْ era corretta da una parte col لَ affermativo, e dall' altra col premettere il ما, ما إن; cf. anche Brockelmann, *Grundriss* i 500 (Reckendorf).

Un processo analogo riconoscerei in إِى che sarebbe una particella negativa che per il tono della voce prende valore di affermazione, equivalendo a "come no?! certo!" e l' uso di unire إِى ad un giuramento إِى والله, إِى وربّى conferma l' enfasi del vivace parlar familiare, la quale si accorda anche colla pronuncia rafforzata هى. Ora che إِى fosse nella sua origine una negazione, si vede chiaro dalle altre lingue semitiche. Nel ge'ez ኢ è la negazione consueta, che occorre anche nell' assiro *ī ē*, come nell' ebraico, in un nome che possiamo credere assai antico (אִי כָבוֹד I Sam. iv 21, xiv 3) e in fenicio. E qui si pensa naturalmente al greco νή, il quale è negativo, p. es., in νῆις, νηκερδής, ma nello stesso tempo è, nell' attico, energica affermazione, seguita per lo più

dal nome di Zeus: *νὴ τὸν Δία*, proprio come in arabo اي والله, nè è improbabile che *ναί* abbia una simile origine; anche l' assiro: *ī*, *ē*, nel senso di "orsù," "wohlan" può derivare dalla negazione.

Un' interrogazione che è nello stesso tempo una negazione sarebbe l' ebraico אין. אין "dove" si ritiene etimologicamente distinto da אין "non è" per il quale si propongono varie radici, ma si può supporre che da √ ay" siasi formato: אין (أَيْنَ "dove") che poi per il tono della voce prendeva valore negativo, come dire: "ma dove?!" In assiro si conoscono nei due sensi *a-a-nu*, *ya-a-nu* ecc. ed è assai notevole che questa particella talvolta (come ולי, הלא) è un'affermazione che introduce semplicemente la proposizione (cf. Delitzsch, *Wörterb.* s.v.). E questo passaggio fa supporre che anche l' aramaico אין, إن (ēn) abbia la stessa origine, tanto più che conserva anche il valore interrogativo. E nei luoghi di Geremia x 6, 7; xxx 7 il מאין non è nè più nè meno che una negazione; e forse la puntuazione masoretica in xxx 7 אַיִן non è da correggere in אֵין.

Che le particelle بلى، بل fossero in origine negative si può dedurre dalla radice donde derivano, come dal cananeo בלי, בל, dall' assiro *bala balu*, dal ge'ez እንበለ (*ina-*). Ora il passaggio ad una energica affermazione non si può spiegare che dal tono della voce: "no? no eh? come no?!" Questa particella nella forma בלי, בלא occorre in iscrizioni aramee e nominatamente nelle nabatee, nelle quali, come ألا, הלא è una semplice introduzione all' enunciato della iscrizione e non ha punto il senso, come si è detto sopra a proposito di לא, di "vah," "wohlan," "nein" e simili. Il trovarsi in iscrizioni nabatee fa sospettare che בלי non sia di origine aramea, ma sia lo stesso arabo بلى come עיר è غير. È quindi da separare affatto da לא, quantunque il senso e l' uso ne siano uguali.

Finalmente la particella ما che è pronome interrogativo, è altresì negazione usitatissima col nome e col verbo (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 500) e come ألا si usa nel senso di "certamente" أما. Notisi anche l' uso di ما nell' arabo parlato in esclamazioni di meraviglia come: ما مات che viene a significare "come mai? è morto?!"

B. P. V.

Le corrispondenze che ho notate sono proprie di lingua che sia ancora nella sua freschezza e vivacità e quindi non credo fortuito che il siriaco non dia esempi, (ad eccezione di ܐܝ) di quanto ho ragionato.

E qui mi sia lecito esprimere un dubbio sull' origine di un' espressione araba che potrebbe collegarsi con quest' ordine di idee; intendo l' espressione: كثيرُ احدٍ nel senso di "nessuno, quasi nessuno" (v. il Glossario di Ṭabarī, s. احد) e che in seguito poco fosse intesa lo mostrerebbe forse il fatto che i codici hanno spesso كسر, كبير per كثير. Significherebbe dunque "(sono) molti? no! no! Uno solo!" Lo stato costrutto sarebbe analogo a quello, p. es., di سعيدُ كرزٍ, رستاقُ كبيرٍ ed equivarrebbe a dire "i molti di un solo!"

I. Guidi.

ALEXANDER UND DER RÄTSELSTEIN AUS DEM PARADIES

Schon früh ist in vielen Versionen des Alexanderromans die Episode von der vergeblichen Suche des Helden nach dem Lebensquell mit der vielleicht noch ursprünglicheren von dem Zug nach dem Land der Seligen verknüpft, an dessen Stelle dann unter dem Einfluss der jüdischen und christlichen Weltanschauung das Paradies trat. Auch dem Eroberer der ganzen Welt bleibt es versagt, ewiges Leben zu gewinnen oder lebend in das Paradies einzudringen: dieser Gedanke mag das Band sein, das die beiden ursprünglich durchaus verschieden gerichteten Erzählungen mit einander verschmolz. Und diese Lehre, die den Menschen in die seiner Macht gezogenen Schranken zurückverweist, erhält noch eine eigentümliche Zuspitzung in dem Zuge, dass Alexander an der Pforte des Paradieses als geheimnissvolles Geschenk ein Stein überreicht wird. Dieser Zug, der uns zuerst im babylonischen Talmud begegnet und uns in vollerer Form vor allem aus einer sicher auf ältere Vorlagen zurückgehenden lateinischen Schrift des 12 Jahrhunderts, *Alexandri Magni iter ad Paradisum*, geläufig ist, bildet einen integrierenden Bestandteil der späteren orientalischen Versionen. Das zeigt schon ein Blick auf Index A, § 28 des Buches "Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman" von J. Friedländer (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), das nach Nöldeke's Arbeit, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans" (Wien, 1890) den bedeutendsten Fortschritt unserer Kenntnisse von den orientalischen Alexandergeschichten darstellt und an das die folgenden Zeilen sich anschliessen. Wir können nach Friedländer's Arbeit auf die Darstellung der Entwicklung der ganzen Episode in den verschiedenen Versionen hier verzichten und uns darauf beschränken, ihren Inhalt nach einer derselben kurz wiederzugeben. Auf die Abweichungen in der Deutung der geheimnisvollen Gabe werden wir allerdings näher eingehen müssen.

Wir wählen die wohl unter den Muslimen am weitesten verbreitete Version der Alexandergeschichte in Tha'labi's

'Arā'is (ed. Cairo, 1325, S. 233 f.; vgl. Friedländer *l.c.* S. 162 ff.). Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain kommt, so lautet seine Darstellung, die eingangs unmittelbar auf 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib zurückgeführt wird[1], auf der Suche nach dem Lebensquell nach Durchschreitung der Finsternis in ein Land, dessen Beleuchtung weder von Sonne noch Mond herrührt, und das von rotem knirschendem Sand erfüllt ist. Dort sieht er vor sich ein Schloss[2], an dessen Eingang ein schwarzer Vogel ihn anredet und ihn nach längerem Gespräch zum Ersteigen der Treppe auffordert, die auf das Dach des Schlosses führt. Hier findet Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain eine Jünglingsgestalt in weissen Kleidern, mit zum Himmel gewandtem Gesicht und an den Mund gelegter Hand. Der Jüngling gibt sich als den Herrn der Posaune des jüngsten Tages zu erkennen und überreicht dem Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain etwas wie einen Stein شيئًا...كأنّه حجر, mit den Worten: "Nimm das! Wenn es satt ist, bist du satt; und wenn es hungrig ist, bist du hungrig." Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain nimmt den Stein und, bei seinem Gefolge angekommen, erzählt er seine Erlebnisse und fragt die Gelehrten seines Hoflagers nach der Bedeutung des seltsamen Geschenks. Die Gelehrten wägen den Stein ab gegen einen, zwei, drei andere bis zu tausend, und immer erweist sich Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain's Stein als schwerer. Sie gestehen staunend ihre Unfähigkeit, das Rätsel zu lösen. Da meldet sich al-Chaḍir, er kenne den tiefen Sinn dieses Steines, legt ihn in die eine Wagschale, einen entsprechenden anderen in die andere und streut auf den ersten eine Hand voll Staub; und siehe, nun bleibt die Wage im Gleichgewicht. Al-Chaḍir gibt die Lösung: "Das ist ein Gleichnis, das der Herr der Posaune auf dich geprägt hat. Gott hat dir auf Erden einen Platz angewiesen in solcher Weise, dass er dir davon gab wie nie sonst einem seiner Geschöpfe, und dich deinen Fuss auf ihre Gebiete setzen liess wie nie einen andern. Du aber wardst nicht satt, sondern hast deinem Verlangen freie Bahn gelassen, bis du von Gottes Herrschaft erreicht hast, worauf noch kein Mensch und kein Geist seinen Fuss gesetzt. So ist denn dies ein Gleichnis, das der Herr der Posaune auf dich

[1] Vgl. hierzu Friedländer, S. 162 f.

[2] Dass es das Paradies ist, ist den muslimischen Versionen mehr oder weniger entschwunden.

geprägt hat: der Mensch wird nicht satt, bis über ihm der Staub sich wölbt und nur Staub füllt seinen Bauch."
ابن آدم لا يشبع ابدا حتى يحثى عليه التراب ولا يملأ جوفه الا التراب
Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain ist bis zu Thränen gerührt. Kurz nach dem Rückweg durch das Smaragdental stirbt er.

Der Zug von dem Rätselstein, über dessen Tendenz kein Wort zu verlieren ist, mutet uns an wie eine Illustration zu einem berühmten Ausspruch Muḥammeds, der der muslimischen Überlieferung als eine ursprünglich dem Ḳor'ān angehörige Offenbarung gilt und in seiner vollen Form lautet: "Hätte der Mensch ein Tal von Schätzen, so würde er dazu noch ein zweites verlangen, und hätte er ein zweites, so würde er dazu noch ein drittes verlangen; aber nur Staub wird den Bauch des Menschen füllen, ولا يملأ جوف ابن آدم الا التراب; doch Allāh kehrt sich zu denen, welche sich zu ihm kehren." Über diese angebliche Offenbarung haben Nöldeke und Schwally ausführlich gehandelt (s. *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1 A., S. 175 ff.; 2 A., S. 234 ff.). Ich sehe keinen triftigen Grund ein, dieses Wort—und zwar im Wesentlichen in der mitgeteilten Form—Muḥammed abzusprechen. Aber es handelt sich offenbar um ein "geflügeltes Wort," das Muḥammed aufgegriffen hat[1]. Und in diesem Zusammenhang wird eine vereinzelte Variante in dem Ausspruch von Bedeutung, die statt جوف "Bauch" عين "Auge" setzt: "nur Staub wird das *Auge* des Menschen füllen," لا يملأ عين ابن آدم الا التراب. Denn in dieser Gestalt dürfte das Wort längst vor Muḥammed im Orient verbreitet gewesen sein. Zwar können wir den Spruch, "das Auge des Menschen ist wie ein Wasserquell und wird nicht satt am Besitz, bis es voll Erde ist," in den Achiḳar-Texten (Nr. 66, vgl. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, S. 44) nur aus den erst in jungen Handschriften bekannten syrischen Rezensionen belegen; aber er trägt ein Gepräge, dass wir ihn ruhig in der ältesten Version des Romans, der der aramäischen Papyrusfragmente von Elephantine, erwarten könnten. Klingt der Gedanke doch auch tatsächlich an an *Proverbia* xxvii, 20: "Unterwelt

[1] Unter dieser Voraussetzung fällt auch der Anstoss, den Schwally an dem Ausdruck *ibn Ādam* nimmt, fort.

und Abgrund sind unersättlich, so sind auch der Menschen Augen unersättlich" (nach der Übersetzung von Steuernagel bei Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*). Wie weit verbreitet das Wort bis zum heutigen Tag in der arabischen Welt ist, das zeigen die von Nöldeke und Schwally *l.c.* angeführten Belege zur Genüge (vgl. noch Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 174). Hier sei nur ein kurzer Hinweis darauf gestattet, dass es auch über diesen engeren Sprachkreis hinaus wohlbekannt ist. In der Erzählung des 3. Vezirs in der türkischen Geschichtensammlung der *Vierzig Vezire* ist es zu einer symbolischen Handlung entwickelt: der König legt eine Hand voll Staub auf sein Auge (s. ed. Belletête, Paris, 1812, S. 75, u. Behrnauer, *Vierzig Veziere*, Leipzig, 1851, S. 53 f.); und in der jüngeren Version, wie sie die Stambuler Drucke bieten, nimmt er ausdrücklich auf den Spruch Bezug كوزى بر آوج طپراقدن غير نسنه طيورماز (ed. 1303, S. 44; vgl. E. J. W. Gibb, *History of the Forty Vezirs*, p. 52), "nichts sättigt das Auge als eine Hand voll Staub."

Wir werden keinen Augenblick im Zweifel sein, dass die Version des weitverbreiteten Wortes, die vom menschlichen Auge spricht, ursprünglicher ist als die, die den Bauch des Menschen zum Objekt des Satzes macht, mag diese letztere Gestalt auch für die Offenbarung oder den Ausspruch Muḥammeds besser bezeugt und als solche echt sein. Jene ursprünglichere Version begegnet uns aber auch in den arabischen Umgestaltungen des Alexanderromans in der Darstellung, die Ibn Hischām in seinem *Kitāb at-tīdschān* von dem Wirken des von ihm nicht mit Alexander sondern mit dem Südaraber aṣ-Ṣa'b gleichgesetzten Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain nach Wahb b. Munabbih gibt, einer Gestalt des 'Romans, die neben der südarabischen Tendenz deutlich gelegentlich ältere Züge bewahrt hat. Hier erklärt al-Chaḍir den Stein, den Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain von dem Hüter des weissen Hauses im "Lande der Engel" erhalten, als ein Gleichnis auf seine Augen: denn "deine Augen füllt der gesamte Inhalt der Welt nicht an[1]...aber *das* füllt sie an," und er nimmt eine

[1] Vgl. hierzu den Vers aus Sa'di's *Gulistān*, ed. Johnson (Hertford, 1863), ١٥١

روده‌ٔ تنگ بیك گردهٔ نان پر گردد * نعمت روی زمین پر نکند دیدهٔ تنگ

[Johnson بيك گردهٔ نان تهی, cont. metr.].

Hand voll Staub und legt sie in die eine Wagschale, den Stein in die andere, und der Staub überwiegt (s. *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, VIII, 304; vgl. dazu Friedländer *l.c.* S. 200 ff. u. 189).

Gerade im Zusammenhang der Alexandergeschichte erweist sich ganz deutlich die Fassung vom Auge als die bessere: der Stein passt wohl als Sinnbild für das Auge, aber schlecht für den Bauch des Menschen. Das Eindringen und Überwiegen der schlechteren Fassung erklärt sich zwanglos daraus, dass sie durch Muḥammed's Offenbarung sanktioniert wurde. Im übrigen haben wir ja das Zeugnis vor- und ausserislamischer Darstellungen der Alexandergeschichte. Im babylonischen Talmud (Tāmīd, Bl. 32) wird die Gabe, die Alexander an der Pforte des Paradieses gereicht wird, als Kugel bezeichnet גולגלתא, die ihm die Rabbiner als Augapfel גולגלתא דעינא deuten, "der nicht satt wird" (unter Hinweis auf *Proverbia*, xxvii, 20). Und ganz entsprechend wird der Stein in dem von Zacher (Königsberg, 1859) herausgegebenen *Alexandri Magni iter ad Paradisum* auf das menschliche Auge bezogen (s. S. 30).

Die im Morgen- und Abendland gleichmässig beliebt gewordene Szene von Alexander und dem Rätselstein aus dem Paradies passt in der Tat vortrefflich in den Rahmen der religiös gewandten Alexanderdichtung. Insofern werden wir uns nicht darüber wundern, dass die Gestalt des Macedoniers wie so viele andere Motive auch das von dem Auge das nur der Staub sättigt, an sich gezogen hat. Trotzdem dürfte es nicht unberechtigt sein, einmal die Frage nach dem Bindeglied der Assoziation aufzuwerfen. Es scheint mir, dass es sich hier mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit feststellen lässt.

Die Szene trägt einen so bildhaften Charakter, dass sich einem unwillkürlich der Gedanke an eine bildliche Darstellung Alexanders mit dem Stein in der Hand aufdrängt. Sollte es nicht die Gestalt des Weltherrschers mit dem Reichsapfel in der Hand sein, die jene Deutung herausgelockt hat?

Herrscherstatuen mit dem Reichsapfel haben die Phantasie der Orientalen nachweislich lebhaft angeregt. Erörterungen darüber kehren bei den arabischen Geo-

graphen mehrfach wieder anlässlich der Beschreibung des sogenannten "Grabes des Konstantin[1]"—gemeint ist die Reiterstatue des Justinian, s. J. H. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, Lille, 1892, S. 64 ff. Die Äusserungen von Jāķūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 96 f.), Ķazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 407), Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-'Adschā'ib* (ed. Cairo, 1324, S. 63) gehen alle—ausgesprochen oder stillschweigend—auf 'Alī al-Harawī († 611 = 1214) zurück. 'Alī sagt (fol. 70[a] der Handschrift der Bodleiana) über die Kugel in der linken Hand des Standbildes: "Die Meinungen der Leute darüber sind geteilt: die einen behaupten, er habe in der Hand einen Talisman, der den Feind vom Angriff auf die Stadt abwehre; andere erklären, es stehe vielmehr auf der Kugel geschrieben: Ich habe die Welt besessen, sodass sie schliesslich in meiner Hand war wie diese Kugel, und ich habe die so verlassen, ohne etwas zu besitzen[2]."

Wir sehen, wir werden hier in denselben Ideenkreis geführt, in dem das Bild vom Auge in jenem geflügelten Wort und der Alexanderdichtung verwandt wird: es ist die Vergänglichkeit und Wertlosigkeit alles Irdischen, die durch die Kugel oder den Stein symbolisiert wird.

Die Annahme, dass die Verknüpfung des alten orientalischen Weisheitsspruchs mit der Gestalt Alexanders durch Darstellungen des Helden mit dem Reichsapfel, dem Abbild der Weltkugel, in der Hand vermittelt sei, wäre also sehr naheliegend, wenn—schon Alexander so dargestellt worden wäre. Die Geschichte des Herrschaftssymbols des Reichapfels ist, soweit mir bekannt, noch nicht geschrieben (vgl. inzwischen Sittl in *Jahrbücher für klass. Philol.*, Suppl.-Band XIV, 48 ff.; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, s. Index s.v. *orbs*). Es kann aber wohl als sicher gelten, dass es wesentlich jünger ist als die Zeit Alexanders. Doch dieses Bedenken, das unserer Hypothese verhängnisvoll zu werden drohte,

[1] Nur Ibn Rusteh (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, VII, 125) bezeichnet die Denkmalsäule als Grab des اسطليانس = Justinian; er spricht aber nicht vom Reichsapfel.

[2] وقد اختلف اقاويل الناس فيها فمنهم من يقول فى يده طلسم يمنع العدو ان يقصد البلد ومنهم من يقول بل على الكرة مكتوب ملكت الدنيا حتى بقيت فى يدى مثل هذه الكرة وخرجت منها هكذا لا املك شيئًا
Die Paralleltexte geben leichte Abweichungen.

ist nicht stichhaltig. Tatsächlich sind im Orient Herrscherfiguren mit dem Symbol des Globus auf Alexander wenigstens gedeutet worden. Das zeigt ein Passus aus dem Talmud Jeruschalmi, *'Abōda Zara*, 3, 1, Bl. 42, der auf Rabbi Jona, einen Amoräer des 4 Jahrhunderts, zurückgeführt wird. Dort heisst es: "Alexander der Macedonier wollte sich in die Höhe erheben, er stieg und stieg, bis er die Welt gleich einer Kugel sah und das Meer gleich einer Schüssel. Deshalb stellt man ihn mit einer Kugel in der Hand dar[1]." (vgl. *Talmud de Jérusalem*, trad. par M. Schwab, XI, 208 und J. Lévi in *Revue des Études Juives*, VII, 93.)

Eben jüdische Kreise sind es ja aber, in denen wir dem Zug von Alexander mit dem Rätselstein aus dem Paradies zuerst begegnen; auch der lateinische *Iter ad Paradisum* geht ja vermutlich auf jüdische Überlieferung zurück. Und damit sind die letzten Bedenken gegen die ausgesprochene Vermutung wohl beseitigt.

[1] אלכסנדרוס מקדון כד בעא מיסק לעיל והוה סלק וסלק עד שראה את העולם ככדור ואת הים כקערה בגין פן ציירין לה בכדורא בידה

R. Hartmann.

DIE GUMBADH-I 'ALAWIYYÂN UND DIE BAUKUNST DER ILKHANE IN IRAN

"Therefore mine eyes insistent gaze on forms,
Because the Idea itself displays in forms."
E. G. BROWNE, nach Awḥadî.

Eine der erforschtesten und dennoch unbekanntesten Städte Irans ist Hamadân, das alte Egbatana. Nach den Weltchroniken des Eusebios-Hieronymos und des Georgios Synkellos ist Egbatana im Jahre 4784 d. alex. Weltaera oder in der 18. Olympiade, d. i. 708 v. Chr. durch Deiokes gegründet, und also nur 45 Jahre jünger als die Ewige Stadt. Diese Überlieferung ist zwar sehr künstlich errechnet, doch in ihrem Kern der historischen Wahrheit sicher ebenso nahe, wie die Erbauungssage Roms[1].

Besonders im Anfang des XIX. scl. sind es Dupré, Malcolm, Kinneir, Morier, Ker Porter, Keppel, in neuester Zeit die Missionen de Morgan's und Fossey's, die Hamadân erforscht haben. Aber nicht nur die abendländischen, sondern auch die morgenländischen Beobachter und Beschreiber hat die hohe Vergangenheit der schönen Stadt so gefesselt, dass sie alle ihre Gegenwart vernachlässigt haben. Wie die morgenländischen ausführlich über die Belagerungen durch Bukhtnaṣar, die Erbauung durch Bahman Ardashîr oder Iskandar dhû'l-qarnain, über den berühmten Löwen, den Talisman des Apollonios von Tyana, über antike Gräber und Bauten der Sasâniden berichten, so schildern die abendländischen kleine und kleinste Reste des medischen und achaemenidischen Altertums[2].

[1] Cf. Weissbach bei Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopaedie*, s.v. *Ekbatana*. Das sicherste von der medischen Chronologie und Geschichte scheint mir die Namensgleichheit des Gründers von Ekbatana bei Herodot, Deiokes, mit dem Dynastie-Gründer der Sargon-Inschriften, von 715 v. Chr., Daiaukku; die Identität der Personen wird sich einst erweisen.

[2] Der erste, der die medischen Reste: Säulenbasen, entdeckte und erkannte, war m. W. Morier; auch der Löwe und die Alwand-Inschriften sind lange bekannt. Merkwürdigerweise haben die späteren Forschungen nichts wesentlich Neues dazu ergeben. Aber selbst der Mangel an Funden der Mission Fossey's kann nicht die Überzeugung erschüttern, dass die Stadt, in deren Archiv die Urkunde Kyros' mit dem Befehl zum Wieder-

Über Denkmäler und Geschichte seit islamischer Zeit erfährt man so gut wie nichts. Hätten wir das *Hamadân-Nâma*, eine vom Verfasser des *Mudjmil al-tawârîkh* benutzte Chronik nach Art der von Ḥamdallâh al-Qazwînî benutzten *Chronik von Kirmân* oder des erhaltenen *Kum-Nâma*, so würde man wohl viel besser unterrichtet sein[1]. Zwei Sehenswürdigkeiten von Weltruf, aber ohne künstlerische Bedeutung und von zweifelhafter Echtheit: das Grabmal Avicenna's und das Mausoleum Esther's und Mardochai's[2], diese beiden unscheinbaren Bauten haben ganz das wundervolle Denkmal überschattet, das im Nordwesten der Stadt sich erhebt, und von dem niemand spricht: die Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân. Die einzigen Flandin und Coste haben einen wenig eindrucksvollen Holzschnitt davon in ihrem grossen Tafelwerk p. 50 veröffentlicht, ohne Beschreibung, ja ohne Namen. Weder de Morgan's sumptuöse Mission, die Hamadân untersuchte, noch Fossey's, die dort fast ein Jahr verbrachte, haben sich mit diesem Werk beschäftigt. Ebenso schweigen Curzon, Le Strange, die *Enzyklopaedie*. Ein russischer Photograph in Tehrân, A. Sevruguin, besass seit Jahren eine Photographie (543), die Sarre, der erst 1915 Gelegenheit hatte Hamadân zu sehen, kannte, und die ich 1905 kaufte. Aber die damit entstandene Absicht, Hamadân zu besuchen und das Denkmal aufzunehmen, konnte ich erst August 1913 ausführen.

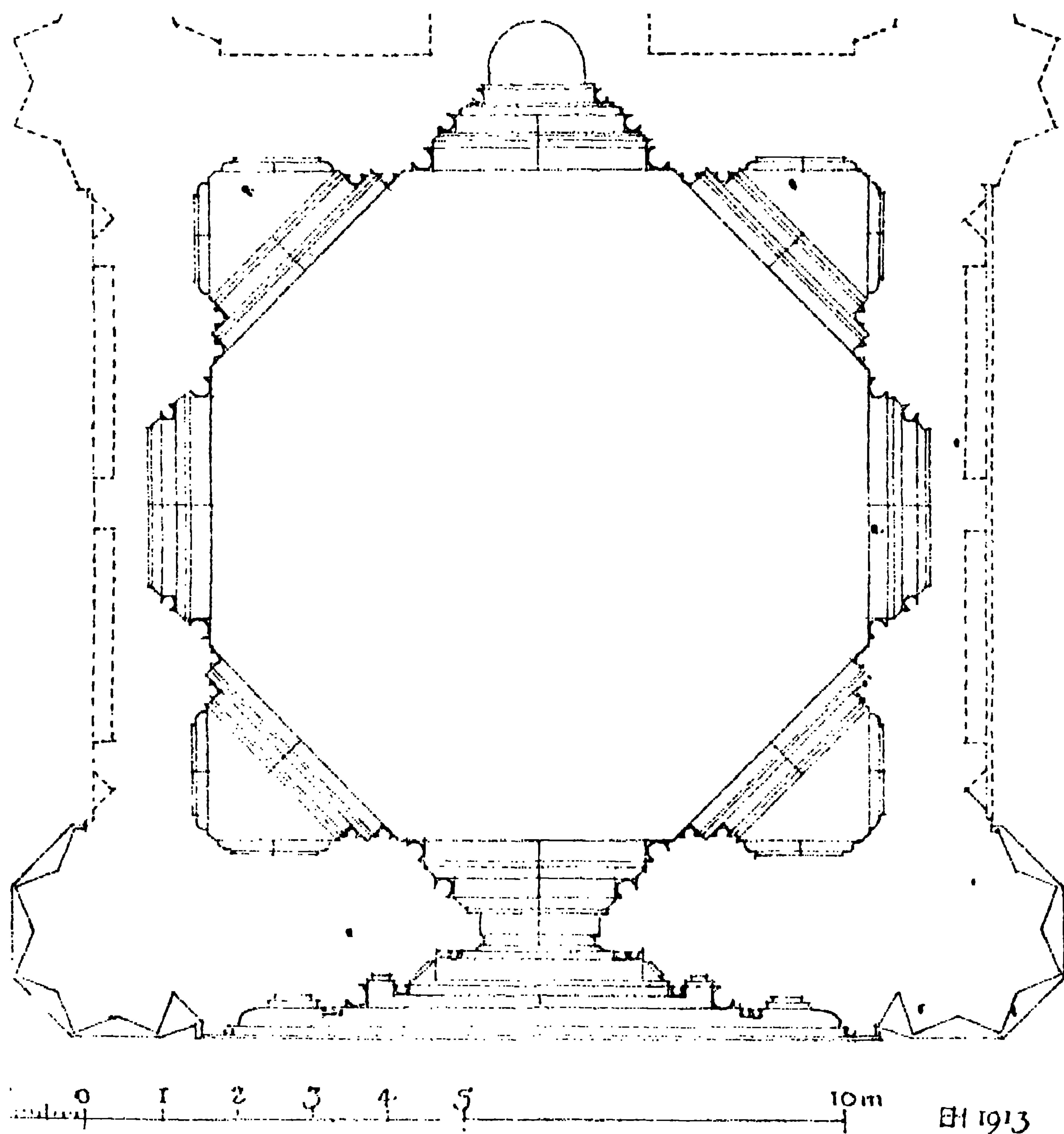
aufbau des Tempels von Jerusalem gefunden wurde, Baureste und geschriebene Urkunden des medischen Reichs noch unter der Erde birgt.

A. Dupré (1807), *Voyage en Perse*, chap. XXIII; Kinneir (1810), *Geogr. Memoir on Persia*, 1813, pp. 125 ss.; J. P. Morier (1812), *Second Journey*, pp. 264–270; R. Ker Porter (1818), *Travels in Georgia, Persia*, etc. ii, pp. 101 ss.; G. Keppel (1824), *Personal Narrative*, etc. 1827, ii, chap. IV; Sir Henry Layard (1840), *Early Adventures*, i, pp. 252–254; G. N. Curzon (1889/90), *Persia*, etc. i, pp. 560–568; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scient. en Perse*, iv, chap. VI; von der Mission Fossey, deren Arbeiten ich im Sommer 1913 sehen konnte, ist mir noch keine Veröffentlichung bekannt geworden.

[1] Es ist zu hoffen dass noch manche solche Chronik in persischem Besitz vorhanden ist, cf. E. G. Browne's Übersetzung von Ibn Isfandiyâr's Geschichte von Ṭabaristân in der *Gibb Memorial Series* und seinen Katalog der nachgelassenen Bibliothek von Sir A. Houtum-Schindler in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 677.

[2] Das Grabmal Avicenna's ist m. W. durch Malcolm bekannt gemacht, nach dem es Müller's verbreitetes *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* wiedergiebt. Das Esther-Grab bei Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse, Perse Moderne*, pl. LXIX; Ker Porter, *Travels*, pp. 105–114.

Vorweg wenige Daten aus Hamadâns Geschichte in islamischer Zeit: Mughîra b. Shu'ba oder Djarîr b. 'Abdallâh erobern mit einem Heere, das besonders aus Kufensern bestand, im Jahre 23 oder 24 Hamadân, Oct. 644 oder März 645. Erobert wird es später 319/931 von Mardâwîdj b. Ziyâr von Tabaristân und Gurgân. Unter Toghrul



Plan of the Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

Bek 429/1037–455/1063 ist es für eine Weile Residenz, 618/1221 erobern es die Mongolen; um 1400 Timur. Diesen Zerstörungen gegenüber stehen drei Nachrichten vom Aufbau: Die ersten Muslime benutzen eine vorhandene Burg militärisch und bauen den Ort ringsum neu. Der Atâbek Ildegiz, dessen Sohn das Grabmal der Mu'mina

Khâtûn in Nakhtchawân erbaute, stirbt 578/1172 und wird in der von ihm in Hamadân errichteten Madrasa beigesetzt. Der mongolische Emir Esen-Qutlugh erbaut eine neue Stadt eine Farsakh westlich, also näher am Alwand, neben der alten[1].

Das alles giebt zunächst keinen Anhalt für die Bestimmung des Baus. So muss das Denkmal für sich selbst sprechen.

Grabmal der 'Aliden ist sein Name und die Krypta ist noch heute ein besonders von Frauen bepilgertes Heiligtum. Man erinnert sich sogleich des grossen Mashhad vor dem Bâb Anṭâkiya, dem Westtor von Aleppo, aus Ẓâhir Ghâzî's Zeit, das auch Frauen aufsuchen, denen der Wunsch aller morgenländischen Frauen versagt ist: Kinder. Als ich in der Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân war, hinderte mich das dauernde Beten der Frauen, die Krypta zu betreten. Möglich, aber unwahrscheinlich, dass dort ein Sarkophag mit Inschrift steht.

Denn das Mausoleum hat keine geschichtlichen Inschriften.

Es ist ein Ziegelbau in reichstem Mosaikwerk, mit Zierfüllungen in Stuck, aber ohne Glasur. Der Bau ist ein Cubus. Süd- und Ostseite sind heute unzugänglich, das Schmuckkleid der Westseite sehr zerstört, die Eingangseite, die nördliche am besten erhalten. Tafel I.—Die Schauseite zeigt ein hohes, flaches Portal, das zwei seitliche Türmchen oder Eckpfeiler überragt. Es besteht aus einem Bogen, von der *'adjamâna* genannten Form, in rechteckigem Rahmen. Dieser ist ein breiter Ornamentstreifen mit einer Hohlkehle in verwickeltem Verband, *tshâr 'Alî* heissend. Der obere wagerechte Abschluss ist nicht mehr erhalten. In diesem Bogen widerholt sich nochmals dasselbe Motiv: *'adjamâna*-Bogen in rechteckigem Rahmen als Thür, Tafel II. Den Rahmen ziert hier eine kufische, koranische Inschrift, Sure V, v. 60/61. Der innere Bogen hat einen Zierverband von *tshâr 'Alî's*. Dies ganze Rahmenwerk umschliesst drei

[1] Über die muslimische Eroberung cf. Balâdhurî, über die ältere islamische Geschichte besonders Aḥmad b. al-Faqîh al-Hamadhânî, Yâqût und Hamdallâh's *Nuzhat al-qulûb*; über die Seldjuken- und Mongolenzeit die *Zînat al-madjâlis* des Madjdî; E. Blochet's *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, p. 230, n. 2; und den alten Quatremère, *Raschid-Eddin*, ed. Paris, 1838, pp. 220–223.

Schmuckfelder: über dem Türbogen Zwickel mit sehr reichen, hochplastischen Stuck-Arabesken; das mittlere Bogenfeld mit einem Ziegelmosaik von 10-strahligen Sternen auf pentagonalem Plan, mit Stuckfüllungen; und die Zwickel über dem äusseren Bogen, sehr zerstört, mit zwei besonderen Rosetten, einst, nach Phot. Sevruguin, mit 10-strahligen Sternen geschmückt.

Dies üppige Portal stützen, zugleich als Eckverstärkungen des Cubus, die zwei Türmchen, deren Grundriss fünf Zacken eines 8-zackigen Sternes zeigt. Das ist khorasanische Baukunst. Oben sind die Falten der Türme durch kleine Zellen geschlossen, und überzogen sind sie von einem verwirrend feinen Muster aus 12-zackigen, von je sechs 8-strahligen umgebenen Sternen auf hexagonalem Plan. Das bezeichnende ist, dass das Muster die Falten der Türmchen wider jeden architectonischen Sinn, wie ein kostbarer Stoff einen Körper überzieht[1]. Oben über den Zellen nimmt man Reste eines grossen kufischen Schriftbandes in Ziegelmosaik wahr, das wohl überall umlief, aber soweit sichtbar koranischen, nicht geschichtlichen Inhalts ist.

Die Überdeckung dieses Baus ist eingestürzt: zweifellos eine Kuppel. Die Überleitung ins Achteck ist erhalten. Die Wandgliederung entspricht streng architectonisch der Deckenbildung: Lisenen, die man mit gothischen Diensten vergleichen könnte, zu den Anfängen der Achtecksbogen emporwachsend. So entstehen auf jeder Wand drei Felder, deren mittlere in schönem Rhythmus die seitlichen etwas an Breite übertreffen. Sind schon alle Lisenen mit Ornament überzogen, so ist über die Wandfelder ein unerhörter Reichtum ausgegossen, Tafel III und IV. Ihre Gliederung ist das allgemeine Fenster- oder Nischen-Motiv, flankierende Halbsäulchen mit glockenförmigem Kapitell, darüber ein *'adjamâna*-Bogen, rechteckig gerahmt. In den Bogenzwickeln ein hochplastisches Zierat, diagonal gerichtet. Oberes Bogenfeld und unteres Nischenfeld durch eine schwache Linie abgegrenzt, beide gleichwertig, aber mit wechselnden Mustern gefüllt. Eine grosse und wuchtige

[1] Bedeutung und Vergleich dieser Ornamente cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise*, etc. Bd II, 1920, Kap. *Baghdad* und *Mosul*.

Arabeske von hoher und wechselnder Plastik biegt und schwingt sich über einen unendlich fein ornamentierten Grund von flachen Ranken, eine grosse Melodie über einer harmonischen, wogenden Begleitung.

Die Mitte der Südwand ist die Stelle des Miḥrâb's, der das Eingangsmotiv widerholt, Tafel V. An ihm ist der Schmuck durch den Einklang aller Mittel zum höchsten Fortissimo gesteigert. Worte versagen das zu schildern, man muss es betrachten.

Zwei Inschriftenbänder trägt er, in altertümlichem Naskhî, die leider nichts Geschichtliches, sondern nur die bekannten Verse der Thron-Sure II, 256 bis zu den Worten بما شاء enthalten, und zwar beginnt dieser Vers am obern Bogen und läuft mit den Worten يشفع عنده auf dem untern weiter. Das ist eine herbe Enttäuschung, denn nun bleibt keine Hoffnung auf eine geschichtliche Inschrift übrig.

Es fällt überhaupt auf, eine wie verhältnismässig geringe Rolle an diesem Denkmal die Schrift spielt. Der rechteckige Rahmen des Miḥrâb hat noch ein kufisches Schriftband, das keine unmittelbaren Koran-Suren, sondern wie oft Umschreibungen koranischer Gedanken zu enthalten scheint, Tafel VI. Ausserdem schloss, wie man auf Tafel VII gut sieht, ein Naskhî-Band den fast überall zerstörten Sockel ab. Sonst sind die ganzen überreich geschmückten Wände ohne Schrift.

Die vielen Beschädigungen, sehr beklagenswert, gestatten uns aber einen Einblick in das Handwerk der Stuckbekleidung. Wie schon manchmal in Samarra, ist das gesamte Muster zuerst in den weichen Putz geritzt. Die Grundfüllungen sind dann aus freier Hand geschnitten, die hochplastischen Teile aber gewissermassen in ihrer Bosse geformt, freihändig mit ihrer geometrischen Decoration versehen und dann nachträglich den ausgesparten Stellen aufgesetzt.

Die allgemeine Zeitbestimmung dieses Denkmals kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen; es giebt einige nächst verwandte, datierte Denkmale, nämlich die sich um die Grosse Moschee von Warâmîn und das Mausoleum Oldjaitu Kharbende's in Sulṭâniyya scharen. Sie seien hier aufgeführt:

1. Ein wunderschöner Turm steht in Marâgha, den die örtliche Überlieferung als Grabmal der Töchter Hulagu

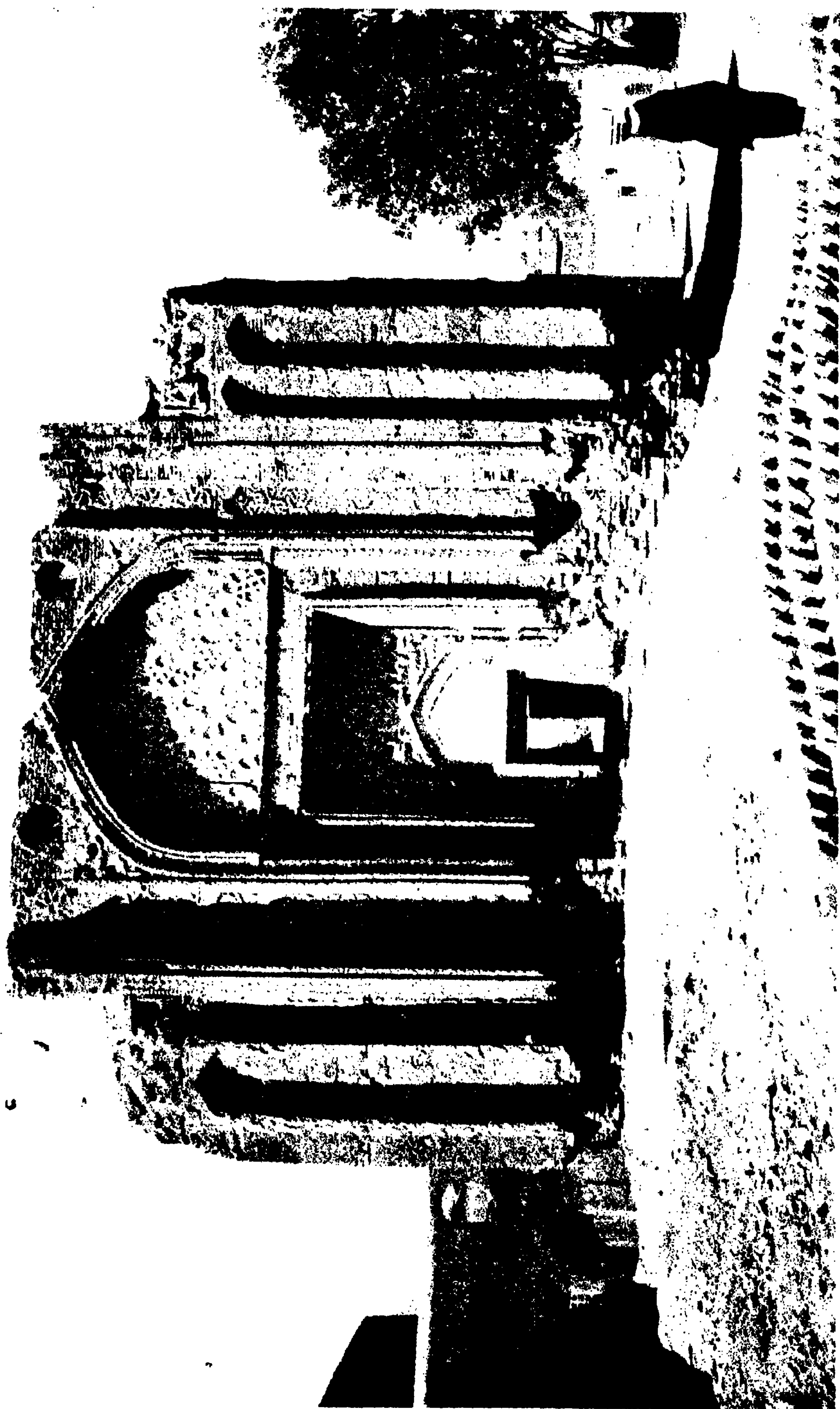
Khâns betrachtet. Solange nicht Inschriften oder literarische Quellen diese Überlieferung modificieren, haben wir, da der Bau seinem Stil nach in die Zeitspanne der Hulaguiden gehören muss, keinen Grund, diese Annahme zu bezweifeln. Hulagu starb 663/1265. Der Grabturm gehört also in das letzte Drittel des VII. scl.[1]

2. Mîl i Râdkân bei Khabûshân in Ustuwâ[2]. Schon van Berchem vergleicht zu diesem Bau die verwandten armenischen Grabtürme z. B. in Akhlâṭ, aus den Jahren 672–80, und den von Salmâs um 700/1300[3]. Der Turm ist ein Cylinder mit 36 Rundstäben; sein pyramidales Dach war vermutlich ganz mit blauen Kacheln bekleidet, und das am Dachrand umlaufende Schriftband, blau auf weissem Grund, mit den die Rillen abschliessenden, verzierten Zipfeln daran, wirkt wie die bunte Kante eines Stoffes: offenbar lag in dieser Architectur der Gedanke an die Kiswa, die Verhüllung eines Heiligtumes mit einem kostbaren Stoff. Die Jahreszahl der in *coufique carré* geschriebenen Inschrift ist leider beschädigt. Klar sind die Hunderter: 6. Davor fehlt nur 1 Zahl, Einer oder Zehner die auf ين oder vielleicht auf س endete. Von den Möglichkeiten 602, 605, 620, 630, 660 und 680 möchte ich mit aller Entschiedenheit für die letzte Zahl 680 eintreten. Van Berchem wollte sich nicht so entschliessen, da er die kufischhistorische Inschrift für unvereinbar mit einem so späten Datum ansah. Nun ist aber die Schriftart *coufique carré*. Diese Spielart des Naskhî, nicht *Kûfî*, aber ist abhängig von der chinesischen Siegelschrift und kann daher kaum vor der Mongolenzeit im Islam auftreten. In dieser Art ist bisher nur ein andres Beispiel einer geschichtlichen Inschrift bekannt, an der Nordbastion der Citadelle von Aleppo vom Sultan Qâit Bâi a. d. J. 877/1472. Von seiten der Schrift ist also kein

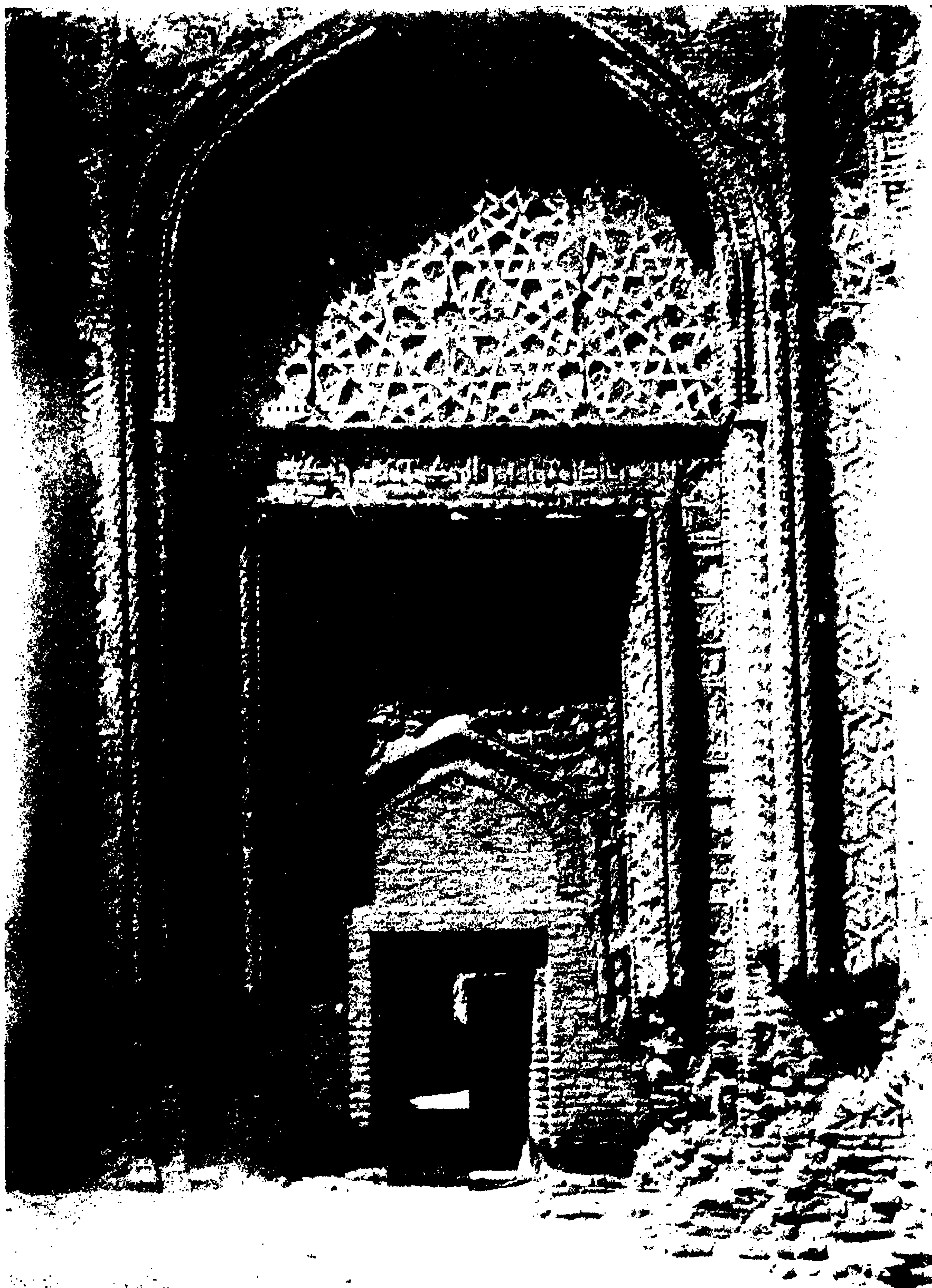
[1] F. Sarre, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, 1911, Textabb. 10 nach Photogr. von A. V. W. Jackson, vgl. de Morgan, *Mission*, i, Fig. 336, pl. 37.

[2] Diez und van Berchem, *Churasanische Denkmäler*, i, 1918, Tfl. 6–8. Khabûshân scheint heut Kûtchân genannt zu werden; es ist Hauptort des alten Gaues Ἀσταυηνή.

[3] H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, 1901, chap. XVI *Akhlat*; W. Bachmann, *Kirchen u. Moscheen in Armenien*, Wiss. Veröff. d. D. O. G. 1913; van Berchem bei C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Material. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttinger Abhandlungen, 1909, pp. 158 ss., fig. 93.

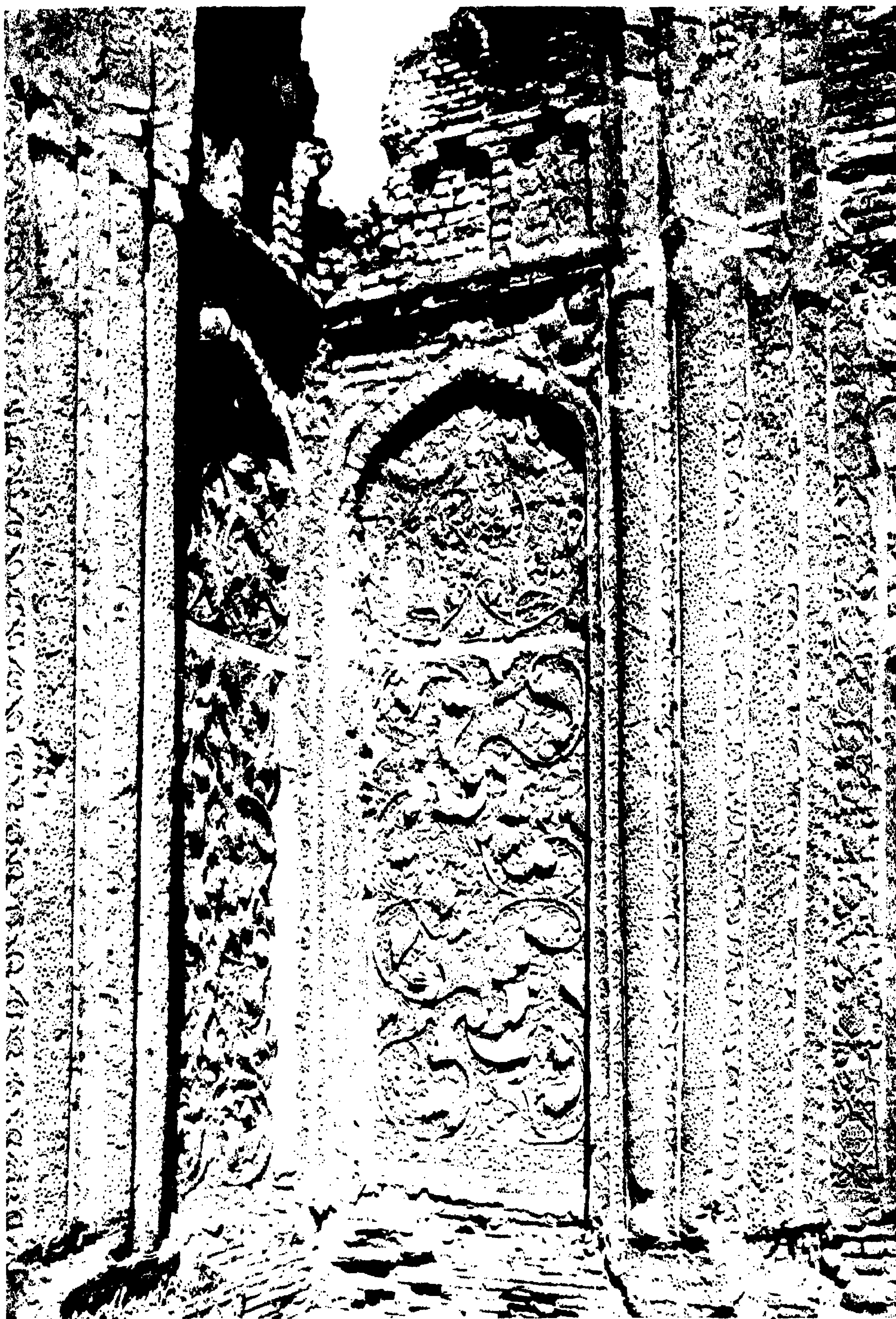


The Gumbadh-i ʻAlawiyyân



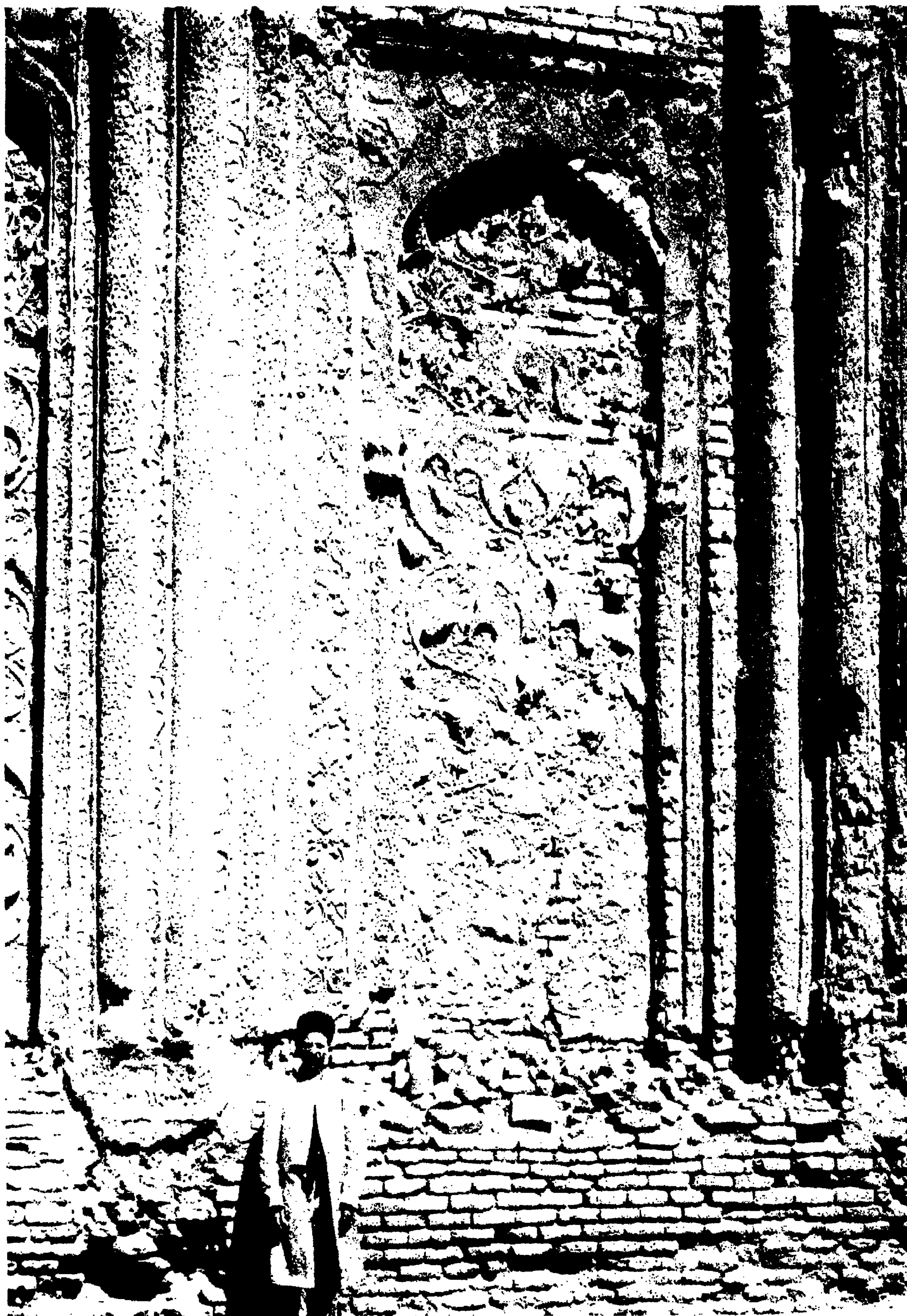
The Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

Doorway



The Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

S.W. Corner



The Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

Middle panel of W. Wall



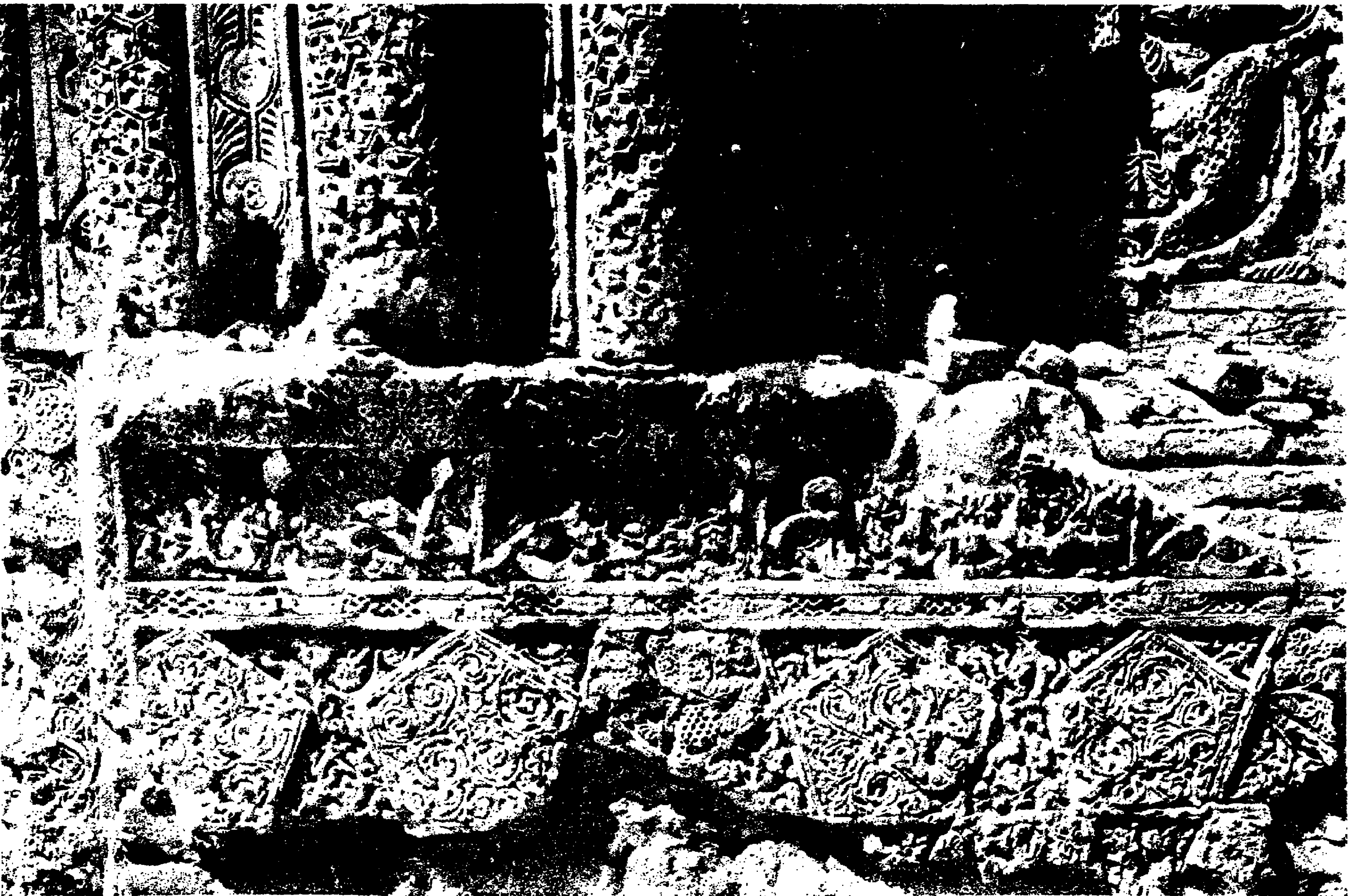
The Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

Mihrâb



The Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân

Detail of Miḥrâb



The Gumbadh-i ·Alawiyyân

Einwand gegen die Lesung 680 zu erheben. Dann aber besteht die örtliche, schon fast gleichzeitig literarisch belegte Überlieferung, der Bau sei das Grabmal des um Ende 673/Mitte 1275 in Râdkân gestorbenen Emirs Arghûn Agha, Statthalters von Khorâsân unter Hulagu und Abaqa wiederum zu Recht[1].

3. Manâr i Kishmar ein undatierter, sehr ähnlicher Bau in der Stadt Kishmar, wo die Cypresse Zarathustras stand, die Mutawakkil abhauen und zu Bauzwecken, in magischem Sinne, nach Samarra schaffen liess, dieser Bau muss seinem Stil nach noch jünger sein als Mil i Râdkân und kann daher nicht vor 700/1300 angesetzt werden[2].

4. In Salmâs erhebt sich ein hoher cylindrischer Grabturm[3], inschriftlich bestimmt als Grab einer Tochter eben des Emirs Arghûn von Râdkân, Frau von Ghazan's Wazir Tâdj al-dîn 'Alî Shâh, deren Name unleserlich ist. Die Einerzahl fehlt. Das Datum ist also 700/1300–710/1310.

5. Einen sehr verwandten Bau bildet J. de Morgan ab, aus Khiâw südlich Sulṭâniyya. Auch dieser wird in die Zeit der Ilkhane gesetzt. Die Abbildung erlaubt höchstens ein ganz allgemeines Urteil[4].

6. In der grossen Moschee von Iṣfahân steht ein Miḥrâb in Stuck, durch Sa'd al-daula wa'l-dîn, einen Grosswezir Oldjaitu's und Nebenbuhler Rashîd al-dîn's, im Jahre 710/1310 errichtet. In geschichtlicher und epigraphischer Hinsicht hat van Berchem dies Denkmal erschöpfend behandelt. Die Gebetsnische entstand ein Jahr nach der Annahme des schiitischen Bekenntnisses durch den grossen Sultan[5].

7. Kharbende, der grosse Bauherr, starb 716/1316 und wurde in seinem gewaltigen Mausoleum in Sulṭâniyya

[1] Über den Emir Arghûn cf. van Berchem bei Lehm.-Haupt, pp. 160–63, Anm. 1, und bei Diez, *l.c.*, p. 108, Anm. 1.

[2] Diez-van Berchem, *l.c.*, pp. 46 u. 109 ss., Tfl. 6, 2 und 10, 2.

[3] Salmâs cf. Anm. 9; auch Phot. Sevruguin, 1268.

[4] De Morgan, *Mission*, i, pl. XLIV.

[5] Der Miḥrâb bei van Berchem, *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, 1909, nach Cliché Gervais-Courtellemont; auch Diez, *Kunst d. Islam. Völker*, pp. 108 s.; im Gegensatz zu seiner Darstellung der Grossen Moschee von Iṣfahân möchte ich feststellen, dass Yâqût nichts von der Belagerung Iṣfahâns durch Ṭoghrul berichtet; das der Hauptbau der Moschee durchaus einheitlich der Safawiden-Zeit entstammt; dass nur Nebenteile alt sein können; dass kein Rest der Bauperiode Malikshâh's nachgewiesen ist.

beigesetzt[1]. Dieses oft abgebildete und leidlich untersuchte Bauwerk ist bei Lebzeiten des Erbauers, wenn auch nicht wie das Djihânnumâ will (p. 293) in 40 Tagen, vollendet worden. Es wäre sonst sicher unvollendet zur Ruine geworden, wie so viele Bauten aus allen Ländern und Zeiten des Morgenlandes. Es stammt also aus den Jahren 703–716.

8. Wenig später ist die Hauptmoschee von Warâmîn entstanden[2]. Der Bau, dessen westliche Hälfte durch Ziegelraub zerstört ist, ist entschieden einheitlich. Der Plan, die Vorstufe der grossen safawidischen Moscheen, offenbar unter starker Einwirkung des in seldjukischer Zeit aufgeblühten grossen Madrasen-Typus empfangen, ist ganz und gar ein Wurf. So muss das Datum der Inschrift am Hauptportal auf das Ganze des Baus bezogen werden. Ein Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Manṣûr und sein Sohn Ḥasan haben also unter der Herrschaft Abû Sa'îd Bahâdur Khân's i. J. 722/1322 die Moschee gebaut. Wenn in der Vorhalle des Kuppelraums über dem Hauptmiḥrâb auf zwei Tafeln eine Inschrift im Namen eines Emirs Ghiyâth al-daula wa'l-dîn Yûsuf Khwâdja von der Erbauung unter dem Timuriden Shâhrokh im Muḥarram 815/April 1412 redet, so ist das eine Widerherstellung, und die schönen Tafeln Sarre's lassen genau erkennen, wie weit diese reichte: sie bezieht sich, wie Inschriften immer verstanden sein wollen, auf die Stelle, wo sie steht, die Stuckverzierung des Îwân bis zur Höhe der grossen koranischen Inschrift unter dem Beginn der Zellenwölbung. Der ganze Innenschmuck des Gebetsraumes, der den Formen von Hamadân nah verwandt ist, daneben aber auch ein völlig chinesisch anmutendes Feld zeigt, stammt aus der ersten Zeit des Baus, 722/1322.

9. Im uralten Marand im nördlichen Âdharbaidjân ist in einer älteren Moschee ein Miḥrâb in Stuck, der laut Inschrift i. J. 731/1330 unter Abû Sa'îd Bahâdur Khân von einem Tabrizer, dessen erste Namenshälfte ich eher Niẓâm, als mit Hartmann Ṭâhir Bandaka lesen möchte, verfertigt

[1] Cf. die ausführliche Literaturangabe bei van Berchem, *Derenbourg*, p. 7, n. 2; am wichtigsten: P. Coste, *Perse Moderne*, pl. LXVII; Flandin und Coste, *Perse Moderne*, pls. X, XI, XII; M. Dieulafoy in *Rev. gén. de l'Archit.*, 1883, X, pl. XXIII, und vor allem Sarre, *Denkm.*, Tfln. XII–XVI und Abb. 14–19.

[2] Sarre, *Denkm.*, Tfl. LIV–LV, Abb. 68–71.

wurde[1]. Dieser Mihrâb lässt bereits eine Ernüchterung im zieratlichen Schmuck erkennen, die nicht allein in geringeren Mitteln, ländlicherer Arbeit, sondern in der vorschreitenden Zeit begründet liegt, in der der Glanz des Reichs der Ilkhane zu verblassen beginnt.

10. Viel mehr tritt das an einem der letzten dieser Bauten zu Tage, dem Mausoleum, das ein Gross-Emir Muhammad Khwâdja zur Erinnerung an den dort verstorbenen Mystiker Luqmân in Sarakhs i. J. 757/1356 erbaute[2]. Die Inschrift nennt keinen Oberherrn, wie es in dieser Zeit völliger Auflösung des Reichs nicht Wunder nimmt. Der Bau ist im Vergleich zu den früheren ärmlich und nüchtern.

In diese Reihe sind auch ein Paar von Grabbauten vor den Toren von Kum zu stellen[3]. Im einen läuft eine Naskhî-Inschrift unten um den Kuppelrand; ich erkenne auf der Abbildung bei Sarre:

الم]عظّم سلطان العرب والعجم.....الدنيا والدين صفى الاسلام والمسلمين...

Gerade das entscheidende Wort unter den Titeln, vor *al-dunyâ wa 'l-dîn* fehlt. So muss man im Urteil zurückhalten, bis eine vollständige Aufnahme der Inschrift den Urheber enthüllt. Ähnlich steht es mit dem allgemein sicher in die gleiche Zeitspanne gehörigen Ulu Djâmi' von Wan. Auch da liest man auf den Abbildungen rechts neben der Gebetsnische:

...صفى الخلافة المعظّمة محيى الامامة مجد المعالى وفلكها قاتل الكفرة والمشركين قاهر الخوارج والمتمرّدين قامع البدعة والملحدين غياث المتظلّمين مغيث المظلومين...

[1] Sarre, *Denkm.*, Tfl. XVII. Marand kommt bei Ptolemaios vor. Zu نظام ohne nähere Bestimmung cf. عضد in der Inschr. des Mihrâb von Isfahân und Khurramshâh b. Mughîth al-Akhlâtî in der Moschee d. Ahmadshâh zu Diwrigi, van Berchem und Edhem Bey, *MCIA.*, iii, *Siwas-Diwrigi*, no. 46.

[2] Diez-van Berchem, *l.c.*, pp. 62–65; in der Inschrift ebenda C, p. 6, lese ich zuletzt خواجة تمّت معدله sodass am Namen des Emirs nichts fehlt.

[3] Flandin et Coste, *Perse Moderne*, pls. XXXV u. XXXVI; Sarre, *Denkm.*, Tfl. LIX u. LX; ich glaube, allerdings sehr zweifelnd in den ersten Worten der Lücke شاه شجاع, im letzten غياث zu erkennen; dann könnte der Muzaffaride Djalâl al-dîn Shâh Shudjâ', 759/1357–786/1384, der Beschützer Hâfiz', der Erbauer sein.

und man erkennt, dass die Inschrift auf der linken Seitenwand fortläuft. Die epigraphische Aufnahme der Bauten dieser Länder ist beklagenswert vernachlässigt[1].

Ein Vergleich der erhaltenen Bauten mit der Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân in Hamadân ergiebt, dass diese der hohen Zeit dieses Stils unter Oldjaitu angehört. Das nächst Verwandte ist sicher der Miḥrâb von Iṣfahân, daneben die Reste des Schmucks am Grabmal Oldjaitu's selbst. Warâmîn bedeutet schon einen Schritt weiter in Überreichtum. Dazu das Auftreten rein chinesischer Motive. Marâgha, Râdkân und Salmâs machen einen structiv einfacheren und altertümlichen, Marand und Sarakhs einen verfallenden, verarmenden Eindruck daneben. Die Gumbadh gehört also in die Regierungszeit Oldjaitu's selbst, und daher wird man mit Recht die geschichtliche Nachricht, dass Esen-Qutlugh, Oldjaitu's General, eine Neustadt neben dem alten Hamadân angelegt habe, mit diesem Bau in Verbindung bringen. 709/1309 nimmt der Sultan das schiitische Bekenntnis an. Die Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyân ist ein alidisches Mashhad. Genau wie der Miḥrâb von Iṣfahân ist er also ein gewissermassen programmatisches Heiligtum, das in Oldjaitu's letzten Jahren, 709–16 errichtet sein muss.

Diese Werke vermitteln uns eine bedeutende Vorstellung von den übrigen, über die wir nur literarische Nachrichten besitzen. Folgende Liste ist nur aus den geläufigsten Quellen ausgezogen.

654—663 Hulagu erbaut als Residenz Marâgha, wo unter anderm das berühmte Observatorium Nâṣir al-dîn Tôsî's stand.

,, Khabûshân in Ustuwâ, hod. Kûtshân, von Hulagu erbaut, von Arghûn 683–690 vollendet.

663 Hulagu stirbt. Sein Grab, verborgen, auf einer Berginsel Ṭalâ.

[1] Im Îwân der Moschee Pîr-i 'Alamdâr in Dâmghân, Sarre, Tfl. LXXXIV, links, Abb. 153–155, Fraser, p. 315, steht die Inschrift:

امر ببناء هذا المسجد الشريف المولى / المعظّم خليفة العرب والعجم سلطان
قضاة الشرق كافل حوائج الخلق ركن الحقّ والدنيا والدين....

Die seltsamen Titel weisen wohl auf einen Ober-Qâḍî, kaum auf einen souveränen Herrscher hin. Das *rukn al-ḥaqq wa 'l-dunyâ wa 'l-dîn* rückt die Inschrift unbedingt in die Mongolenzeit, und widerspricht Khanikoffs Angabe des Jahres 417 H. (Möglicherweise gehört sie dem Rukn al-dîn Kart 677–682

663—680 Abaqa Khân erbaut Satûrîq, d. i. das von H. Rawlinson entdeckte Takht i Sulaimân.

683—690 Arghûn beginnt Sulṭâniyya zu bauen.

690 Arghûn auf einem Berge bei Suhraward bei Sadjâs in Âdharbaidjân bestattet, nach mongolischer Sitte heimlich. Arghûn's Tochter, Oldjâi Khâtûn baut später darüber ein Kloster.

ca. 700 Kazwîn, bei der Eroberung durch Hulagu zerstört, unter Ghazan und Oldjaitu durch Rashîd al-dîn wieder aufgebaut.

694—703 Ghazan setzt den Bau von Sulṭâniyya fort, stellt Raiy wieder her.

„ Ghazan erbaut Audjân in Âdharbaidjân als Madînat al-Islâm; aus etymologischer Spielerei wird die erste Gründung dem Bîzhan b. Gôdarz zugeschrieben.

„ Ghazan umgiebt die Vorstädte von Tabrîz mit Mauern; sein Grab in Vorstadt Shâm.

703—716 Bauten Rashîd al-dîn's und seiner Söhne in Tabrîz: Madrasa al-Rashîdiyya, und des Wezirs Tâdj al-dîn 'Alî Shâh: Grosse Moschee im Nârmiyân-Viertel, so unsolide, dass sie schon zu Hamdallâh's Zeit verfallen war, vgl. Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, II, p. 322–324.

„ Ein Karawansarai und Kloster in Bisṭâm von Kharbende erbaut.

„ Kharbende stellt Mashhad-i Riḍâ her.

„ Sâwa von einem Minister Ṣâḥib Sa'îd Khwâdja Zahîr al-dîn 'Alî b. Sharaf al-dîn Sâwadjî mit Ziegelmauer von 8200 Ellen Länge, mit Türmen und Zinnen erbaut. In der Stadt ein Mausoleum des Sayyid Isḥâq b. Imâm Kâẓim; ausserhalb ein Heiligtum des Propheten Samuel.

„ Am Fuss des Bîstûn-Berges erbaut Kharbende die Stadt Sulṭâniyya oder Sulṭânâbâd, vulgär Tchamtchamâlâbâd.

zw. 700 u. 724. Salmâs, Bau der Mauern durch Tâdj al-dîn 'Alî Shâh, Ghazan's Wazîr.

716—736 Raiy: unter Abû Sa'îd wird die Madraṣa al-Rashîdiyya mit einer grossen Bibliothek erbaut.

nach 736 Amîr Tchôpan baut das 679 durch Erdbeben zerstörte Shâdhyâkh bei Nêshâpûr wieder auf, einen Kiosk bei Tchashma i sabz

Die grosse und glänzende Bauthätigkeit der Ilkhane erstreckt oder beschränkt sich darnach auf das Gebiet von Âdharbaidjân. In dieser Provinz also erfährt die Baukunst des Jahrhunderts ihre besondere Ausbildung. Eine Reihe von Herkunftsbezeichnungen der Meister aus Tabrîz, Marand, Marâgha lehrt, dass tatsächlich einheimische Arbeit diese Werke schuf. Aufgebaut sind sie ganz und gar auf der weniger örtlich begrenzten Kunst der Seldjuken in Iran, die uns in den Minareten von Ghaznî, Bisṭâm,

Khosrôgird, Fîrûzâbâd, Simnân, Karât, Tirmidh, Shâh Rustam in Iṣfahân, in den grossen Kuppelbauten der Gräber Sultan Sandjars und des fälschlich Omar Khayyâm oder Ghazzâlî zugeschriebenen Grabes zu Ṭôs, in den Grabtürmen von Warâmîn, Rai, Farsaidja bei Iṣfahân, in der Moscheeruine von Khargird, vor allem aber in ihrer reifsten Form in den Grabbauten von Nakhtchawân entgegentritt[1]. Dass sich diese seldjukische Kunst schon Baghdad und Mosul erobert hatte, wenn auch an beiden Orten der seldjukische Stil dem einheimischen sich nur vermählt, das lehren die Bauten der letzten 'Abbasiden in Baghdad, Samarra, des Atâbek Badr al-dîn Lu'lu' in Mosul, und dass auch der Stil der Ilkhanen-Zeit nicht ohne Wirkung auf jene Länder blieb, zeigen Bauten wie die Madrasa al-Mirdjâniyya und das merkwürdige mongolische Yam, das kaiserliche Posthaus in Baghdad, gen. Khân Ortma[2]. So zeigen diese Bauten die Blüte eines überschwänglich reichen Stils der Baukunst, als gleichwertiges Gegenstück der hoher Entfaltung der wissenschaftlichen und schönen Literatur dieser Zeit in Iran. Dass die Eroberung Irans durch Djingiz Khan das Ende der Cultur des Landes bedeutet habe, ist eine unhaltbare, nur aus den *summâ irâ* geschriebenen islamischen Schriftstellern abgezogene Anschauung. Die Vereinigung Vorderasiens mit dem grossen Asien, dessen Glied es ja nur ist, erzeugte auf vielen Gebieten einen hohen Aufschwung. So sagt der, dem wir heute huldigen: "allowing for the terrible crisis through which Persia was passing, when heathen rulers dominated the land, and Christians and Jews lorded it over Muslims, the period of Mongol ascendancy, from the death of Húlágú Khán on February 8, 1265, until the death of the last Mongol Íl-khán, Músá, in 1337, was wonderfully rich in literary achievements." Jedes von Natur reich ausgestattete Land, jedes begabte Volk erholt sich von plötzlichen Katastrophen, so schwer sie auch seien. Denn die Erde trägt immer neue Frucht, Mensch und Tier erzeugen immer neue Geschlechter. Dass das Morgenland zu Grunde ging, lag nicht an der kriegerischen

[1] Alle diese Bauten in den angeführten Werken von Coste, Diez, Flandin und Sarre; über Khargird s. Herzfeld in *Islam*, 1921.

[2] Baghdad und Mosul in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise*, Bd II, 1920, vgl. auch zu dem Ganzen meinen Aufsatz *Khorâsân im Islam*, 1920.

Verheerung durch Djingiz Khan's oder Timurleng's Heerscharen, sondern an den Zuständen, die hinterher eintraten. Nicht das Ende der islamischen oder iranischen Cultur bedeutete die Mongolenherrschaft in Iran, sowenig wie in Indien, wohl aber die endgiltige Verdrängung der letzten Spuren hellenistisch-europäischer Einwirkung auf Asien. Die Veränderungen, die mit der islamischen Kunst Irans in dieser Zeitspanne vor sich gegangen sind, spiegeln für das tiefer dringende Auge diese grossen weltgeschichtlichen Bewegungen wieder, und der Hintergrund, von dem sich die betrachteten Denkmäler abzeichnen, ist das grosse, grenzenlose Asien, das Reich, das von den Gestaden des Stillen Oceans zum Mittelmeere reichte.

ERNST HERZFELD.

A VOLUME OF ESSAYS BY AL JĀḤIẒ

Thanks to the labours of the late Dr van Vloten many important works by Al Jāḥiẓ are now available in modern European editions, prepared with the care to be expected from this ripe scholar. Several other essays by the same author were printed in Eastern presses, and among them a volume of *eleven* treatises published in Cairo A.H. 1324 (1906)[1]. There exists in the British Museum a MS volume compiled on behalf of the late Baron Von Kremer, and consisting of thirty essays by Al Jāḥiẓ. Two of these were also edited by Van Vloten, and have been published in a posthumous volume[2], but the brief preface, added by the late Prof. de Goeje, does not, unfortunately, reveal from what source they were derived. Only two of the essays contained in this book are reproduced in the Cairo edition[3].

A list of the essays included in the MS just mentioned is given in the late Dr Rieu's "Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the British Museum[4]," but three of them were omitted. These are: 1. كتاب فى خلق القران (fol. 121 vo); 2. كتاب فى الردّ على المشبّهة (fol. 155 vo); 3. الردّ على ابن اسحاق النّظام واصحابه (fol. 178 vo). On the other hand, the رسالة فى فخر السودان على البيضان which is the third in the Cairo edition is missing in the MS.

This MS is unfortunately in a very unsatisfactory condition. It seems to have been written by a professional copyist who did not understand much of the original. It abounds in mistakes, especially as regards diacritical points. Want of care is further shown in the tenth essay of the Cairo edition (p. 178), headed رسالة فى بيان مذاهب الشيعة. Part of this essay forms No. XXIII of the MS (fol. 245 vo) under the title من صدر كتابه فى استحقاق الامامة. It ends with the quotation from Qorān II, 248 (p. 182 l. 8 from bottom in the edition). The whole essay, however, is repeated as the last

[1] See Goldziher, *ZDMG.*, vol. LIX, p. 194.

[2] *Tria opuscula auctore...Al Djahiz*, Lugd. Bat. 1903.

[3] 1. كتاب فخر السودان على البيضان ; 2. فى مناقب الترك.

[4] No. 1129, p. 709.

one of the volume, beginning fol. 291 vo, with yet another title, viz. من صدر كتابه في مقالة الزيديّة. I feel inclined to consider only the first title old, and the other two as attempts to formulate a title from the contents of the essay, the original title of which was not at the disposal of the copyist. The uncertainty as regards the titles of Al Jāḥiẓ' smaller treatises is further illustrated by Ḥājji Khalifa who shortens the title of the opening essay both in the MS and the Cairo edition into رسالة فى الحسد, whilst confirming its identity by quoting its initial words. Finally the essay كتاب التربيع والتدوير (No. III of the MS) is quoted by Al Tha'ālibi (died A.H. 429) in his ثمار القلوب (Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 2258 fol. 54 vo) as كتاب التدوين والتربيع.

Only one more treatise, viz. فى الردّ على النصارى (No. X of the MS) is mentioned by H. Kh. Of others no direct evidence is forthcoming as to their authenticity. There is, however, indirect evidence of some value. Al Jāḥiẓ has a manner of writing all his own. His works are distinguished by prolixity of diction, the love of accumulating synonyms almost to weariness, and of expressing the same idea in as large a variety of phrases as possible. In the essay فى المعلّمين (which will engage our attention later on) he uses the metaphor اذا عشّش فى الصدر ثم باض ثم فرخ. Almost the same figure occurs in his treatise entitled منتخبات البيان والتبيين[1], and we may safely assume that the author of this particular figure of speech is the same in both essays. Now the treatise on "the Teachers" contains a paragraph in condemnation of sodomy. Al Tha'ālibī in the work mentioned above (fol. 106 vo) has an article on sodomy in Khorāsān, but it consists in a philippic by Al Jāḥiẓ on this vice. The two utterances are not identical, but it is highly probable that Al Jāḥiẓ, who seems to have been a teacher himself, sternly set his face against this besetting offence, and wrote and spoke about it on several occasions. This may fairly settle the question of the authenticity of the tract under consideration.

It is somewhat strange that the author of the *Fihrist* does not seem to have been well informed about Al Jāḥiẓ'

[1] Printed in خمس رسائل Constantinople, 1301, p. 173.

writings. Of his shorter essays he only mentions the one فى فضيلة الكلام (p. 300) which is evidently identical with No. XXVI of our volume, entitled فى فضيلة صناعة الكلام. He also mentions (p. 33) an article فى نظم القران which is perhaps identical with No. IX of the MS فى خلق القران. Indirectly we may infer from the *Fihrist* that Al Jāḥiẓ criticised the medical practice of his age in a treatise styled فى نقص الطبّ (p. 300), a book which provoked a rejoinder from no less an authority than Al Rāzī[1].

Ibn Khallikān, whose information as to Al Jāḥiẓ' literary efforts is likewise exceedingly meagre, reports that the Caliph Al Mutawakkil wished to appoint him tutor to one of his sons, but abstained from this on account of his extraordinary ugliness. He seems to have been a teacher by profession, and this circumstance probably induced him to lay down his tutorial experience in a treatise on "Teachers." I deem it not unfitting to embody a brief survey of this treatise by a renowned Arabic Teacher in a volume designed to do honour to a renowned Teacher of Arabic.

A perusal of Al Jāḥiẓ' essays well repays the time spent on them. He is a keen observer, an original thinker, and reveals deep thought even in apparently trivial subjects. His field is wide. In the essays of which our MS is composed he has much that is relevant to say on matters theological, historical, philosophical, psychological, social, rhetorical, grammatical, and paedagogic, with occasional anecdotes interspersed. Noteworthy is the stand he makes against the exaggerated study of grammar, and he shows small esteem for Al Khalil, the father of grammatical studies among the Arabs. On the other hand he has much practical advice to give to fathers for the education of their sons.

Al Jāḥiẓ seems to have been somewhat embittered by the disappointment mentioned above as well as by unhappy experiences in his educational work, as the following sarcastic remarks in the earlier part of the essay show: "Religious as well as mundane matters rest on the pen[2], the benefits of which we owe to no one but to Allāh who created it for us, seizing us by our forelocks[3], and compelling us to make use of it; we do not owe it to our teachers whom He made our slaves. It

[1] See Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte*, p. 45, No. 60.
[2] Qorān, XCVI, 4. [3] *Ibid.* XI, 59; LV, 41.

is they whom you deride, complain of, argue with, and abuse, fasten the fault of the smaller on the greater, and make the keen ones responsible for the failure of those who fall short. You pity the fathers of boys on account of the slackness of the teacher, but not the teacher for the remissness of the boys in the execution of their task, and their lack of attention. Teachers are more wretched than shepherds and horse-trainers, although reasonable consideration will show their great importance and the amount of gratitude due to them."

As a further result of his experience as a teacher Al Jāḥiẓ lays down his criticism of learning by heart which the foremost philosophers and masters of thought deprecate. It seems that with this description he alluded to his contemporary Al Kindī, "the Philosopher of the Arabs." People who rely on what they know by heart are apt to neglect discrimination. Memorising stifles intelligence and only enables a person to execute a task given to him, the essence of memory being different from the essence of thought.

Somewhat earlier in the essay he speaks on the importance of writing as a means of communication with absent people, keeping records of past events, and the administration of outlying provinces by the home government. Rulers cannot invest their sons with administrative powers unless the latter have received proper training. "If you would inquire into the number of grammarians, prosodists, lawyers, accountants, and calligraphists, you would find that most of them are either tutors to adults or teachers of boys, but how many judges, narrators, doctors, and governors would you find among them?"

Teachers are needed for all subjects which are to be learnt, such as writing, reckoning, law, Qorān, grammar, prosody, poetry, history, horsemanship, games, astronomy, music, medicine, mathematics, archery, agriculture, commerce, architecture, jewellery, tailoring, bootmaking, dyeing, bookbinding, training of birds and other animals. Man has within him some of the characteristics of animals, such as the cunning of the wolf and fox, the circumspection of the lion, the hatred of the camel, etc. He can imitate every voice with his mouth, and every shape with his hand, because Allāh has endowed him with speech and the faculty of acquiring skill.

The words *mu'allim* and *mu'addib* are derived from *'ilm*

(knowledge) and *'adab* (scholarship), the former being the root and the latter the branch, but often generalised to include both. *'Ilm* enables us to distinguish between what is noble and what is base, lawful and unlawful, excessive and fair, and to choose between the better of two good things and the lesser of two evils.

In contradistinction to the arts and crafts mentioned above, others may be noted which only include writing, reckoning, poetry, grammar, law, astronomy and calendar making. The devotion to these subjects precludes arrogance, but encourages devout study of the Qorān, smooths people's tongues by the recitation of poetry, stops mischief, and promotes friendly intercourse among mankind.

Some people are of opinion that *'adab* spells penury, and to acquire it brings ill luck, as the poet hath it[1]:

> My *'adab* has not helped me to anything that gave me pleasure,
> except increasing my want, based on ill luck.
> He who trades in literature wherever he turns he is repulsed.

We have not, he goes on, seen a poet who attained the object of his desire by his verses, nor a man of letters who reached a high station by his accomplishments. Even if the number of those who gratify these aspirations were greater than the failures, and if we admit the men of this class, we do not include Abū Ya'qūb al Khozaimī, because he was successful in poetry as well as in *'adab*.

Boys, it is said, differ as to their degree of intelligence as well of slackness and stupidity. This is alluded to in the Qorān VI, 9, because some persons are more intelligent than others. Allāh comes to the aid of boys by causing their intellectual faculties to approach the intellect of accomplished scholars. Al Ḥajjāj, when travelling, once heard a woman's voice coming from a house full of confusion and noise. This, he said, is either the noise of a mad woman or of romping boys. An eloquent and intelligent person when speaking to a child, or amusing a boy, would surely accommodate his

[1] ما ازددت فى أدبى حرفا اسرّ به   الا تزيّدت حُرْفًا تحته شؤم
انّ المقدّم فى حرف بصنعته   أنّا توجّه فيها فهو محروم

These two lines are strongly reminiscent of two lines of 'Alqama, see Ahlwardt, *Six poems*, p. 112, l. 24. They are probably Al Jāḥiẓ' own parody and relating to his own case.

speech to the intellect of boys and girls, and put aside all the higher learning with which Allāh has distinguished him.

A boy should not be taught more grammar than he requires for correct speech in order to avoid solecisms and common ignorance in writing, reciting poetry, and making statements. Too much grammar would distract his attention from better things and prejudice his mind against dialectic and historical matters which are superior. He who refrains from inquiring too deeply into matters may satisfy his desire, though by slightly increasing his efforts he may benefit mankind and the pivots round which the mill turns. Whoever has no other means of obtaining livelihood than knowledge of grammar, which does not go far as a profession, should, in my opinion, turn to simply counting on his fingers, without attempting ciphers and arithmetic. Direct your attention to government requirements and secretarial work. I say that to be good at figures, which is wanted for administrative purposes, is more useful than calligraphy. Correct spelling, even if combined with inferior writing, answers the purpose. It is different with reckoning which should be taught together with the rules of writing and an easy style that speaks to the point in a manner both pleasant and concise. Avoid heaviness of diction. The best way is to be intelligible to the hearer without making fuller explanation necessary, being brief, but neither inadequate nor prolix. Choose a style which is neither obscure nor incoherent, nor diffuse on account of verbosity and heaviness. Many speakers do not mind impairing the sense of their words, in spite of fine language, by abstruseness. Their meaning will always be obscure, and their speech unprofitable, graceful but empty. The worst orator is he who is ready to jot down a sentence before he has settled its meaning, and, being enamoured with a certain expression, forces the sense towards it. Most objectionable is a person, affected, faltering in speech, wanting in earnestness, but full of self-admiration, eager to be called an orator, whilst laying claim to the title of an elegant writer. He fails to see the difference between relevant and irrelevant expressions. In general, every subject, be it lofty or low, amusing or serious, has its rules as well as limits—within which it must be kept.

A person who reads the books of elegant writers, and

copies the works of scholars in order to benefit by their contents, is on the right track, but he who studies them for their bulk in words is on the wrong track. His great desire is to exhaust the vocabulary in the futile endeavour to employ the words on unfitting occasions. A poet once said to his colleague: "I am a better poet than thou." "How so?" asked the other. "Because I say a verse and its brother, but thou sayest a verse and its cousin." The former is the result of training. The proficient succeed, the unskilled fail. One must put up with foolish or forgetful persons. Hearing words spoken can be both harmful and useful. To take the latter case first, these words linger in the ear, sink into the heart, and ripen in the breast. When one has become familiar with them, they bear fruit and yield a noble harvest, because they came forth without deceit, unguarded and unconstrained, neither do they betray poverty because they are not confined to one thing to the exclusion of another. Between a thing which (so to speak) builds a nest in man's breast, then lays eggs, hatches the young, and teaches them to spread their wings on one hand, and a preconceived idea clothed in energetic, but eccentric language there is a wide difference. A fluent speaker who feels himself safe in spite of indolence, relying on plagiarism and trickery, will fail to profit by them. He cannot bear to be reticent, scorn will overtake him and his evil ways will destroy him.

As regards the harmful aspect of the matter, it consists of learning by heart words either from a book or by the ear, and subsequently assigning the meaning to each of them. This is a poor, backward attitude which wastes words, overloads their meaning, and upsets their significance. Words of this kind obscure the speaker's mind, cause misunderstanding, and lay bare the disgust and aversion they produce. A person of this class provokes censure, and is objected to as a speaker. But he is to be congratulated, whose words are eagerly listened to, gladdening his own soul, although they are not laid down in writing. The best book is that which, the more it is read, the more it gains in attraction and fills its proper place.

The hateful nature of sodomy is revealed in the fact that Allāh offers no compensation in "the last world" for any desire to neglect propagation in this world, although He

promises wine to those who eschew it here. He praises the celestial wine in the briefest terms, whilst expressing the fullest abhorrence to wine in Qorān LVI, 19. He means to convey that the wine of paradise does not intoxicate, and there is no overcrowding of men with men, or women with women. Propagation being excluded, men and women keep separate. As expressed in Qorān XCII, 3 Allāh created men and women and placed between them the sources of mutual love and attachment. He joined men and women one to another in matrimony, but vice turned their relation upside down.

A most eloquent and accomplished teacher was Abd Allāh b. Al Moqaffa', benamed Abū 'Amr. He was a client of the family of Al Ahtam, and the foremost orator as well as author, translator and biographer. He was of generous nature and elegant and courteous. When he spoke in poetry, he could vie with a competitor without labouring to improve upon it in any way. He was also circumspect in transmitting the utterances of other persons without disclosing either deceit or trustworthiness. If you wish to examine this matter from the point of view of genuine dialecticians, see the last chapter of his epistle *Al Hāshimiyya*, which you will find to be an excellent and popular statement and not easily exposed to adverse criticism.

A person may do well in one or two branches of learning and think that he not only applies himself to it but that he enters deeply into it. This was the case with Al Khalīl b. Aḥmad who did well in grammar and prosody, and claimed to be proficient in dogmatic theology as well as in writing verse. But his ignorance was such that no one equalled him unless forsaken by God, who, however, never forsakes us. These two poets were incompetent in matters educational.

The most intelligent person is the monarch, and whoever seeks intercourse with him must find the right way to present his plea. A monarch's favour towards his subjects is not more marked than the attachment of an owner to his cattle. Were it not for the monarch people would devour one another[1], just as, were it not for the shepherd, wild beasts would tear his animals to pieces.

[1] See *Pirqē 'Aboth*, III, 2; Pray for the welfare of the government, since but for the fear thereof men would swallow each other alive.

Do not interfere with the study of the books of Abū Ḥanīfa. Hinder not those who advise to train a lad with bankers, because this occupation combines writing, reckoning, and financial training. I say the same to those who call the Qoreish traders. He who compares the merchants and shopkeepers of Karaj, Ahwāz and Baṣra with the Qoreish makes a grievous mistake. The Qoreish are people whom Allāh kept free from blemish, but allowed their originally fine constitution to deteriorate. If people knew their high station in commerce, they would notice the difference of their ways. Would they be guilty of infamy, such as that of the merchants of Aila and those people of Ḥīra who hold up the wheat, their mean trade policy would be broken. Did not poets travel to the Qoreish, just as they did to great kings whose power they extolled? They received the visitors of Allāh hospitably, although they were travellers rather than agriculturists. Had they been possessed of a brilliant intellect, their genius would not have been impaired by something which debases a whole nation. Had their ways with the kings they visited on business been the ways of other merchants, they would not have paid homage to them, built cities for them and loved them.

Since the Qoreish were brave and pious, they refrained from rapine and ravishing women, and did not bury their daughters alive. No captive woman was the mother of any of their children, nor did they permit a man to marry until he showed himself valiant in action and strong in his faith. When they took steps to build the Ka'ba, they did not spend money on it which they had inherited, or what they had received from their wives, lest it be mixed with funds earned by trade. Since they were travellers and depended on certain seasons and the establishment of cities, they were obliged to work for their living, held the *'īlāf* (Qor. CVI, 1), and travelled to the kings with their wares.

Those who maintain that courtiers meet with unpleasant experiences should consider that this happens to every traveller, and his luggage is exposed to dangers unless God protects him. Those who travel by sea are in great peril. Those who deal in food from Ahwāz run the greatest risk. People who hoist sail, undertake dishonest practices, or expose themselves to wild beasts, deserve no pity. The best

people to deal with are those who live on islands or on the shore of the sea. The glutton and the drunkard are most objectionable, and only he is fit to be entrusted with public affairs who has nothing to do with them.

The trader is diffident and dons the cloak of his civility, whilst the courtier is overbearing, yet full of fear. He falls short on account of exaggerated gratitude and adulation towards the monarch. When he gains experience, his vision widens and enables him to learn how to ameliorate grievances, straighten what is crooked and to cultivate waste lands.

The essay ends with the admonition to bear a pure love for *'adab* in order to elicit its hidden treasures even at the risk of material sacrifices.

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

DIE ENTWICKLUNGSFÄHIGKEIT DES ISLAM AUF ETHISCHEM GEBIETE

Bei den immer intensiver werdenden Beziehungen europäischer Völker zum islamischen Oriente und den wichtigen Entscheidungen, die von diesen Völkern getroffen werden müssen, ist es wichtig dass wir die Seele des Orientalen kennen lernen, sein Erleben, Fühlen, Wollen und Denken. Unser Verhalten zum Oriente wird dadurch wesentlich beeinflusst; denn es ist ein grosser Unterschied ob wir uns im Orientalen einem Menschen gegenübergestellt sehen, dessen Kultur wir in manchen Punkten bewundern und lieben und dessen sittliche Ideale wir achten können, oder ob wir in ihm nur einen solchen Menschentypus erblicken, der wie die Neger Afrikas, die Grundwerte des Menschenlebens noch nicht erkannt hat und dem der Lebensinhalt eine Summe materieller, äusserer Handlungen und Bewegungen ohne geistigen Kern ist.

Der Islam hat die verschiedensten Beurteilungen erfahren. Er galt in seiner ältesten Zeit (Johannes Damascenus) als eine christliche Seckte mit jüdischem Einschlag, im Wesentlichem mit dem Christentume übereinstimmend. In Laufe der Jahrhunderte wurde der Abstand dieser beiden Schwesterreligionen, nicht zuletzt auch auf Grund politischer Ereignisse, grösser und grösser, so dass beide Religionen mehr und mehr die Fühlung und das Verständniss für einander verloren und sich Urteile übereinander von Gefühlsstimmungen diktieren liessen. Die Aufgabe des objektiv urteilenden Forschers ist es, sich von polemischen Stimmungen fernhaltend die im heutigen Islam tatsächlich vorhandenen Werte zu erfassen und zu würdigen. Die vorliegende Arbeit lässt das individuelle, *äussere* Leben des Muslim mit seinen Sitten und Gebräuchen ausser acht, ebenso das soziale und politische, ferner von seinem *inneren* Leben das aesthetische und intellektuelle (Kunst und die Weltanschauung) um nur sein ethisches zu berücksichtigen.

Ebenso wie der Islam durch Vergeistigung überlieferter Formen seine *Weltanschauung* der modernen Zeit angepasst

hat[1] oder doch wenigstens Neigung zeigt, sich ihr anzupassen, kann er auch seine *Lebensanschauung* (Ethik) weiterentwickeln und sie den Forderungen der Neuzeit annähern. Dass dies in der Tat der Fall ist, haben die bekannten Studien über die islamische Mystik in den letzten Jahren gezeigt[2].

Das hier zu behandelnde *Problem* lautet daher: enthält die islamische Ethik Lehren und Satzungen, die unserer heutigen Gesinnungsethik gleichwertig sind, oder enthält sie wenigstens Ansätze, die in der Richtung auf eine solche verinnerlichte Ethik der persönlichen Überzeugung und Gesinnung entwickelt werden könnten? Diese Gedanken werden durch die Beantwortung anderer Fragen geklärt: Hat der Islam den Wert und die Würde der menschlichen Persönlichkeit erkannt? Hat er solche Ideale aufgestellt, die den geistigen Werten den entschiedenen Vorrang vor den materiellen geben? Lehrt er die allgemeine Menschenliebe? Solche und ähnliche Fragen wird man geneigt sein, mit dem Hinweis darauf zu beantworten, dass die Despotien des Orientes die Menschenwürde immer mit Füssen getreten haben, dass sie die menschliche Persönlichkeit missachteten, den Armen und Schwachen unterdrückten. Darauf ist zu entgegnen: Wir wollen unser Augenmerk darauf richten, ob vielleicht im *privaten* Leben höchste sittliche Ideale aufgekeimt sind, trotzdem im *politischen* Leben die Verbrechen der Despotie das Aufblühen solcher Ideale mit materiellen, brutalen Mitteln zu verhindern geeignet waren. Zudem

[1] Vgl. die Arbeiten des Verfassers: (1) *Die kulturelle Entwicklungsfähigkeit des Islam auf geistigem Gebiete* (Bonn, Cohen, 1915). (2) *Die islamische Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, 1915) in *Länder und Völker der Türkei, Schriften des Deutschen Vorderasienkomitees*, hrsgeg. von H. Grothe. (3) *Zur Weltanschauung des Orients, einige Gedanken zu mystischen Versen Askeris* in der Zeitschrift *Das neue Deutschland*, hrsgeg. v. Graborvsky, 7, 272 ff., 15 April, 1919. (4) *Die mystische Weltanschauung nach Askeri: eine Studie über das liberale Mönchtum im Islam* in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Orients*, 15, 32–51 (1918). (5) *Muhammed Abduh* (1905), *sein Leben und seine theologisch-philosophische Gedankenwelt: eine Studie zu den Reformbestrebungen im modernen Egypten* in denselben *Beiträgen*, 13, 83–114; 14, 74–128. (6) Auch die mittelalterliche Weltlehre des Orients war bereits voll von idealen Gedanken. Derselbe: *Die religiöse Gedankenwelt der gebildeten Muslime im heutigen Islam* (Halle, 1916).

[2] Die Werke von Nicholson, Macdonald, Goldziher u. and. sind zu bekannt, als dass sie einer besonderen Aufzählung bedürften. Die führenden islamischen Zeitschriften in Europa verfolgten in Einzelfragen die dadurch aufgeworfenen Probleme.

kommt es uns auf die *Lehre*, die *theoretische* Grundlage der Kultur an, die uns immerhin einige Hoffnung idealen Aufschwunges für die Zukunft geben. Das Volk und die gebildeten Kreise des Orientes haben neben den Regierungskreisen ein Eigenleben geführt und ihre eigene Kultur entwickelt. Die Quellen, die uns diese erschliessen, strömen ausserordentlich reichlich, so dass es nur die Schwierigkeit der Auswahl zu überwinden gilt. Die folgende Studie fusst auf der Auswahl von Prophetensprüchen, die Nabahānī verfasste unter dem Titel *Šamā'il ar-rasūl*[1].

Das Problem stellt sich also nicht so, dass die Ethik der islamischen Philosophen, Theologen, gebildeten Laien, Mystiker zu untersuchen wäre. Das in allen diesen Schichten, die aufs stärkste von Christentum, Hellenismus und Buddhismus beeinflusst sind, die islamische Ethik das gewünschte und von edlen Menschen erwartete Ideal erreicht, ist bekannt. Es handelt sich darum, ob auch im *breiten Volke* solche Ideale vorhanden sind, die das Menschenleben auf das Geistige und den Altruismus einstellen, das Streben nach Materiellem und den Egoismus wie Utilitarismus überwindend oder doch mässigend.

Von den unendlich vielen Punkten, die das System der Ethik ausmachen, mögen folgende herausgenommen worden, die das Wesentliche beleuchten: (1) Persönlichkeit und Menschenwürde; (2) die Reinheit der Absicht; (3) der Heroismus im Beispiele des Propheten, in den Beziehungen des Menschen zu (*a*) Gott, (*b*) den Nächsten, und (*c*) sich

[1] Beirūt, 1310 = 1892, als Quelle analysiert in des Verfassers (1) *Die religiöse Gedankenwelt des Volkes im heutigen Islam* (Halle, 1917, S. xxvi f.; vgl. von demselben *Aus der Welt- und Lebensanschauung der türkischen fahrenden Sänger* in *Der Neue Orient*, 2, 143-48, November, 1917. Die türkischen Troubadours denken und empfinden wie die Mönche des Islam. (2) *Die sittlich-religiösen Ideale der Bektaschi-Mönche nach Mahmud Ali Hilmi*, ebenda, 1, 293 ff., Juni, 1917. (3) *Die Geheimlehre der Jezidi, der sogenannten "Teufelsanbeter,"* ebenda, 2, 105 ff., April, 1918. (4) *Die Geheimlehre der Drusen* in *Korrespondenzblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Sitzung vom 11 Dezember, 1917; auch *Sitzungsberichte der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Bonn*, 1917, S. 28–39—reich an gnostisch-mystischen Ideen. (5) *Mystische Texte aus dem Islam. Drei Gedichte des Ibnu-l-'Arabi* † 1240 (nach Nicholson, *Tarjumán al-ashwáq*), Bonn, 1912 in *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen u. Übungen*, hrsgeg. v. Lietzmann, No. 105. (6) *Mönchtum und Mönchsleben im Islam nach Scharani* in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Orients*, hrsgeg. v. Grothe, 12, 64–129 (1915).

selbst; (4) die Skala der Lebensgüter; (5) Eigenschaften des Sittlichen im allgemeinen (*a*) Innerlichkeit (die Ethik des Islam ist eine Gesinnungsethik), (*b*) Ernst, (*c*) Einheit und Harmonie der Kräfte. Dass die dem Propheten in den Mund gelegten Aussprüche nicht als historische Quelle gelten können, sondern nur nach ihrer inhaltlich-systematischen Seite in Betracht kommen, bedarf keiner besonderen Rechtfertigung[1].

Dass der Muslim Würde und Wert der menschlichen Person kennt und achtet, ergibt sich aus seiner Hochschätzung der *Gerechtigkeit*. Heisst es doch in einem bekannten Sprichworte: "Die Gerechtigkeit (*'inṣāf*) ist die Hälfte (*niṣf*) der Religion." Der Sinn dieser Tugend besagt die "gleichmässige Verteilung" ohne Ansehung der Person. Der Mächtige steht dem Schwachen, der Reiche dem Armen in seinen Forderungen auf Gerechtigkeit gleich, und wenn ein Muslim auch alle seine rituellen Pflichten zeitlebens treu erfüllte, aber gegen seinen Nächsten ungerecht war, wird er am jüngsten Tage von der Himmelsbrücke in das Höllenfeuer gestossen[2]. In noch höherem Masse ist die

[1] In einer umfassenderen Darstellung müssten noch eine grosse Anzahl anderer Probleme zur Sprache kommen, z. B., (1) die Einstellung des Muslims zu Welt und Leben, (2) die Motivationen der Handlungen, (3) das Pflichtbewusstsein, (4) Kriterien und Prinzipien des sittlich Guten, (5) Autonomie und Heteronomie (Gesetzlichkeit), (6) Sinn des ethischen Lebens, (7) ethische Werturteile und Wertempfindungen, (8) Auffassungen von Lohn und Strafe, (9) ethische Ideale, (10) die Tugendlehre, (11) das sittliche Verhältnis zur Umwelt, (12) das *System der ethischen Ziele* (Glückseligkeit—Muhammad—Gott). Dieser ganze Komplex ist in den Rahmen der *Weltanschauung* des Orientalen hineinzustellen und durch die Aufhellung des *Wesens* und der Grundgedanken zu einer klaren Einheit zusammenzufassen, die zugleich noch auf den gesamten psychischen Organismus zu beziehen ist (Erleben, Bewusstsein, Empfinden, Gefühl, Vorstellen, Wollen, Denken). Durch diese Betrachtungsweisen wird uns letzthin die Eigenart der orientalischen Kultur und ihres Trägers, des orientalischen Menschentypus (seine Seelenform) verständlich werden. In den Quellen die uns der Orient zur Verfügung stellt, ist ein geradezu unerschöpfliches Material für solche ethischen und kulturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen enthalten.

[2] Horten, *Die religiöse Gedankenwelt d. Volkes*, 339, 20; 354, 10 u.; 279, 17; 285, 21 (ungerechtes Gut); 292, 6 u. (unbezahlte Schulden); 298, 14 u., als Ideal symbolisiert in der "Wage der Gerechtigkeit," 339–348, u. der Gerichtsverhandlung am jüngsten Tage, 346, 5 u., auch dem "Ausgleiche der Werke," 347. Auf den sechs unteren Bogen der Himmelsbrücke wird der Muslim nach seinen rituellen Pflichten gefragt, auf dem

muslimische Nächstenliebe ein Gradmesser für Menschenachtung im Islam, da sie über den Kreis des streng Gesetzlichen hinausgreift und mehr als das Recht der Gerechtigkeit auf die Herzensbeziehungen des Menschen zum Menschen schliessen lässt. Die Religion des Islam zeigt sich hier in ihrem tieferen voluntarisch-sittlichen Erleben und in ihren Auswirkungen in den Handlungen des sozialen Lebens, zugleich aber auch in ihrer Hochwertigkeit als menschenverbrüdernde Macht. "Keiner ist in wahrem Sinne ein Gläubiger, bis er für seinen Bruder (Mitmenschen) das wünscht (und zu tun bestrebt ist), was er für sich selbst wünscht." Das Übel von Hass und Feindschaft zwischen den Menschen wird an seiner *Wurzel* gefasst. Wir sind nicht nur zu äusseren Handlungen der Nächstenliebe verpflichtet wie zur Armensteuer, sondern müssen unsere *Gesinnung* dementsprechend reinigen und heiligen: das selbstlose Wohlwollen gegen den Nächsten gibt dem äusseren Werke erst seinen Wert und ohne dies ist das Wesen des wahren Islam undenkbar. In Folge dessen wird die selbstlose Nächstenliebe schlechthin als das Wesen des Islam bezeichnet. Den Propheten (Sha'rānī, *Lawāḳiḥ*, Kairo, 1308, S. 71, 8) fragte man: "Welcher Islam ist der beste?" (ob der hl. Krieg oder irgendein anderes gutes Werk). Der Prophet: "Spende jedem (Bedürftigen), sowohl den du kennst als auch den du nicht kennst, Speise und Gruss." Die Nächstenliebe in materiellen Gütern und in der Gesinnung des Wohlwollens ist ebenso wichtig und ebenso allgemein auszuüben wie die Pflicht des Grüssens, und dieser Heroismus ist identisch mit *der edelsten Form des Islam selbst*.

In diesen Zügen findet sich eine *reine Menschenliebe* ausgesprochen, die sich auf die erkannte Menschenwürde als solche stützt, sich daher auf alle Menschen erstreckt, ohne sich konfessionell oder national einzuengen. Offenbar sprechen sich in solchen Aussprüchen, die der heutige Islam

siebenten, dem höchsten Bogen nach seiner Gerechtigkeit. Die Erfüllung der rituellen Pflichten schützt ihn also nicht vor der Verdammnis, wenn er sich durch Ungerechtigkeit verging. Die Frage nach dieser ist die *letzte* und *wichtigste*. Das Überhandnehmen der Ungerechtigkeit wird als ein Zeichen des Herannahens des Weltendes, also des tiefsten Grades des sittlichen Verfalles angesehen (*ebd.* 303, 1, 5). Das Idealreich am Ende der Zeiten wird das der Gerechtigkeit genannt (*ebd.* 307, 8 u.).

dem Propheten in den Mund legt, die er also als göttliche Satzung und Offenbarung empfindet, Stimmungen aus, die als Unterlage für die höchsten sittlichen Ideale dienen können. "Der beste der Menschen ist, wer dem Nächsten am meisten nützt und hilft" (153, 10). "Die Religion ist der gute Rat, den wir dem Nächsten erteilen" (153, 3 u.). Die uneingeschränkte Nächstenliebe wird daher als das Ausschlaggebende im Islam betrachtet, auf Grund dessen Gott die ewige Seligkeit verleiht (Ibnu-l-'Arabi, *muhādarāt*, Kairo, 1306, 2, 178, 23): "Gott macht den reich, der auf ihn vertraut, und erlöst den, der seinen Geschöpfen Gutes erweist." Daher ist (151, 3 u.) "der Islam gleichbedeutend mit edlen ethischen Eigenschaften" (Selbstbeherrschung ebenso wie Selbstlosigkeit). Sie müssen sich besonders im Unglücke zeigen (154, 5): "Besuch' alle zwei oder drei Tage den Kranken; dann mehrt sich die gegenseitige Liebe."

Der Begriff der *Absicht* ist ein Kernpunkt der islamischen Moral, die dadurch zeigt, dass sie eine *Gesinnungsmoral* ist. Die Absicht ist nicht nur eine *rituelle*—in dieser hat man den Gegenstand der rituellen Handlung zu formulieren, die man vollziehen will—sondern auch eine *moralische*. In dem besonderen Gerichte, das gleich nach dem Tode stattfindet, tritt die Seele, die sich vom Körper getrennt hat, vor Gott mit den Worten[1]: "Ich komme zu Dir mit Dir selbst." Bei ihrem Handeln war die Seele von keinem andern als von Gott erfüllt. Nur *Ihn* erstrebte sie in ihrer "Absicht," indem sie sich von allen weltlichen und aussergöttlichen Zielen abwandte. Damit ist der bekannte Heroismus der Mystiker wesensgleich, der jede Spur von Egoismus und Weltlichkeit dem Polytheismus (*shirk*) gleichsetzt; denn wählt man etwas anderes als Gott zum Ziele seines Strebens, so setzt man ein Geschöpf an der Stelle des höchsten Wesens oder einen zweiten Gott an die Stelle des ersten. Jeder Egoismus gilt also nach dieser extremen Formulierung als die grösste und unverzeihbarste Sünde, als der schlimmste Abfall von der wahren Religion.

Der *Heroismus* ist der sicherste und tiefst sondierende Massstab einer Ethik, durch den ihre höchsten Ideale, innersten Motive, letzten Ziele, kennzeichnenden Eigenschaften,

[1] *Ad-dourra al-fāhira, la perle précieuse*, ed. Lucien Gautier (1878), S. 17, 2.

Wertungen bezüglich der unendlichen Skala der Lebensgüter, Kriterien des Guten, Prinzipien und Wesen am klarsten aufgedeckt werden. Der Heroismus ist die Blüte, die aus den geheimnisvollen Kräften der Gesinnung, des Erlebens, der Einstellung zu Welt und Menschenleben emporgesprosst ist. Der Muslim überträgt seine ethischen Ideale auf die Person Muhammads und gestaltet diese zu einem Spiegelbilde seines eigenen höchsten sittlichen Wollens und Strebens um, und diese Idealgestalt ist dann der *Vorbild*, dessen *Nachfolge* die grosse Lebenspflicht des Gläubigen ist (vgl. die Parallelbildung der Nachfolge Christi). Der Prophet war nach einer Aussage Alis (93, 10) der freigebigste, weitherzigste, wahrste, treuste, mildeste, selbstloseste Mensch, und nach Anas (93, 5) der gottesfürchtigste, edelste, mutigste, gerechteste, enthaltsamste Mann, geduldig in der Ertragung der Fehler des Nächsten, ein treuer Freund (94 u.), von gewinnendem Wesen (95, 4), voll Wohlwollen gegen seinen Diener (99, 7), nachsichtig (100, 10), leutselig, liebenswürdig, mitleidsvoll, bescheiden, ohne Stolz, Zorn, Hinterhältigkeit (93, 7). In der Versammlung konnte man ihn von den andern äusserlich nicht unterscheiden (119, 1). Er ermahnte sie (120, 8): "Seid bescheiden, gerecht, nicht hochmütig gegeneinander und bleibt treue Diener Gottes und unter euch *Brüder*." Täglich (114, 9) erkundigte er sich, ob ein Kranker in der Stadt sei, den er besuchen könne, ob ein Leichenbegängnis stattfinde, um sich ihm anzuschliessen, und ob jemand sich durch einen Traum bedrückt fühle, um sich diesen erzählen zu lassen. Sein selbstloser Edelsinn liess ihn keine Bitte Bedürftiger abschlagen (121, 10). Wenn er etwas nicht gewähren konnte, schwieg er, da er es nicht über sich brachte, nein zu sagen. Besitz der ihm zufiel verteilte er noch vor Sonnenuntergang (122, 6). Ein fühlendes Herz hatte er für Kinder (97, 8 ff., 111, 6 u.). Mit ihnen war er der ergötzlichste Unterhalter und Scherzmacher. Sogar Gegner und Feinde suchte er durch Wohltaten zu gewinnen (vgl. das christliche "glühende Kohlen auf dem Haupte des Feindes häufen"). Selbst nach der Niederlage von Uḥud wollte er seinen Feinden nicht fluchen (101, 1): "Ich bin nicht gesandt worden," so sagte er, "um zu fluchen, sondern als Prediger und Zeichen göttlicher Barmherzigkeit."

Die höchsten Ideale sind für den Muslim die religiösen, die kulminieren in der *Liebe zu Gott* (10, 2). Sie ist die Tugend, in der das Glück der beiden Wohnorte (des Diesseits und Jenseits) beruht. Daher sieht Gott (Ibnu-l-'Arabī, l.c., 1, 101, 9 u., 110, 1 u.) auf die Gesinnung, das Herz: "Die vorzüglichste Anrufung Gottes ist die des Herzens; denn dieses ist der Ort, *auf den Gott blickt*."

Abgesehen von der vertieften und durchgeistigten Religion ist es der Gedanke der *selbstlosen Nächstenliebe*, in der uns der Kern des islamischen Heroismus entgegentritt. Gott ist "der selbstlose Spender alles Guten" (*ǵawād*), und daher ist "das selbstlose Geben" (*ǵūd*) eine Tugend, in der der Mensch sich Gott zum Vorbilde nehmen muss. Ein Prophetenwort (152, 12) versichert uns, dass die heroische Nächstenliebe uns den Eintritt in das Paradies erwirkt: "Drei Dinge sind es, die bewirken, dass Gott den Menschen, der sie beobachtet, nur leicht zur Rechenschaft zieht und in das Paradies einführt: wenn du (1) dem Gutes erweisest, der dir Böses zufügte (dem etwas schenkest, der dir etwas geraubt hat), (2) dem verzeihst, der dir Unrecht zufügte und (3) mit dem in Verbindung zu bleiben suchst, der sich von dir getrennt hat." Die Pflege der verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen (*ṣilatu-l-raḥimi*) ist heiligste Pflicht, und diese bleibt auch dann noch bestehen, wenn die Gegenseite sich durch Abbruch dieser Beziehungen (*ḳaṭ'u-l-raḥimi*) versündigt hat. In diesem Sinne versteht man auch das bekannte türkische Sprichwort: "Tu' das Gute und wirf' es ins Meer. Wenn die Fische es nicht erfahren, so weiss es doch der Schöpfer[1]." Die Selbstlosigkeit in Bezug auf die diesseitigen Güter wird als Gipfel ethischen Handelns empfunden. Die Hoffnung auf jenseitige Güter tritt nicht als ein Abbruch an diesem Heroismus auf, wird nicht als verkappter Egoismus und Abfall vom Ideal empfunden. Dennoch wird auch hier noch eine Steigerung als möglich empfunden, in der der Gebende sogar sein jenseitiges Glück für den Augenblick ausser acht zu lassen scheint (*durra*, 94, 3, 97). Am jüngsten Gerichte erscheint jemand vor Gott, der kein gutes Werk besitzt, auf Grund dessen ihn Gott in den

[1] Man hat (*Der Islam*, 6, 103 zu No. 156) eine literarische Abhängigkeit von Eccl. 11, 1 betont, darf danach aber nicht den Sinn dieses Sprichwortes im heutigen sittlichen Leben der Orientalen missverstehen.

Himmel aufnehmen kann. Mit der Erlaubnis Gottes darf er sich ein solches von anderen geben lassen, damit es den Ausschlag auf der Wage der Gerechtigkeit gebe. Er geht nun zu solchen, die reich an guten Werken sind, in der Hoffnung, von ihnen am ehesten ein solches zum Geschenk zu erhalten. Aber sie wollen ihm keines mitgeben. Er wendet sich dann zu den Armen, und es zeigt sich, dass auch im Jenseits die Reichen geiziger sind als die Armen. Jemand der nur ein einziges gutes Werk besitzt, tritt ihm dieses sein ganzes moralisches Besitztum ab, obwohl er sich dadurch der Gefahr aussetzt, selbst die ewige Seligkeit zu verlieren. Da lässt Gott *beide* in den Himmel eingehen. Ebenso entscheidet Gott über den gegen seine Eltern ungehorsamen Sohn, der sich anbietet, die Strafe seines Vaters zu tragen, damit dieser selig werde. *Beide* dürfen das Paradies betreten.

Am jüngsten Tage peinigt eine grosse Hitze die Menschen, indem die Sonne mit ihrer Glut ihnen nahekommt. Der Thron Gottes sendet nun seine Schatten über solche aus, die besondere gute Werke vollbracht haben, unter diesen über einen solchen, der *ungesehen* Wohltaten spendete, sodass seine Linke nicht wusste, was seine Rechte tat (christ. Einfl. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, 70, 8).

Eine selbstlose Nächstenliebe übt Muhammad nicht nur in diesem sondern auch in jenem Leben, indem er am jüngsten Tage durch seine Fürbitte den Verdammten das ewige Heil zu erwirken oder ihre Qual zu lindern sucht, selbst wenn sie Gegner und Feinde des Islam gewesen sind (Kommentar des Bāǵūrī zur *Burda* des Būṣīrī, Kairo, 1326, S. 21 u.).—Wer (157, 1) in grosszügiger Weise die Nächstenliebe ausübte wird nur eine leichte Prüfung vor Gott zu bestehen haben und in den Himmel eingehen.

Güte und Wohlwollen gegenüber den Menschen ist daher ein Grundsatz des sozialen Verhaltens. "Gewinnet die Menschen durch den guten Charakter" (151, 10). "Ich bin gesandt worden," so sagte in vorbildlichem Sinne der Prophet (152, 4), "um die Menschen mit Güte zu gewinnen." "Jedes gute Werk am Nächsten ist ein Almosen" (d. h. besitzt das hohe Verdienst eines eigentlichen Pflichtalmosens; 155, 5). Daher haben wir die Pflicht, von dem Nächsten nur Gutes zu sagen: "Bewahre deine Zunge, es sei denn

im Guten" (150, 3). Da dem äusseren Verhalten das innere entsprechen muss, ist es eine grundsätzliche Forderung, Gutes über den Nächsten zu *denken*[1]. Der Gedanke der feinen Rücksichtnahme gegen den Nächsten lässt sich ebenfalls in diesen Rahmen stellen (*Tausend und eine Nacht* oft, Ibnu-l-'Arabī, l.c. 1, 172, 21): "Als Zeichen vollkommenen Glaubens gilt es, dass man sich nicht um das kümmert, was einen nichts angeht." Man soll keinem lästig fallen.

Die Menschen sollen eine Gruppe bilden, die durch die *Liebe* geeint wird, und von dieser gilt (155, 5): "Eine Versammlung von solchen, die sich lieben, wird nie zu enge." Dass diese Menschenliebe nicht nur den Muslimen gilt sondern allen Menschen, geht schon aus den genannten Texten und ihrem allgemeinen Sinne hervor, wird aber dazu noch aus solchen Prophetenaussprüchen bestätigt, die das Wohltun gegen die eigenen Glaubensgenossen als die *vorzüglichere* Handlung hinstellen. Die Wohltat gegen die andersgläubigen wird also als eine *gute Tat* vorangesetzt, die nichts an ihrer Güte verliert, wenn eine andere Handlung besser ist (150, 5 u.): "Die vorzüglichste Guttat ist eine Freude, die du einem Muslim bereitest."

Der Heroismus auf individual-ethischem Gebiete ist ebenfalls im Islam mit aller Entschiedenheit vertreten worden. Die Selbstbekämpfung ist die schwerste Pflicht nach den Worten des Propheten (150, 12): "Der gefährlichste (am schärfsten angreifende) Feind ist dein eigenes Ich, deine sinnliche Seele zwischen deinen beiden Seiten." Die Geduld ist als typische und heroische Tugend des Orientalen bekannt. Ebenso werden als religiöse Pflichten empfohlen Nüchternheit (Weinverbot), Bescheidenheit und Demut im Glücke. Mit andern soll man sich beraten (155, 1 u.) und nicht in Selbstüberschätzung nach eigenem Kopfe handeln. Falsches Gerede ist zu vermeiden und die Wahrhaftigkeit zu pflegen (150, 12; 154, 1): "Sag die Wahrheit, selbst wenn sie bitter ist." Die innere Wahrheit des ganzen Lebens als Übereinstimmung von Gesinnung, Wort und Handeln ist anzustreben. "Keiner ist ein wahrer Gottesgläubiger, bis bei ihm Herz und Zunge übereinstimmt."

[1] In dem *tezjīnu-l-varaḳāt* (jetzt *Der Islam*, 9) fol. 5, 2 wird der *'iḥsānu-z-ẓanni* als eine strenge Pflicht und darin von grösserer Strenge als das sittlich "Bessere" (*'aḥsan*) bezeichnet.

Die äussere Haltung muss diesem entsprechen: "Tadelnswert ist die Kleidung, die der Welt, der Herrschsucht (41, 1), Ruhmsucht und dem Stolze dient. "Wende dich," so sprach der Prophet (150, 8), "von den Genüssen der Welt ab; dann wird Gott dich lieben." "Zufriedenheit ist ein unversiegbarer Schatz" (155, 1). Die Steigerung dieser Geringschätzung der Welt zur Absage an sie und sogar Weltflucht wird dem Muhammad in den Mund gelegt (155, 7): "Sei in der Welt wie ein Fremder und Wanderer und rechne dich selbst zu den Bewohnern der Gräber."

Die *Skala der Lebensgüter*, wie sie das Wertempfinden des Muslims aufstellt, gibt uns einen tiefen Einblick in sein Seelenleben, Welterleben und ethisches Bewusstsein, und zeigt uns auf diese Weise die Art des orientalischen Menschentypus, zugleich auch auf seine letzten Zielsetzungen, die transzendente sind, hinweisend. Auf der höchsten Stufe dieser Leiter der Lebenswerte steht die Religion, und deren schönste Blüte ist die Mystik, in der die Religion und Gott die tiefsten Kräfte des Menschen erfasst und ausgestaltet. An zweiter Stelle steht alles Ethische, auf das die Wissenschaft (*ʿilm* zumeist als Theologie verstanden), Kunst und die materiellen Güter folgen. In der Lehre vom *Märtyrer* zeigt sich diese Stufenfolge. Der Muslim ist verpflichtet für seinen Glauben alle Diesseitswerte hinzugeben. Auch die schiitische Lehre von der takijah (der äusserlichen Verleugnung des Glaubens trotz innerer Anhänglichkeit) widerspricht dieser Lehre nur scheinbar. Auch die Schiiten haben zahlreiche Märtyrer. Dadurch ist erkennbar dass der Muslim seine Religion als einen Schatz betrachtet, der mit irdischen Gütern nicht verglichen werden kann und einer *anderen Ordnung* als diese angehört. Beide Reiche sind inkommensurabel. Dabei durchdringen die Jenseitswerte das Diesseitsleben und sollen es mit den Ausblicken auf jene höhere Ordnung beleben. Die Würde des Märtyrers wird daher in überschwänglicher Weise hervorgehoben (Bāǧūrī zu Sanūsī's Katechismus, oft): seine Wunden duften am jüngsten Tage wie Moschus; für ihn wird beständig (nicht nur beim jüngsten Gerichte) Fürbitte eingelegt; die Verwesung erreicht ihn nicht; mit dem Propheten und grössten Heiligen hat er beim jüngsten Gerichte das Recht, Fürbitte bei Gott für die Sünder einzulegen, usw. In allen

solchen Urteilen zeigt sich ein Wertempfinden, dass der gesamten Lebensgüterreihe des Irdischen das Jenseitig-Geistige, wie auf einer ganz anderen Ebene liegend, übergeordnet wird. Von den Diesseitsgütern werden solche vorgezogen und höher bewertet, die den religiösen am nächsten verwandt sind und zu ihnen eine innere Zuordnung haben.

Die äusseren, zeremoniellen Handlungen, die der Aussenstehende zuerst von Islam kennen lernt, sind in der sittlichen Auffassung des Muslim Nebensache im Vergleich zu den *inneren Handlungen* : der Richtung der Seele auf Gott und das Gute. Daraus ergibt sich zugleich der sittliche Ernst, der aus der Lebensauffassung des Muslim spricht. Die sittliche Gesinnung wird in vielen Prophetenaussprüchen als Wesen des Glaubens bezeichnet, d. h. als das Heiligste, was der Muslim kennt. Schon die Freude am Guten und das Betrübtsein über das Böse gelten (156, 5 u.) als Hauptinhalt des Glaubens. Dieser besteht nach einer anderen Tradition (152, 1) aus zwei Teilen, aus Dank gegen Gott und Geduld.

Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich die *Einheit* und *harmonische Rhythmik* der ethischen Kräfte; denn die Religion ist das einigende Band der moralischen Strebungen und Triebe, die zusammenfassende Kraft und das allbeherrschende Motiv, das die Zielsetzungen einheitlich leitet. Diese in das ganze System der Handlungen eindringende und es durchdringende Einheit ist der religiöse Gedanke, der alle Zielsetzungen auf ein transzendentes Gut richtet. Die irdischen Güter werden danach beurteilt, ob sie von den jenseitigen ablenken—dann sind sie böse—oder zu ihnen führen—dann sind sie gute. "Was wenig ist, aber genügt, ist besser als das Üppige, das von Gott ablenkt" (155, 4 u.). Indem die natürlichen Tugenden unter religiösem Gesichtspunkte und als zum Wesen des Islam gehörig betrachtet werden, wird die ganze Sphäre des Natürlichen durch das Übernatürliche geheiligt: "Der Islam ist identisch mit *edlem Charakter*" (151, 3 u.).

Die Einheitlichkeit dieser sittlichen Ordnung ist ein Symbol und Ausdruck für die Einheitlichkeit des Welterlebens, das der Orientale besitzt. Seine Abgeklärtheit, Ruhe und Beschaulichkeit fallen dem unruhigen und hastigen Abendländer auf. Diese innere Ruhe, die eine gewisse

Überlegenheit über die kleinen Ereignisse des Alltags bedeutet, wurzelt darin, dass der Orientale das *Weltziel* mit dem *Lebensziele* in Einklang bringt. Gott ist das Ziel der Welt und des Einzellebens. Jeder Muslim strebt nach der Vereinigung mit Gott (*vuṣūl*) und dem Erschauen Gottes (*ru'jah*). Der Vermittler ist die ins Übernatürliche gesteigerte mystische Person Muhammads, die für den einzelnen Gläubigen eine geistige Kraft bedeutet, eine Quelle von Hilfen und Gnaden, ein *Ziel* dem er sich nähern soll (8, 11). Dieses Streben ist Liebe. Die *Liebe zu Gott*, die das Grundmotiv alles Handelns ist, wird also geleitet durch die *Liebe zur mystischen Person des Propheten* (9, 10), und nach dieser bemisst Gott sogar die Art und Stufe der ewigen Seligkeit des Gläubigen (9, 14): "Das ewige Glück und die Wonne der Seligen wie auch ihre Stufen im Himmel werden bemessen nach der Grösse der Liebe die der Mensch dem Propheten weiht."

In der islamischen Ethik offenbart sich ein Genius, dem es gelungen ist, die schweren Fesseln der Gesetzesreligion zu erleichtern und zu vergeistigen und der materiellen Aussenwelt der Religion eine *Innenwelt* und eine Seele zu geben, und nach dieser Seele muss man Islam und Orient beurteilen. Die Erkenntnis dieser wird meines Erachtens nicht so sehr durch Herbeischaffung neuen Materials an Texten und Tatsachen gefördert werden als durch die kulturwissenschaftliche und psychologische Durchdringung der bereits zugänglichen Materials. Die Ethik kann nur im Rahmen der Gesamtkultur des Orientes verstanden werden, denn der Orientale erlebt seine sittliche Lebensordnung als Teil der Ganzheit von Welt und Dasein, in der er gestellt ist. In seiner Weltanschauung sucht er alles in einem Bilde zu vereinigen, und aus diesem entnimmt er die *Motive* seiner Handlungen. So fügt sich alles zu einer harmonischen Einheit, die freilich ihre Verschiedenheiten aufweisen wird nach Rassen, Zeiten, Provinzen und schliesslich Individuen, ferner nach politischen, sozialen, privaten und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen. In dieser Untersuchung sollten nur die allgemeinsten Züge, Kräfte, Lebenstendenzen und Lebensgefühle der islamischen Ethik an einzelnen Tatsachen des Orientalischen Geisteslebens nachgewiesen werden, damit man aus ihnen ihre Entwicklungsfähigkeit beurteile. Das

Orientalische Leben ist in mittelalterlichen Formeln befangen. Wenn sich nun herausstellt, das deren *Geist* mit dem unserer europäischen Kultur in wesentlichen Zügen übereinstimmt, so wird man ein inneres Verständnis (trotz noch so starker äusserer Verschiedenheit) zwischen Orient und Okzident nicht für unmöglich, ja sogar als wahrscheinlich und naturgemäss betrachten, und damit ist der Begriff der " Entwicklungsfähigkeit " gegeben. Wenn zwei Welten bestehen, die wie Morgenland und Abendland in ihren Tiefen so wesentliche Fühlung mit einander haben, wenn sie auch an der Oberfläche verschiedene Formen zeigen, so muss es möglich sein, dass beide zu einer Verständigung gelangen, und die wahren Fortschritte der Kultur, die nicht nur trügerische Aussenseite und Schein sind, wird der Orient als mit seinem Wesen übereinstimmend erkennen und annehmen.

M. Horten.

SOME REMARKS ON THE DĪWĀN OF NIẒĀMĪ

'Awfī, ed. Browne, II, p. 397, and Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 129, affirm in their biography of the Persian poet Niẓāmī, that he left besides the famous *Khamsa* also a *dīwān* or collection of minor poems of which they give different specimens. The same thing is attested by the poet Jāmī in his *Behāristān*, ed. Schlechta-Wssehrd, p. 98, who cites the same *ghazal* that also is recorded by the former. Prof. Browne in discussing these testimonies (*A literary history of Persia*, II, p. 402) observes however with special reference to Dawlatshāh: "but it must be remembered that there were several other poets of this name, whom this very inaccurate biographer is quite capable of confusing with the subject of the present notice. If such a *dīwān* ever existed in reality it appears long ago to have been lost and forgotten."

We may safely agree with Prof. Browne in his verdict on the accuracy of Dawlatshāh, but there remain the testimonies of 'Awfī and Jāmī and above all that of Niẓāmī himself (*Lailā u Majnūn*, ed. Bombay, p. 8) which was considered as decisive by Bacher in his well-known biography of the poet. He states therein expressly that he himself arranged his *dīwān* before the composition of the *Lailā u Majnūn*, i.e. before the year 584 (1188). The fact that the *dīwān* once existed is consequently beyond doubt, and that the above named biographers have derived their extracts from it is very probable. If it yet existed in their life-time we should wonder, if no copy had been handed down to us. With a view to ascertain this question I examined the catalogues of Persian MSS published in Europe and found mentioned three copies, viz. two in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Cat. nos. 618, 619) and one in the Prussian National Library at Berlin (Pertsch no. 691, 2). From the description by the authors of the catalogues it resulted that the work contained in these copies was the same, and those of Oxford being unaccessible to me, I solicited from the Director of the Berlin Library the loan of the MS in question. It is with much gratitude that I can

record here that the MS was graciously sent to me to be consulted at leisure here at Utrecht.

As to this MS, which belongs to the collection Sprenger, I have almost nothing to add to the description in the Berlin Catalogue. The volume contains first the *dīwān* of Ẓahīr ad-dīn Fāryābī; that of Niẓāmī written in a fine *ta'līḳ* character, quite different from that of the former part of the MS, occupies only 43 folia (fol. 115b-157b). There is neither introduction nor subscription; the poems are arranged in the usual manner: *ḳaṣīdas, ghazals* arranged alphabetically according to the rhyme words, *ḳiṭ'as* and *rubā'īs*. The limited number of poems contained in the vol. confirmed at once the statement of 'Awfī and Jāmī that save for the *mathnawīs* very little poetry has been handed down from Niẓāmī, and proved that Dawlatshāh, speaking of 20,000 verses, has grossly exaggerated. But strange to say, the *dīwān* does not contain the verses mentioned by the former, though those mentioned by the latter are to be found on fol. 136a. It appears therefore that we have really before us the *dīwān* arranged by the poet himself about 584 (1188) and that the verses cited by 'Awfī are missing in the *dīwan* because they were composed at a later date. However, this conclusion needs fuller probation, particularly because the first *ḳaṣīda* contains at the end a statement which is hardly consistent with this date, though it makes it not impossible. It runs as follows:

این بدان وزن وقوافیست که گفتست کمال
هر نسیمی که بمن بوی خراسان آرد

The poem is accordingly a direct imitation of another composed by Kamāl, by whom scarcely any other person can be meant than Kamāl ad-dīn Ismā'īl Ispāhānī, who died at a much later date than Niẓāmī, viz. in 1237. But as he was already among the panegyrists of the Khwārizmshāh Takash († 1199) a chronological difficulty need not be admitted, least of all, if the same poet is referred to by Niẓāmī, *Khusrau u Shīrīn*, ed. Bombay, p. 43, under the designation صاحب معانی. Kamāl, it is well known, bore the surname خلّاق المعانی. For the rest, no allusion whatsoever to known names or dates occurs in the poems that is inconsistent with the life-time of Niẓāmī. The *ḳaṣīdas*, not even amounting to a dozen, are not, as is frequently the case, panegyrics on some princes or

emīrs, but religious hymns with a more or less pronounced Ṣūfī character. The same remark applies to the poems of a different kind, *ghazals* and *rubā'īs* occurring in the *dīwān*, that cited by Dawlatshāh being really a very good specimen of the spirit that pervades this poetry. One single example bearing on the sense of عشق, occurring fol. 136ᵇ, may therefore suffice :

عشق است فراخ وسینهٔ تنگ * راهیست دراز ومرکبی لنگ
یك خاطر وصد هزار غصّه * یك منزل وصد هزار فرسنگ
راهی به هزار بیم در پیش * شاهی به هزار تیغ در چنگ
هم نامه سیاه گشت وهم دل * هم نام به باد رفت وهم ننگ
در باخته هر دو دین ودنیا * چون غمزدگان نشسته دل تنگ
سجّاده فتاده است در خم * قرّابه شکسته بر سر سنگ
از عشق منال ای نظامی * تو صلح گزین حذر کن از جنگ

The following, written on fol. 151ᵃ, is more moralizing :

تبرّا کن دلا از خود پرستی * چو اندر حلقهٔ مردان نشستی
شراب شوقرا در جمع مردان * چو کردی نوش فارغ شو ز هستی
مجو یاری ز هر کس اندرین راه * وگر جستی در یاری به بستی
ز یار انصاف جستن هست بیداد * ز خود انصاف ده ار یار هستی
چنان باید که مور از تو نرنجد * مکن با بندگان حق درشتی[1]
خوری خونابه صد سال اندرین راه * همه بادست اگر یکدل نجستی
رسیدی ایٔ نظامی تو بدانجا * بت وبتخانهرا در هم شکستی

After perusing these verses we may easily explain why the *dīwān* has never acquired the immense popularity of the poet's *Khamsa* and has been handed down only in a few copies. Niẓāmī is, as Prof. Browne remarks, the acknowledged master of romantic *mathnawī*, he is perhaps equally great as a didactical poet, but he is not specially distinguished in other

[1] The dissimilarity of the rhyme-word is in this case not strictly regarded as a fault, س and ش being interchangeable. As to the vowel cf. the rhyme-word of the following verse and the example cited from Niẓāmī himself by Vullers, *Lex. pers. lat.* I, 830ᵃ.

forms of verse, such as *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals* or *rubā'īs*, that make the contents of a *dīwān*. When he condescends to write panegyrics, e.g. in the dedications of his greater poems, he is nearly insupportable and addresses (*Khusrau u Shīrīn*, ed. Bombay, p. 10) to Kizil Arslān verses like this:

بدریا چون زند تیغ بلارك * بماهی ڴاو[1] ڴوید کیف حالك

for which he was severely criticized by a pedant who observed that the rhyme was deficient, as the last word should correctly be pronounced *ḥāluk*. The cow, replied our Sheikh, cares not for the rules of grammar. See the *Nigāristān* of Ghaffārī, ed. Bombay, 1275, p. 223.

That the *dīwān* contains really the work of the great Niẓāmī and not that of another poet of the same name is clear from the fact that not only his name, but also his domicile Ganja is occasionally mentioned in the poems. If not the work of him, it should possibly be considered as a forgery, but I see no indication why it should be such. There occurs absolutely nothing in the *dīwān* that may not have been said by Niẓāmī. The spirit that pervades it is the same that is also conspicuous in his earliest work, the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, quite in accordance with the fact that both date from the time of his youth. What is the case with the printed edition published at Agra (1283), mentioned in the Oxford Catalogue and said there to be quite different from that which we possess in MS, I do not know, as I never saw the volume. If genuine, which appears very doubtful, it may contain a later redaction, as we have learnt from the extracts given by 'Awfī and Jāmī that not all the poetry handed down from Niẓāmī has been collected in the MSS of his *dīwān*.

[1] The Bombay ed. has ماه.

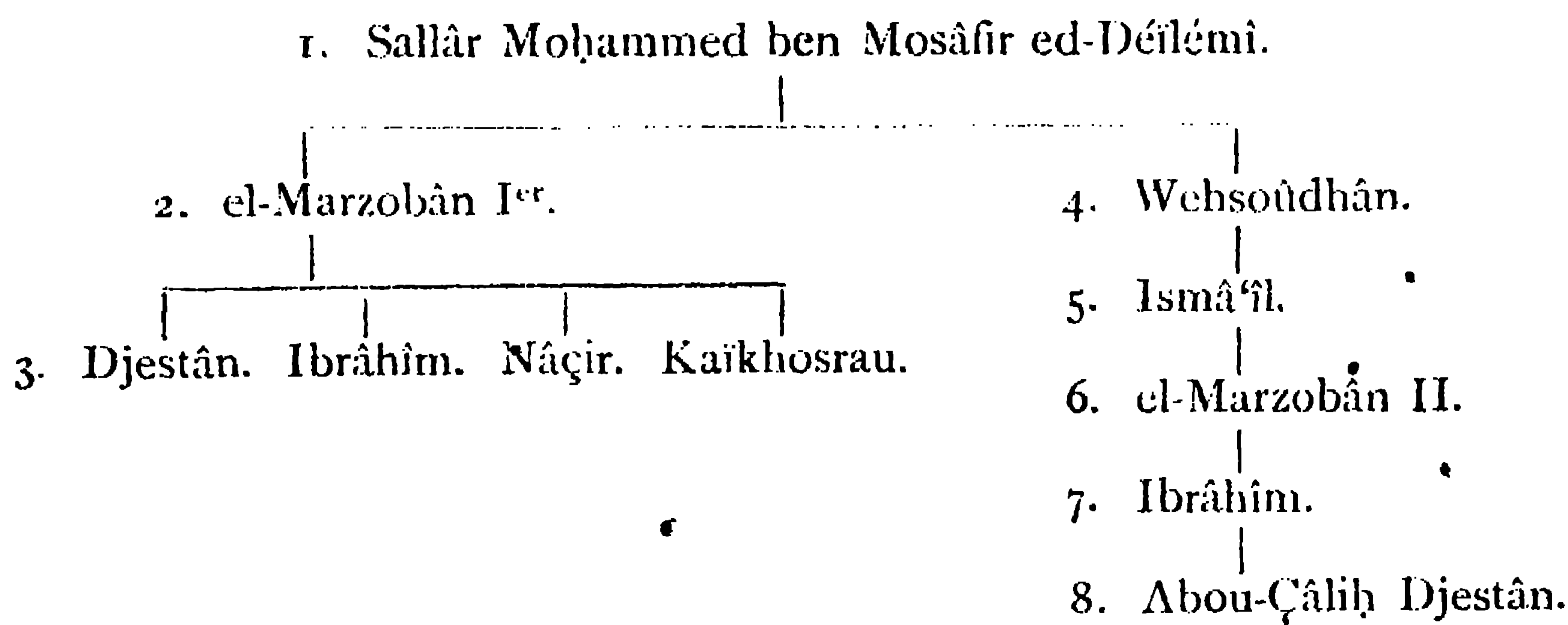
M. TH. HOUTSMA.

LES MOSÂFIRIDES DE L'ADHERBAÏDJÂN

Un certain nombre de publications récentes relatives à l'histoire de l'Arménie ont attiré l'attention sur les petites dynasties musulmanes qui, voisines des pays habités par les Arméniens, n'ont vécu qu'en se reconnaissant vassales des Bouïdes d'abord, des Seldjouqides ensuite[1]. L'enchevêtrement de ces États féodaux est extrême, et leur histoire est obscure. On nous saura gré d'avoir rassemblé ici un certain nombre de faits qui aideront à fixer des dates, et par suite à éclaircir un certain nombre de points, sur lesquels les données des historiens arméniens et byzantins sont insuffisantes.

La dynastie des Mosâfirides a régné en Adherbaïdjân dans la seconde moitié du X^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne et la première moitié du XI^e. Elle se compose de huit princes[2], et fut renversée par les Seldjouqides en 1064. La table généalogique suivante aidera à comprendre leur succession.

MOSÂFIRIDES.



[1] *Histoire universelle*, par Étienne Asolik de Tarôn, traduite de l'arménien et annotée par Fr. Macler; Paris, 1917 (dans les Publications de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes).—J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886; Paris, 1918 (thèse de doctorat-ès-lettres).—Du même, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides* dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081; Paris, 1913 (thèse complémentaire).—J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*; Nancy–Paris–Strasbourg, 1919.

[2] La liste en est donnée en marge du *Ta'rikh* de Monedjdjim-Bachi, t. ii, p. 505.

I.

Sallâr Moḥammed ben Mosâfir.

Ce chef héréditaire de la principauté de Ṭâram[1] dans les montagnes du Déïlem portait le surnom de Sallâr ou Sâlâr, "général[2]" qu'il tenait de ses ancêtres[3]. Voici, pour les commencements de son pouvoir, ce que raconte Ibn-el-Athîr[4] sous l'année 330 (941) : "L'Adherbaïdjân était alors soumis à Daïsam ben Ibrâhîm le Kurde[5], ancien compagnon de Yoûsouf ben Abi 's-Sâdj[6], qui l'avait servi et avait vu grandir son pouvoir au point de s'emparer de cette province : c'était un

[1] Canton dans les montagnes qui dominent Qazwîn au nord, très fertile, bien arrosé, et couvert de villages florissants, au rapport de Yâqoût, qui l'avait traversé. Les Arabes écrivent Ṭarm (cf. un vers de Motanabbi cité par Yâqoût, et d'après lui par Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 392 ; voir aussi Iṣṭakhrî, p. 204 ; Ibn-Ḥauqal, pp. 267, 268 ; *Marâçid*, t. i, p. 195, et t. ii, p. 202), mais ils connaissent l'ancienne orthographe persane *ṭâram*, Barbier de Meynard, *op. laud.*, p. 131 ; Moqaddésî, pp. 51, 355, 360 (vocalisé ici *ṭârim*). Les Persans modernes appellent cette région *Ṭârameïn*, "les deux Ṭâram," l'inférieur et le supérieur (Ḥamd-ullah Mostaufî, *Nozhat el-Qoloûb*, éd. Le Strange, p. 65 ; cité par Barbier de Meynard, *id. op.*, p. 392, note 1). Çanî' ed-Daula Ḥasan-Khân, dans son *Mir'ât el-boldân*, t. i, p. 334, indique ces différentes graphies.

[2] Forme dialectale pour *ser-dâr* ; le groupe *rd* devient *l* géminé ou avec allongement de la voyelle précédente comme dans *sard*>*sâl*. Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 280.

[3] En 316 (928) nous trouvons Sallâr, fils d'Aswâr, comme seigneur de Chamirân, forteresse du Ṭâram (Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 142 ; Mas'oûdî, *Prairies d'or*, t. ix, p. 16). Asfâr ben Chîrôyè, officier gîlânî de la suite du Samanide Naçr, fils d'Aḥmed (Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 131 et suivantes) s'était rendu impopulaire par ses cruautés. Il avait parmi ses meilleurs lieutenants Mardâwidj ben Ziyâr le Déïlémite, fondateur de la dynastie des Ziyârides, qu'il chargea d'une mission auprès de Sallâr pour l'inviter à lui obéir, mais Sallâr et Mardâwidj s'entendirent pour conspirer contre Asfâr et marchèrent sur Qazwîn où était le gouverneur samanide, qui s'enfuit et ne tarda pas à être tué (trois versions différentes sur les circonstances de sa mort dans Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 143). La forteresse de Chamirân est appelée Samîrân par Yâqoût, t. iii, p. 148 (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 318) ; G. le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 226.

[4] *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, t. viii, p. 289 ; abrégé dans Ibn-Khaldoûn, *Ta'rîkh*, t. iii, p. 413 ; Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 64 et suiv.

[5] Daïsam ben Sâdalawaih (Sâdalôyè) dans Ibn-Hauqal, p. 236, ce qui prouve qu'à côté du nom musulman de son père avait persisté son nom iranien.

[6] Sur ce prince voir Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la famille des Sadjides*, dans le *Journal asiatique* de 1847, p. 37 et suivantes du tirage à part.

Khâridjite[1] ainsi que son père, qui avait été un adepte de Hâroûn ech-Chârî (le Khâridjite)[2]; quand celui-ci fut tué, il s'enfuit en Adherbaïdjân et y épousa la fille d'un chef des Kurdes de cette province; il en eut Daïsam. Se joignant alors à Ibn Abi 's-Sâdj, il s'éleva, sa situation grandit; il progressa au point de posséder l'Adherbaïdjân après Yoûsouf ben Abi 's-Sâdj[3]. La plus grande partie de ses troupes était composée de Kurdes, sauf quelques petits groupes de Déïlémites, provenant de l'armée de Wouchmgîr[4], qui l'avaient accompagné en Adherbaïdjân.

"Il arriva ensuite que ces (mercenaires) Kurdes devinrent forts, prépondérants, et dominèrent certaines de ses forteresses et des régions de ces pays; il jugea à propos de s'appuyer contre eux sur les Déïlémites, dont il chercha à augmenter le nombre[5]; parmi eux se trouvaient Ça'loûk ben Moḥammed ben Mosâfir, 'Alî ben el-Faḍl[6], et d'autres. Daïsam les couvrit de bienfaits, arracha aux Kurdes les

[1] *Chârî*, pl. *chorât*. Sur ce surnom des Khâridjites, voir Moṭahhar ben Ṭâhir el-Maqdisî, *Livre de la Création*, t. v, p. 142.

[2] Ce chef Khâridjite, surnommé el-Wâziqî, entra à Mossoul et y fit la prière solennelle en 272 (885), puis il fut vaincu par el-Mo'taḍid en 283 (896). Cf. Ṭabarî, *Annales*, iii, pp. 2108, 2149.

[3] Ibn-Khaldoûn, t. iii, p. 413, a ici un passage qui ne se trouve pas dans Ibn-el-Athîr à cet endroit: "Es-Saïkarî, lieutenant de Wouchmgîr dans le Djabal ('Irâq-'adjamî) vint en l'année (3)26 et le vainquit (c'est à dire Yoûsouf) en Adherbaïdjân; puis il se rendit auprès de Wouchmgîr et lui garantit l'obéissance [ainsi que la remise d'] une [certaine] somme, en lui demandant des renforts qu'il lui envoya sous la forme d'une armée de Déïlémites qui le suivirent; es-Saïkarî le vainquit, le chassa, et régna dans le pays." C'est le résumé de ce qu'a écrit Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 261, où Tornberg a imprimé لشكرى d'après une note marginale; le texte du MS. U porte السبكرى, leçon voisine de celle d'Ibn-Khaldoûn. Ibn-Isfandiyâr, p. 217, Ẓehîr-ed-dîn, p. 175, et Ibn-Miskawaïh, *Tadjârib el-omam*, t. vi, p. 3, ont aussi Lachkarî.

[4] Frère de Mardâwidj, fondateur de la dynastie des Ziyârides. Cf. A. Querry, *Le Cabousnamè* ou Livre de Cabous (Paris, 1886), p. vi; Defrémery, *Samanides*, pp. 252, 253; P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, t. ii, p. 92; P. Horn, *Geschichte Irans*, pp. 564, 565; Ibn-Isfandiyâr, *History of Ṭabaristân*, trad. Browne, p. 217.

[5] فاستكثر ذلك منهم. Ibn-Khaldoûn, *loc. cit.*, a فاستكثر من الديلم. Ibn-Miskawaïh (t. vi, p. 65) se sert de l'expression وازداد من عدّة الديلم, qui est claire.

[6] Ibn-Miskawaïh (t. vi, p. 65) ajoute Asfâr ben Siyâdoûli. 'Alî ben el-Faḍl العمولى était un général de Bodjkem que celui-ci avait chassé de son armée pour un acte qui lui avait déplu.

territoires où ils s'étaient arrogé la prépondérance, et fit arrêter un certain nombre de leurs chefs.

" Il avait pour ministre Abou 'l-Qâsim 'Alî ben Dja'far, un indigène[1]; ses ennemis le dénoncèrent; Daïsam lui fit peur, et il s'enfuit dans le canton de Ţâram auprès de Moḥammed ben Mosâfir; arrivé auprès de celui-ci, il vit que ses deux fils, Wehsoûdhân et el-Marzobân, s'étaient fâchés avec lui et s'étaient emparés de quelques-unes de ses forteresses[2]; la cause de cette brouille était les mauvais traitements que leur père leur avait réservés[3], ainsi qu'à d'autres. Ensuite[4] les deux fils incarcérèrent leur père Moḥammed ben Mosâfir et firent main basse sur ses biens et ses trésors; quant à lui, il resta seul, abandonné, sans argent ni bagages, dans une autre forteresse. 'Alî ben Dja'far s'étant rendu compte de la situation, se rapprocha d'el-Marzobân et se mit à son service; il excita sa convoitise à l'égard de l'Adherbaïdjân, et lui garantit qu'il lui en faciliterait la conquête[5] et lui procurerait ainsi des sommes considérables dont il connaissait les modalités.

[1] Un des secrétaires de l'Adherbaïdjân, dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loco laud.*

[2] Seulement de la forteresse de Chamirân, sa résidence, dit Ibn-Miskawaïh.

[3] Pour des difficultés peu considérables لغير رتّب كبير, ajoute Ibn-Miskawaïh; et cela, dit-il, à cause de son mauvais caractère لشرّ كان فى طَبْعه.

[4] Ibn-el-Athîr résume par ce seul mot les détails que l'on trouve dans Ibn-Miskawaïh: " Wehsoûdhân se fâcha contre lui et rejoignit son frère el-Marzobân, qui se trouvait dans une des forteresses de son père dans le canton de Ţâram. Moḥammed ben Mosâfir comprit qu'il ne lui serait possible de se saisir de son fils qu'après l'avoir séparé de son frère, et il écrivit à el-Marzobân pour le mander auprès de lui. 'Je ne resterai pas dans la forteresse après son départ,' lui dit Wehsoûdhân... 'Sors avec moi,' lui répliqua el-Marzobân. Quand ils eurent fait une partie de la route, ils se saisirent d'un messager que leur père envoyait secrètement à la garnison de la forteresse, lui ordonnant d'arrêter Wehsoûdhân dès le départ d'el-Marzobân, et de le surveiller, ainsi que le château. Ils s'étonnèrent de ce fait, et le mécontentement les réunit contre leur père. Arrivés à la forteresse où demeurait leur père, il se trouva qu'il s'était rendu dans une autre place. Ils informèrent alors leur mère Kharâsoûyè de la lettre envoyée par leur père; celle-ci, qui était une femme intelligente جَزْلة, les aida à s'emparer du château où se trouvaient les provisions et les trésors de leur père. Quand Moḥammed ben Mosâfir apprit cela, il ne sut que faire et resta dans la forteresse où il s'était rendu, isolé et privé de ses richesses."

[5] Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 66.

"El-Marzobân le prit comme ministre ; ce qui rapprochait ces deux personnages, en plus de ce que nous venons de mentionner, c'est qu'ils étaient tous deux Chî'ites. 'Alî ben Dja'far était un missionnaire isma'îlien, et el-Marzobân était fort connu pour sa qualité de Chî'ite[1] ; tandis que Daïsam, comme nous l'avons vu, était Khâridjite et détestait 'Alî, de sorte que les Déïlémites qui le servaient se dégoûtèrent de lui.

"'Alî ben Dja'far entreprit de correspondre avec ceux dont il savait qu'ils se détachaient de Daïsam, et chercha à se les attirer, de sorte qu'un grand nombre des compagnons de celui-ci répondèrent affirmativement à ses ouvertures et que leurs cœurs se désaffectionnèrent, en particulier les Déïlémites.

"El-Marzobân marcha sur l'Adherbaïdjân ; Daïsam se porta à son rencontre ; quand les armées furent en présence, prêtes à combattre, les Déïlémites se joignirent à el-Marzobân[2], suivis de beaucoup de Kurdes qui réclamèrent une sauvegarde. El-Marzobân chargea contre les troupes de Daïsam, qui s'enfuit, suivi d'une petite troupe, en Arménie, où il chercha refuge auprès de Ḥâdjîq ben ed-Dîrânî[3], à raison de l'amitié qui existait entre eux[4] ; le prince arménien le traita avec générosité. Daïsam recommença à entretenir de bons rapports avec les Kurdes, et ses compagnons lui suggérèrent d'éloigner les Déïlémites à raison de l'opposition

[1] El-Marzobân était tenu par l'engagement qu'il avait pris à l'égard des Bâṭiniyya معهودًا فيهم (les Isma'îliens), de sorte qu'il lui permit de prêcher publiquement cette doctrine (Ibn-Miskawaih, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Au nombre d'environ deux mille hommes (Ibn-Miskawaih, t. vi, p. 67).

[3] Khatchik Gagik, roi du Vaspourakan (province de Van), régna de 914 à 943. Il était le fils de la sœur de Sembat I^er^, roi bagratide d'Ani, laquelle avait épousé Grigor Dérénik (Asolik de Ṭarôn, *Histoire*, trad. Macler, p. 17, n. 2). Le surnom de son père, lu *deïrânî*, indiquerait quelque fonction ecclésiastique dans un cloître (*deir*) ; en Syrie, ce mot signifie "préposé d'un couvent" (Cuche), mais il est plus probable que c'est le surnom de son père, Dérénik, qui a été ainsi transformé par les auteurs arabes par fausse assimilation à un mot de leur langue. Ibn-Ḥauqal (*Biblioth. geogr. ar.*, t. ii, p. 250) lit "Ibn-ed-Dîrânî, roi de Zawazân, de Van et de Wasṭân." Il est devenu ed-Dîwânî dans l'édition imprimée d'Ibn-Khaldoûn, *loc. cit.*

[4] Après avoir combattu son oncle Sembat dans les rangs des Musulmans, il avait été installé sur le trône de Vaspourakan par Yoûsouf, frère d'Afchîn, général du Khalîfe Moqtadir-billah. Cf. J. de Morgan, *Histoire*, p. 135 ; Asolik, trad. Macler, p. 17.

que ceux-ci lui faisaient tant au sujet de la différence d'origine que de celle de religion; mais il ne les écouta pas[1]."

Mis'ar ben Mohalhil, dont le récit nous a été conservé par Yâqoût, nous a transmis de curieux détails sur les constructions entreprises par Moḥammed ben Mosâfir. "J'arrivais dans la citadelle du roi du Déïlem, connue sous le nom de Samîrân; je n'ai rien vu de mieux construit et de plus vaste, parmi les résidences royales; car on y compte plus de 2,850 palais et maisons de différentes dimensions. Son premier possesseur, Moḥammed ben Mosâfir, avait l'habitude, lorsqu'il voyait un travail bien exécuté et solide, de s'informer du nom de l'ouvrier; il lui envoyait une somme d'argent pour le capter, et lui en promettait le double s'il voulait se rendre à sa cour. Lorsqu'il se l'était attaché, il l'empêchait de sortir de la citadelle pour le reste de ses jours. En outre, il prenait les fils de ses propres sujets et les employait à ces travaux. C'était un prince riche et économe, qui épargnait sur ses dépenses, bien qu'il possédât de gros revenus et des trésors considérables. À la fin ses enfants, mus par un sentiment de pitié à la vue de tous ces hommes qu'il traitait comme des captifs, se révoltèrent contre lui. Un jour qu'il était à la chasse, ils fermèrent les portes de la citadelle et refusèrent de le recevoir; il fut contraint de se retrancher dans un autre de ses châteaux-forts. Tous les ouvriers employés par lui, au nombre de cinq mille environ, furent mis en liberté et répandirent les bénédictions sur leurs libérateurs[2]."

II.

El-Marzobân, fils de Moḥammed ben Mosâfir.

"El-Marzobân[3] régna en Adherbaïdjân et sa situation se maintint jusqu'à ce qu'il se brouilla avec son ministre 'Alî

[1] Il reconnut, dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 67, la faute qu'il avait commise en augmentant le nombre des Déïlémites; un cadi éloquent lui avait conseillé de ne pas enrôler ألّا يرتبط plus de cinq cents hommes [de cette origine], mais il lui avait désobéi.

[2] Traduction de Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 319. C'est en 331 (943) que ce voyageur visita Samîrân. Voir G. le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 226.

[3] Moḥammed ben Mosâfir épousa la fille de Djestân ben Wehsoûdhân, qui régna de 251 (865) à 304 (916), et appartenait à la dynastie des

ben Dja'far pour les motifs suivants. Le ministre[1] suivait une mauvaise ligne de conduite à l'égard des compagnons d'el-Marzobân[2], qui s'entr'aidèrent contre lui ; il s'en aperçut, et conçut une machination contre el-Marzobân en lui faisant entrevoir les profits considérables qu'il tirerait d'une expédition contre Tébrîz : le prince lui adjoignit un corps de Déïlémites qu'il envoya contre cette ville[3]; mais le ministre changea d'opinion à l'égard des habitants de la cité et leur fit connaître qu'el-Marzobân l'avait envoyé pour s'emparer de leurs biens ; il leur persuada de mettre à mort les Déïlémites qu'ils avaient auprès d'eux, et d'écrire à Daïsam pour lui demander de venir les rejoindre. Ils entrèrent dans ces vues ; il l'écrivit à Daïsam, et les habitants de la ville attaquèrent brusquement les Déïlémites et les massacrèrent.

"Daïsam se mit en route pour Tébrîz avec les troupes qu'il avait pu rassembler. El-Marzobân avait mal agi à l'égard des Kurdes qui lui avaient demandé sa sauvegarde; lorsque ceux-ci apprirent la marche de Daïsam sur Tébrîz, ils se joignirent à lui. À cette nouvelle, el-Marzobân se repentit d'avoir fâché 'Alî ben Dja'far[4], puis il rassembla ses troupes et se mit en route pour Tébrîz ; une rencontre entre lui et Daïsam eut lieu hors de la ville ; ce dernier fut mis en déroute, ainsi que les Kurdes qui l'accompagnaient ; ils revinrent sur leurs pas et se fortifièrent[5] dans Tébrîz, où ils furent assiégés par el-Marzobân, qui se mit à entretenir une correspondance avec 'Alî ben Dja'far pour améliorer la situation, en lui prodiguant des serments pour ce qu'il pourrait désirer. 'Je ne demande, parmi toutes ces offres,' répondit

Wehsoûdhânides ou Djestânides, dont on peut voir le tableau dans Stokvis, *Manuel*, t. i, p. 125. Il eut d'elle el-Marzobân.

[1] Ce ministre avait pour secrétaire un certain Aboû-Sa'îd 'Isâ ben Moûsâ surnommé 'Îskoûbè, qui le dénonça et excita el-Marzobân à s'emparer de ses biens (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 68).

[2] Non tous ses compagnons, mais un certain groupe de sa suite, comme le dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loc. laud.*

[3] Sous les ordres de Djestân ben Charmzan, de Moḥammed ben Ibrâhîm, de Dékîr (Dhékîr?) ben Awresfanâh, et du chambellan el-Ḥasan ben Moḥammed el-Mohallébî, entourés de gens de confiance (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Et d'avoir écouté ses ennemis. Il prit alors pour ministre Aḥmed ben 'Abdallah ben Maḥmoûd, le revêtit d'une robe d'honneur et lui donna le titre d'el-Mokhtâr (Ibn-Miskawaïh, p. 69).

[5] Corriger تحصّموا du texte imprimé en تحصّنوا.

'Alî, 'que la sécurité et la résignation de mes fonctions.' Le prince, ayant accepté ces conditions, promit de les exécuter sous serment.

"Le siège ayant réduit Daïsam à la gêne, il quitta Tébrîz pour Ardébîl[1]. 'Alî ben Dja'far rejoignit alors el-Marzobân, et ils se rendirent à Ardébîl en laissant des troupes pour continuer le siège de Tébrîz tout en entreprenant celui d'Ardébîl[2]. Quand le siège se prolongea, Daïsam demanda la paix[3] et envoya des négociateurs à el-Marzobân à cet effet[4]; celui-ci acquiesça à ses propositions : ils conclurent la paix et el-Marzobân entra à Ardébîl, traita Daïsam généreusement et avec de grands honneurs, et fut fidèle à ses promesses. C'est alors que fut démoli le mur d'enceinte de la ville, pour punir les habitants d'avoir pris parti pour Daïsam[5]. À partir de ce moment, le prône fut dit au nom d'el-Marzobân dans toutes les mosquées de l'Adherbaïdjân[6].

[1] El-Marzobân n'osa pas le poursuivre immédiatement, par crainte de le voir se retourner contre lui à la tête de ses mendiants (*ça'âlîkihi*), pendant que les habitants de Tébrîz feraient une sortie sur ses derrières ; il remit cette opération à plus tard (Ibn-Miskawaïh, pp. 69–70).

[2] Avec la portion principale de l'armée (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 70)

[3] Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 72. À la suite des intrigues d'Aboû 'Abdallah Moḥammed ben Aḥmed en-No'aïmî qu'il avait pris pour ministre à la place d' 'Alî ben Dja'far et qu'el-Marzobân avait mis dans ses intérêts en lui promettant le poste de vizir. D'ailleurs la place était réellement réduite à la dernière extrémité (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 70–71).

[4] C'étaient les principaux et les notables de la ville. Sur le conseil d'en-No'aïmî, el-Marzobân les fit arrêter, de sorte que les habitants, se voyant privés de leurs chefs, se soulevèrent et obligèrent Daïsam à faire la paix (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 71).

[5] Ibn-Ḥauqal, p. 237. Le géographe arabe nous a transmis des détails curieux sur ce demantèlement. "C'était une muraille merveilleuse que le Sallâr el-Marzobân fit détruire, après avoir fait inscrire une exception dans la capitulation qu'il accorda aux habitants, et dont il s'autorisa pour cette démolition. L'opération fut effectuée par les négociants et les propriétaires de cette ville ; on vit des riches, vêtus de leurs plus beaux vêtements, saisir la pioche et travailler à cette œuvre ; de même les négociants transportaient la terre et les pierres dans leurs manteaux ou le pan de la mousseline de leurs turbans ; car on ne les laissait se livrer à cette opération que vêtus de vêtements somptueux de Merw et de ceux appelés *monayyar*, de sorte qu'ils s'en trouvèrent totalement dépouillés et que toute trace en disparut, ayant été réduits à la misère par le pillage de leurs biens, l'exagération que l'on mit à les poursuivre, et leur dispersion dans les diverses régions, car ils étaient des fauteurs de rébellion et de troubles." Auparavant, les biens des notables avaient été confisqués, ce qui produisit des sommes énormes (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 71).

[6] Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 72.

“ Ensuite Daïsam, peu rassuré à l'égard d'el-Marzobân, lui demanda l'autorisation de retourner dans son château du canton de Târam pour y habiter lui et sa famille, en se contentant des revenus qu'il pourrait en tirer[1], sans lui imposer autre chose ; el-Marzobân y consentit, et Daïsam s'établit avec sa famille dans son château.”

C'est pendant le règne d'el-Marzobân que les Russes firent l'expédition fameuse qui mit en leur pouvoir la ville de Berda'a[2]. Déjà, en 301 (913), ils avaient dirigé une première entreprise contre Ardébîl[3]. En 332 (943–944), c'était un *nâïb* (lieutenant) d'el-Marzobân qui commandait la ville. “Les Russes, arrivés par mer,” dit Ibn-el-Athîr[4], “avaient remonté le cours du Korr (Cyrus) jusqu'à Berda'a; le *nâïb* s'était porté à leur rencontre à la tête d'une armée de cinq mille hommes composée de Déïlémites et de volontaires[5], mais les musulmans (volontaires) furent mis en déroute en un instant et les Déïlémites massacrés jusqu'au dernier[6]. Les Russes entrèrent dans la ville et s'y comportèrent bien; mais la populace les attaquait à coups de pierres[7] et les injuriait, tandis que les gens raisonnables s'en abstenaient. Quand cette situation eut duré quelque temps, les Russes ordonnèrent à la population de sortir sous dix jours[8], mais ceux seuls qui avaient des montures s'en allèrent ; la plupart resta après le délai imparti. Alors les Russes en massacrèrent un grand nombre, firent prisonniers quelques milliers, rassemblèrent le reste dans la mosquée cathédrale[9] en leur

[1] Trente mille dinars par an (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loco laud.*).

[2] Sur cette ville, voir Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 177 et suivantes; Yâqoût, t. i, p. 558 ; *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. i, p. 672. Nous ne citerons que pour mémoire Fr. Erdmann, *Expeditio Russorum Berdaam versus*, imprimé à Kazan de 1826 à 1832, d'après l'*Iskender-nâmé* du poète persan Nizhâmî.

[3] Defrémery, *Sadjides*, p. 46 du tirage à part.

[4] T. viii, p. 308.

[5] Au rapport d'Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 100, ces troupes se composaient de 300 Déïlémites, autant de *Ça'loûk* et de Kurdes, et environ cinq mille volontaires.

[6] Sauf les cavaliers, dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 101 [parce qu'ils purent s'enfuir].

[7] Pour prêter main-forte aux troupes du Sultan qui entouraient encore la ville (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loc. laud.*).

[8] Trois jours dans Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*

[9] Dont ils ouvrirent les portes (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 102).

disant de racheter leur vie. Un chrétien[1] s'interposa et fixa une rançon de vingt dirhems pour chaque homme ; les gens raisonnables acceptèrent[2] ; quand les Russes virent qu'ils ne pouvaient venir à bout de ces gens, ils les massacrèrent jusqu'au dernier ; il n'en réchappa que ceux qui réussirent à fuir[3]. Les Russes réduisirent les prisonniers en esclavage et choisirent parmi les femmes celles qui leur plurent.

"Après que les Russes eurent agi comme nous venons de le dire, cela parut épouvantable aux musulmans ; ils se soulevèrent au son de la trompette ; el-Marzobân rassembla le peuple et l'excita à combattre ; le nombre de ceux qui se placèrent sous ses ordres se monta à trente mille hommes. Il partit à leur tête, mais il ne chercha pas à résister aux Russes : il les attaquait tantôt le matin, tantôt le soir, et chaque fois il en revenait en déroute. Cela dura de nombreux jours. Or les Russes s'étaient dirigés du côté de Méràgha et mangèrent trop de fruits, de sorte que la dyssenterie les atteignit et que les maladies, suivies de mort, se multiplièrent parmi eux.

"Lorsqu'el-Marzobân vit que cette situation se prolongeait, il eut recours à la ruse ; il combina une embuscade (de la façon suivante) : il marcherait contre l'ennemi avec ses troupes, puis reculerait devant lui, et au moment où les soldats en embuscade se montreraient, il attaquerait de nouveau. Il communiqua ce projet à ses compagnons et disposa l'embuscade, puis il se porta à la rencontre des Russes[4] et les attaqua ; ensuite el-Marzobân et ses compagnons reculèrent, poursuivis par les Russes ; ils dépassèrent [dans leur retraite] le lieu de l'embuscade ; les troupes continuèrent à fuir, sans que personne s'occupât de son voisin. El-Marzobân a raconté lui-même cette aventure : 'Je criai aux hommes de revenir à la charge, mais ils n'en firent rien,

[1] C'était un secrétaire de cette ville, nommé Ibn-Sam'oûn (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

[2] Mais non les autres, qui accusaient Ibn-Sam'oûn de les soumettre à la capitation. Le secrétaire retira alors ses offres (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

[3] Par un conduit souterrain étroit qui amenait l'eau à la mosquée, ou encore ceux qui se rachetèrent en sacrifiant leurs trésors. Quand il ne resta plus rien à prendre dans les maisons ou les boutiques, les Russes remettaient à leur prisonnier un morceau d'argile scellé pour le mettre à l'abri de toute revendication ultérieure (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

[4] Ils étaient à pied, et leur chef était monté sur un âne (Ibn-Miskawaïh, p. 104).

à cause de la peur qu'ils avaient des Russes. Je compris que si les hommes continuaient leur déroute, les Russes en tueraient la plus grande partie, puis se retourneraient contre l'embuscade, la découvriraient et tueraient jusqu'au dernier ceux qui en faisaient partie. Je revins alors à la charge, suivi seulement de mon frère et de mon compagnon [*çâḥib*, son ministre][1], et je m'accoutumai à l'idée de périr martyr de la foi. A ce moment la plupart des Déïlémites, pris de honte, se retournèrent et chargèrent ; nous bataillâmes avec les Russes et nous criâmes à l'embuscade le mot de ralliement convenu entre nous. Celle-ci sortit derrière l'ennemi, et nous nous battîmes pour tout de bon ; nous tuâmes beaucoup de Russes[2], parmi lesquels leur chef : le reste se réfugia dans la citadelle de la ville, qu'on appelle Chahristân, où on avait accumulé des provisions considérables et où ils avaient enfermé leurs prisonniers, femmes et enfants, ainsi que leurs richesses.' El-Marzobân les assiégea et s'arma de patience.

" La nouvelle lui parvint alors que Aboû 'Abdallah el-Ḥoséïn ben Sa'îd ben Ḥamdân, cousin de Nâçir-ed-daula[3], avait été envoyé par celui-ci pour s'emparer de l'Adherbaïdjân et était déjà parvenu à Salmâs. El-Marzobân laissa des troupes[4] pour continuer le blocus des Russes, rejoignit le Ḥamdânide et lui livra combat ; puis la neige se mit à tomber, et les troupes du Ḥamdânide se débandèrent, parce que le plus grand nombre entre elles se composait de Bédouins. Ensuite le Ḥamdânide reçut une lettre de Nâçir-ed-daula l'informant de la mort de Toûzoûn[5], lui faisant savoir qu'il avait l'intention de se rendre à Bagdad[6], et lui ordonnant de venir le rejoindre ; ce qu'il fit.

[1] Suivant Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 104, il était suivi de son frère, de sa garde particulière (*khâçça*) et de ses esclaves (*ghilmân*).

[2] Sept cents, dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loc. cit.*

[3] Sur le fondateur de la dynastie des Ḥamdânides à Alep, voir Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, t. i, pp. 315, 316, 327, 328, 341.

[4] Cinq cents Déïlémites, mille cinq cents cavaliers Kurdes, deux mille volontaires (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 105).

[5] Émîr du Déïlem devenu émîr-el-omarâ, qui fit aveugler le Khalîfe el-Mottaqî et le remplaça par el-Mostakfî (Cl. Huart, *id. op.*, t. i, p. 315 ; *Al-Fakhrî*, éd. H. Derenbourg, p. 385 ; trad. Amar, p. 492 et note 2. Il mourut en 334 (945), non à Hît, comme le dit M. Amar, mais dans sa maison de Bagdad, au mois de Moḥarrem ; cf. Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 118).

[6] Pour y combattre Mo'izz-ed-daula qui venait de s'en emparer (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

"Quant aux troupes d'el-Marzobân, elles continuèrent d'assiéger les Russes, de plus en plus la proie de la maladie. Lorsque ceux-ci enterraient un homme, ils déposaient ses armes auprès de lui[1]; les Musulmans, après le départ des Russes [fouillèrent les tombes et] se procurèrent énormément de ces armes. Les Russes sortirent la nuit de la citadelle, après avoir chargé sur leurs épaules les richesses et autres objets qu'ils voulaient emporter[2], gagnèrent les bords du Korr, s'embarquèrent dans leurs navires et partirent. Les gens d'el-Marzobân furent impuissants à les poursuivre et à leur reprendre leur butin ; ils les laissèrent aller, et Dieu purifia le pays de leur présence."

En 337 (948), el-Marzobân se mit en marche vers Réï. "Il avait appris, en effet, que les troupes du Khorâsân menaient une expédition contre cette ville et que leur avance détournait loin de lui l'attention de Rokn-ed-daula[3]. Ensuite il avait envoyé un messager à Mo'izz-ed-daula[4] : celui-ci lui avait fait raser la barbe et l'avait couvert d'injures ainsi que son maître, car ce messager était sot. El-Marzobân jugea l'injure grave et se mit à rassembler ses troupes ; un des généraux de Rokn-ed-daula[5] avait réclamé sa sauvegarde et lui avait fait entrevoir la conquête de Réï, en l'informant qu'il avait derrière lui d'autres généraux qui attendaient sa venue. Confirmé dans ses ambitions, il se trouva en outre que Nâçir-ed-daula lui envoya un messager pour promettre de l'aider et lui conseiller de commencer par Bagdad ; mais el-Marzobân fut d'un avis différent. Il fit venir son père, ainsi que son frère Aboû-Mançoûr Wehsoûdhân, et leur demanda conseil à ce sujet ; son père lui déconseilla de songer

[1] Abou 'l-Ḥasan Moḥammed ben 'Abd el-Mélik el-Hamdânî (non el-Hamadhânî comme le dit de Goeje dans sa préface de *'Arîb, Ṭabarî continuatus*), auteur d'un supplément aux *Annales* de Ṭabarî conservé en manuscrit à la Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds arabe, N° 1469, t. i (unique), f. 90 v°, donne un récit très abrégé de ces événements ; il ajoute pourtant ce détail, "qu'on enterrait avec le Russe sa femme, et son esclave s'il l'aimait." Cf. Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 106, l. 1.

[2] Ils brûlèrent le reste et emmenèrent ce qu'ils voulurent de femmes et d'enfants (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 106).

[3] Frère de Mo'izz-ed-daula.

[4] Aḥmed ben Boûyè s'était emparé de Bagdad le 11 djoumâda I 334 (19 décembre 945), avait reçu du Khalîfe le titre de Mo'izz-ed-daula, et était devenu le véritable maître du Khalîfat. Cl. Huart, *op. cit.*, t. i, p. 315 ; Sykes, *History of Persia*, t. ii, p. 94.

[5] 'Alî ben Djawânqoûla ; dans Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 174.

à Réï, mais il n'agréa pas cette manière de voir ; lorsqu'il prit congé de lui, son père se mit à pleurer : 'Où te chercherai-je, mon cher fils, après cette journée ?' lui dit-il. El-Marzobân répondit: 'Ou dans le palais du gouvernement à Réï, ou parmi les morts.'

" Informé de cette attaque, Rokn-ed-daula écrivit à ses deux frères 'Imâd-ed-daula et Mo'izz-ed-daula pour réclamer leur secours ; le premier lui envoya deux mille cavaliers[1], et le second une armée sous le commandement de Subuk-Tégîn, le Turc[2], ainsi qu'un engagement, de la part du Khalîfe el-Moṭî'-lillah, promettant le gouvernement du Khorâsân à Rokn-ed-daula.

" Quand l'armée fut arrivée à Dînawar, les Déïlémites se révoltèrent contre Subuk-Tégîn et entourèrent de nuit sa tente ; mais il enfourcha un cheval de rechange (*nauba*) et fut sauvé ; les Turcs se rassemblèrent autour de lui, et les Déïlémites reconnurent qu'ils n'étaient pas en force pour réussir ; ils revinrent à lui et le supplièrent [de leur pardonner] ; il agréa leurs excuses.

" Rokn-ed-daula avait commencé à ruser avec el-Marzobân ; il lui avait écrit avec soumission et en le couvrant d'honneurs ; il lui demandait de renoncer à son attaque, à la condition qu'il lui livrerait les villes de Zendjân, d'Abhar et de Qazwîn.

" Les envoyés allèrent et vinrent à ce sujet jusqu'à l'arrivée des renforts expédiés par 'Imâd-ed-daula et Mo'izz-ed-daula ; alors Rokn-ed-daula prit avec lui Moḥammed ben 'Abd-er-Razzâq[3], et el-Ḥasan ben el-Fîrôzân[4] lui envoya des troupes sous les ordres de Moḥammed ben Mâkân[5]. Lorsque le rassemblement fut nombreux, il fit arrêter et incarcérer un groupe de généraux qu'il soupçonnait, et partit

[1] Sous le commandement du chambellan Bars (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 175).

[2] Chambellan de Mo'izz-ed-daula (Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 255 ; Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Ce personnage s'était révolté contre Noûḥ le Samanide à Nîchâpour, dont il était probablement le gouverneur (Zhahîr-eddîn, éd. Dorn, p. 182, l. 14).

[4] Général des Samanides, fils d'un oncle paternel de Mâkân et sa créature. (Cf. Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 250, n. 75 ; Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 35, l. 7.)

[5] Sur ce personnage, chef des troupes de Khorâsân, voir Defrémery, *Samanides*, pp. 151, 152.

pour Qazwîn. El-Marzobân reconnut qu'il ne pourrait avoir raison de lui, mais il refusa de s'en retourner; la rencontre eut lieu, l'armée d'el-Marzobân[1] fut mise en déroute, lui-même fait prisonnier[2] et transporté à Soméïram[3], où il fut enfermé. Rokn-ed-daula s'en retourna, et Moḥammed ben 'Abd-er-Razzâq s'établit dans les cantons de l'Adherbaïdjân.

"Quant aux compagnons d'el-Marzobân[4], ils se rassemblèrent autour de son père Moḥammed ben Mosâfir et le chargèrent de les commander. Son fils Wehsoûdhân s'enfuit d'auprès de lui et se réfugia dans une forteresse qui lui appartenait. Moḥammed agit mal à l'égard de l'armée, et les soldats voulurent le mettre à mort: il s'enfuit auprès de son fils Wehsoûdhân qui le fit enfermer dans une prison étroite[5] où il resta jusqu'à sa mort[6]. Wehsoûdhân, embarrassé dans ses affaires, appela [à son aide] Daïsam le Kurde, parce que les Kurdes lui obéissaient; il lui donna des forces et l'expédia contre Moḥammed ben 'Abd-er-Razzâq[7]; dans la rencontre qui eut lieu, Daïsam fut mis en déroute; Moḥammed ben 'Abd-er-Razzâq devint fort, s'établit dans les cantons de l'Adherbaïdjân, et y perçut les impôts; puis il retourna à

[1] Elle se composait ce jour-là de cinq mille Déïlémites, Gîls et Kurdes (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 175).

[2] Après être resté ferme au centre, les deux ailes étant en déroute, avoir vu tomber devant lui son beau-père Béli-wedènd Asfdjân بلى وند اسفجان, et capturer 'Alî ben Mîchékî surnommé Bollaṭ, Moḥammed ben Ibrâhîm et un certain nombre de ses principaux lieutenants (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *loco laud.*).

[3] Ville de l''Irâq-'adjémî, située à mi-chemin entre Chîrâz et Ispahân, sur la limite de la province du Fârs (Yâqoût, dans Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 321). Ibn-el-Athîr a passé sous silence tout un chapitre d'Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 176-178, où celui-ci rapporte les paroles mêmes du vizir Abou 'l-Faḍl ben el-'Amîd, chargé de conduire le prisonnier à destination par la route d'Ispahân.

[4] Échappés au désastre, tels que Djestân ben Charmzan, 'Alî ben el-Faḍl, Chah-Fîroûz ben Kurdôyè, et deux mille hommes de troupe (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 178-179).

[5] La forteresse de Sîsadjân où il se trouvait lui-même (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 179), à seize parasanges d'Ardébîl (Yâqoût, dans Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 335; Içṭakhrî, p. 193; Ibn-Ḥauqal, p. 252).

[6] Il mourut avant que son fils el-Marzobân s'échappât de sa prison de Soméïram (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*). Cet événement est décrit en détail plus loin.

[7] Nommé gouverneur de l'Adherbaïdjân par Rokn-ed-daula (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

Réï en 338 (949), entretint une correspondance avec l'émîr Noûḥ[1], lui envoya des présents et lui demanda pardon ; celui-ci accueillit ses excuses et écrivit à Wouchmgîr de conclure une trêve avec lui, ce qui fut fait. Ensuite Moḥammed retourna à Ṭoûs en 339 (950), lorsque Mançoûr s'en vint attaquer Réï[2]."

En 341 (952) Daïsam ben Ibrâhîm Aboû-Sâlim s'enfuit de l'Adherbaïdjân ; nous venons de raconter la conquête qu'il en avait faite. Quant à la cause de sa fuite, c'est que Rokn-ed-daula avait fait arrêter un de ses généraux nommé 'Alî ben Mîchèkî ; celui-ci s'évada et gagna la montagne ; il y recruta des partisans, se rendit auprès de Wehsoûdhân, fils d'el-Marzobân, et s'entendit avec lui ; ils se prêtèrent un concours mutuel contre Daïsam. Ensuite el-Marzobân, comme nous le verrons plus loin, s'empara de la forteresse de Soméïram ; des lettres, où il annonçait sa délivrance, parvinrent à son frère et à 'Alî ben Mîchèkî ; il écrivit de même aux Déïlémites pour les mettre de son parti. Or Daïsam ne connaissait pas son évasion ; il pensait que Wehsoûdhân et 'Alî ben Mîchèkî le combattaient [seuls]. Il avait un ministre connu sous le nom d'Aboû-'Abdallah en-No'aïmî ; désireux de lui confisquer sa fortune, il le fit arrêter, et prit pour secrétaire un homme qui écrivit à ce ministre ; celui-ci, usant de ruse, répondit affirmativement à tout ce qu'il demandait et le lui garantit au moyen d'une somme d'argent ; alors Daïsam le mit en liberté, lui livra son secrétaire et le rétablit dans sa situation. Puis Daïsam partit, le laissant à Ardébîl comme son lieutenant pour y percevoir l'argent qu'il lui avait prodigué. Après cela en-No'aïmî fit mettre à mort ce secrétaire et s'enfuit, avec tout ce qu'il possédait, auprès d' 'Alî ben Mîchèkî.

"Daïsam était dans les environs de Zendjân quand cette nouvelle lui parvint. Il retourna à Ardébîl, mais les Déïlémites essayèrent de provoquer des troubles dirigés contre lui, et il leur distribua les sommes d'argent qu'il possédait. La nouvelle lui étant arrivée qu' 'Alî ben Mîchèkî marchait sur Ardébîl à la tête d'une troupe peu nombreuse, il courut à sa rencontre ; dans la bataille qui fut livrée, les Déïlémites

[1] Noûḥ, fils de Naçr, le Samanide.

[2] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. VIII, pp. 360-361. Il s'agit de Mançoûr, fils de Qara-Tégîn, qui attaqua Réï en 339. Cf. Defrémery, *Samanides*, pp. 147-148.

le quittèrent pour se joindre à 'Alî ; Daïsam, en déroute, s'enfuit en Arménie entouré d'un petit nombre de Kurdes. Les rois d'Arménie lui portèrent quelque chose dont il se saisit.

" Là, il apprit le départ d'el-Marzobân, sorti de la forteresse de Soméïram, pour Ardébîl, sa conquête de l'Adherbaïdjân, et l'envoi d'un corps expéditionnaire de son côté. Le séjour lui devenant impossible, il s'enfuit d'Arménie vers Mossoul et Bagdad, où il arriva en l'année 342 (953)[1]. Mo'izz-ed-daula le reçut avec honneur et le traita généreusement[2] ; il séjourna auprès du Bouïde, menant une vie agréable.

" Puis sa famille et ses compagnons, restés en Adherbaïdjân, lui écrivirent pour réclamer sa présence ; il partit de Bagdad en 343 (954), après avoir demandé à Mo'izz-ed-daula le secours d'une armée ; mais celui-ci ne put accéder à cette demande, parce que el-Marzobân avait fait la paix avec Rokn-ed-daula et avait même épousé sa fille ; il n'était pas possible à Mo'izz de se mettre en opposition avec son frère.

" Daïsam se rendit d'abord auprès de Nâçir-ed-daula ben Hamdân à Mossoul, lui demandant un appui qui lui fut refusé ; puis il alla trouver Séïf-ed-daula en Syrie, et il séjourna auprès de lui jusqu'en 344 (955).

" Il arriva qu'une groupe [de mécontents] se révolta contre el-Marzobân à Bâb el-Abwâb (Derbend) et que celui-ci se mit en marche pour le réduire. Alors un chef des Kurdes de l'Adherbaïdjân envoya [un messager] à Daïsam pour lui demander de venir dans cette province pour le soutenir contre celui qui y régnait : en conséquence, il s'y rendit et s'y empara de la ville de Salmâs. El-Marzobân envoya contre lui un de ses généraux qui le combattit ; mais les troupes de ce général se joignirent à celles de Daïsam, et le général s'enfuit, tandis que Daïsam entrait à Salmâs.

" Quand el-Marzobân eut terminé l'affaire de ceux qui s'étaient révoltés contre lui, il revint en Adherbaïdjân ; Daïsam, ayant senti qu'il approchait, quitta Salmâs et se

[1] Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 199.

[2] Il lui concéda un fief rapportant cinquante mille dinars par an (Ibn-Miskawaïh, *ibid.*).

rendit en Arménie auprès d'Ibn-ed-Dîrânî[1] et d'Ibn-Ḥâdjîq[2], parce qu'il avait confiance en eux : el-Marzobân écrivit alors à Ibn-ed-Dîrânî en lui ordonnant de se saisir de sa personne ; le prince arménien s'en défendit d'abord, puis par crainte d'el-Marzobân, il fit arrêter son hôte ; el-Marzobân lui ordonna alors de le lui envoyer ; Ibn-ed-Dîrânî refusa d'abord, puis il fut contraint de le livrer. Une fois en possession de son ennemi, el-Marzobân lui fit crever les yeux et le rendit aveugle, puis il le garda en prison. À la mort d'el-Marzobân, l'un de ses partisans mit à mort Daïsam par crainte des malheurs qu'il pourrait provoquer."

EL-MARZOBÂN S'EMPARE DE SOMÉÏRAM.

"Nous avons parlé de la captivité d'el-Marzobân et de son emprisonnement à Soméïram : voici comment il fut délivré[3]. Sa mère Kharâsôyè était la fille de Djestân ben Wehsoûdhân le roi ; elle réunit un certain nombre d'individus pour travailler à sa délivrance[4]. Ces gens se rendirent à Soméïram en se faisant passer pour des négociants à qui el-Marzobân aurait pris des marchandises précieuses, sans qu'ils en eussent reçu le prix. Ils entrèrent en correspondance avec l'administrateur de Soméïram, connu sous le nom de Chîr Asfâr[5], et lui firent connaître l'injustice dont ils avaient à se plaindre de la part d'el-Marzobân ; ils lui demandèrent de les mettre en rapports avec celui-ci pour qu'ils pussent discuter les comptes avec lui et pour recevoir de lui une lettre autographe, adressée à sa mère, annonçant la remise des biens à leurs propriétaires.

[1] Khatchik Gagik, roi du Vaspourakan, dont il a été question plus haut.

[2] S'il n'y a pas d'erreur dans le texte, ce serait un fils dudit Gagik.

[3] Tout d'abord, il s'était refusé à prendre de la nourriture et de la boisson ; Rokn-ed-daula, informé de la situation, ordonna de lui envoyer son cuisinier habituel, dans lequel il avait confiance ; une fois que celui-ci fut rendu à destination, el-Marzobân voulut se servir de lui pour s'échapper ; comme ce cuisinier était un homme léger, il laissa transpirer son secret, et le gouverneur le fit précipiter du haut des tours (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. VI, p. 200).

[4] C'étaient des individus qui s'étaient réfugiés auprès d'elle. Ibn-Miskawaïh donne les noms de deux d'entre eux, mais ils sont illisibles.

[5] C'est ainsi qu'écrit Ibn-Miskawaïh ; le Béchîr Asfâr d'Ibn-el-Athîr provient d'une préposition malencontreuse qui s'est trouvée sous sa plume la première fois qu'il a cité ce nom, et que les copistes ont servilement reproduite les autres fois.

"Chîr Asfâr fut pris de compassion pour eux et leur facilita une entrevue. Ils réclamèrent donc leur bien à el-Marzobân qui nia d'abord; puis l'un d'entre eux lui fit un signe de l'œil; il comprit, reconnut sa dette et leur dit: '[Laissez-moi] réfléchir à ce qui vous appartient, car je n'en connais pas la quantité.' En conséquence, ils séjournèrent en cet endroit et prodiguèrent l'argent à Chîr Asfâr et à ses troupes, et leur garantirent des sommes importantes qu'ils leur payeraient lors du règlement du compte avec el-Marzobân. Pour cette raison, ils se mirent à entrer dans la forteresse sans autorisation, eurent des entrevues fréquentes avec le prisonnier, et lui firent parvenir des sommes provenant de sa mère, ainsi que des nouvelles; ils apprirent aussi de lui quelle était sa situation.

"Or Chîr Asfâr avait un esclave imberbe, d'un beau visage, qui portait son bouclier et son javelot. El-Marzobân manifesta une violente passion pour ce jeune garçon, et lui fit présent de sommes considérables sur l'argent provenant de sa mère; il s'accorda avec lui pour ce qu'il désirait, et celui-ci lui fit parvenir une cotte de mailles et des limes avec lesquelles il lima ses fers; puis el-Marzobân, cet esclave et les prétendus négociants venus pour le délivrer s'entendirent pour tuer Chîr Asfâr à un jour qui fut fixé Or Chîr Asfâr allait rendre visite à el-Marzobân chaque semaine, ce jour-là, pour l'examiner, ainsi que ses chaînes, et lui conseiller la patience, puis il s'en retournait.

"Au jour fixé, un de ces négociants entra et s'assit auprès du prisonnier, tandis qu'un autre allait tenir compagnie au portier, et que le reste se tenait à la porte de la forteresse en attendant les cris [annonçant la réussite de l'entreprise]. Chîr Asfâr étant entré auprès d'el-Marzobân, celui-ci le traita aimablement, lui demanda de le relâcher, el lui prodigua des sommes d'argent considérables et des fiefs en grand nombre, mais le gouverneur les refusa: 'Je ne trahirai jamais Rokn-ed-daula,' dit-il. Alors el-Marzobân, qui avait retiré ses pieds des entraves, se leva et s'avança vers la porte; il prit le bouclier et le javelot au jeune esclave, revint auprès de Chîr Asfâr et le tua, aidé par le négociant qui était auprès de lui. De son côté, l'homme qui tenait compagnie au portier sauta sur celui-ci et le tua. Ceux qui attendaient à la porte entrèrent auprès d'el-Marzobân, tandis

que la garnison de la forteresse était dispersée[1]. Entendant le bruit des voix, les soldats se rassemblèrent, mais ils virent leur chef tué, et ils implorèrent la grâce d'el-Marzobân, qui la leur accorda et les fit sortir de la forteresse. Ses partisans et d'autres encore se réunirent auprès de lui; ses troupes devinrent considérables; il sortit [de sa prison], alla rejoindre sa mère et son frère et reprit ses possessions, comme nous avons raconté plus haut[2]."

En 346 (957) au mois de ramaḍân (novembre-décembre), el-Marzobân mourut en Adherbaïdjân[3]. "Quand il fut sur le point de trépasser, il légua son royaume à Wehsoûdhân son frère, et après celui-ci à son propre fils Djestân. Il avait ordonné précédemment à ses lieutenants, gouverneurs de forteresses, de ne remettre celles-ci, après sa mort, qu'à son fils Djestân, ou si celui-ci mourait, à son autre fils Ibrâhîm; si ce dernier mourait, à un autre fils nommé Nâçir[4]; et enfin, s'il n'en restait aucun [à ce moment-là], à son frère Wehsoûdhân.

"Quand il eut pris les dispositions testamentaires, dont nous venons de parler, en faveur de son frère, il lui fit connaître des signes convenus entre lui et ses lieutenants pour qu'il pût entrer en possession des forteresses. À sa mort, son frère Wehsoûdhân envoya aux lieutenants son cachet et les signes convenus; mais les gouverneurs lui exhibèrent le premier testament, et Wehsoûdhân pensa que son frère l'avait trompé en cela[5]. Il séjourna [d'abord] avec ses neveux, qui s'emparèrent du pouvoir à son exclusion, puis il sortit d'Ardébîl à la manière d'un fuyard pour se rendre à Ṭâram. Djestân prit en mains l'autorité, et ses frères lui obéirent; il choisit pour ministre Aboû-'Abdallah en-No'aïmî; tous les généraux de son père vinrent le retrouver, sauf Djestân

[1] Et occupée à jouer au trictrac (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 204).

[2] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, pp. 375-378.

[3] Cf. Abou 'l-Fidâ, éd. de Constantinople, t. ii, p. 107.

[4] Il avait un quatrième fils nommé Kaï-Khosrau کیخسرو, mais il n'avait pas fait mention de lui à cause de son bas âge (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 220).

[5] Il y avait un autre fait, passé sous silence par Ibn-el-Athîr. Ibrâhîm était marié à la fille de Walgîn ben Khorchîdh, grand personnage du Déïlem, qu'el-Marzobân avait fait emprisonner à Ardébîl; à la mort de celui-ci, l'épouse d'Ibrâhîm lui parla de son père et l'amena à se rendre en personne à Ardébîl pour mettre le captif en liberté sans l'autorisation de Wehsoûdhân, ce qui fâcha celui-ci (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 221).

ben Charmzan, qui songea à s'emparer de l'Arménie dont il était le gouverneur. Wehsoûdhân commença à semer la zizanie entre ses neveux et à les mettre en désaccord ; il excita contre eux leurs ennemis, jusqu'à ce qu'il atteignit son but et en fit mettre à mort plusieurs[1]." El-Marzobân avait été considéré par ses contemporains comme roi de l'Arménie, de l'Arrân et de l'Adherbaïdjân ; c'est pourquoi le géographe Ibn-Ḥauqal à réuni ces trois provinces sous une même rubrique[2].

III.

Djestân, fils d'el-Marzobân.

"En 349 (960), parut en Adherbaïdjân[3] Isḥâq, l'un des enfants de 'Isà ben el-Moktafî-billah, qui se décerna le titre d'el-Mostadjîr-billah et prêcha en faveur d'el-Mortaḍâ[4], de la famille de Moḥammed ; il revêtit le froc des derviches, fit montre de justice, ordonna de pratiquer le bien et d'éviter le mal ; ses adeptes se multiplièrent[5]. La cause de son apparition fut que Djestân, fils d'el-Marzobân, maître de cette contrée, abandonna la ligne de conduite de son père dans le traitement de l'armée, s'occupa de jeu et prit conseil auprès des femmes. Djestân ben Charmzan était à Ouroumiyya où il s'était fortifié, et Wehsoûdhân à Ṭâram excitait la discorde entre ses neveux. Ensuite Djestân ben el-Marzobân fit arrêter son ministre en-No'aïmî, lequel était allié par mariage avec le secrétaire de Djestân ben Charmzan, qui se nommait Abou 'l-Ḥasan 'Obéïdallah ben Moḥammed ben-Ḥamdôyè ; celui-ci fut très fâché de l'arrestation d'en-No'aïmî, et il amena son maître, Djestân ben Charmzan, à entretenir une correspondance avec Ibrâhîm ben el-Marzobân, qui était en Arménie ; par cette correspondance, il lui faisait

[1] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, pp. 388–389.

[2] Ibn-Ḥauqal, p. 236.

[3] "Dans la région de l'Arménie," dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 234. Le nom d'Isḥâq ne se trouve que dans ce dernier auteur, et seulement à la p. 237, avant-dernière ligne.

[4] Il prêta serment à Riḍà, dit Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 394.

[5] Il avait commencé par se rendre dans le pays des Gîls (le Gîlân) et s'était appuyé sur une groupe de Déïlémites *Ma'roûfiyya*, *Mosawwida* et Sunnites, tous musulmans, qui se révoltèrent et marchèrent sur l'Adherbaïdjân, où il put s'emparer d'un certain nombre de villes, entre autres celles qui s'étaient placées sous la souveraineté de Sallâr le Déïlémite [c'est à dire Djestân]. Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 234–235.

entrevoir le pouvoir. Celui-ci vint le rejoindre, et ils marchèrent sur Mérâgha, dont ils s'emparèrent. Quand Djestân ben el-Marzobân, qui s'était rendu à Berda'a[1], apprit cette nouvelle, il revint à Ardébîl et envoya un messager au fils de Charmzan et à son ministre Abou 'l-Ḥasan, il fit la paix avec eux et leur garantit la mise en liberté d'en-No'aïmî; ceux-ci [en revanche] renonceraient à seconder les entreprises d'Ibrâhîm, tandis que lui prêterait son concours à Djestân ben Charmzan et au frère de ce dernier, Nifâq ben Charmzan[2]. Ceux-ci échangèrent des correspondances et tombèrent d'accord pour l'attaquer. Puis en-No'aïmî s'enfuit des prisons de Djestân ben el-Marzobân et partit pour Moûqân, d'où il écrivit au fils d' 'Isà ben el-Moktafî-billah et excita sa convoitise à l'endroit du Khalîfat, lui promettant de recruter des soldats pour lui et de le mettre en possession de l'Adherbaïdjân. Quand il fut assez fort, il marcha sur l''Irâq; il avait avec lui trois cents hommes environ[3]. Djestân ben Charmzan le rejoignit, ce qui augmenta ses forces; le peuple lui prêta le serment d'allégeance, et son importance devint sérieuse. Alors Djestân et Ibrâhîm, tous deux fils d'el-Marzobân, marchèrent contre eux pour les combattre: quand ils se trouvèrent en présence, les troupes d'el-Mostadjîr se débandèrent[4]; il fut fait prisonnier et

[1] Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 236.

[2] Ce nom n'existe pas: il est le résultat d'une inadvertance d'Ibn-el-Athîr, car voici ce que dit le texte d'Ibn-Miskawaïh: "Djestân ben Charmzan et son secrétaire excitèrent la convoitise de chacun des deux frères, c'est à dire Ibrâhîm et Djestân, tous deux fils d'el-Marzobân, [en leur faisant croire] qu'ils étaient avec lui, jusqu'à ce qu'ils eurent achevé la construction du mur d'enceinte d'Ouroumiyya et de la citadelle inaccessible à l'intérieur de la ville et eurent multiplié leurs efforts pour y réunir des provisions et des armes. Alors les deux frères s'aperçurent en même temps de l'intention du fils de Charmzan d'user d'hypocrisie (*nifâq*) et d'inimitié [à leur égard]." Cela change un peu le sens de la phrase suivante dans Ibn-el-Athîr.

[3] C'étaient des Mosawwida (Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 237).

[4] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, pp. 394-395. El-Hamdânî, qui résume ces événements en trois lignes, appelle cet aventurier Aboû-Naçr ben el-Moktafî, f. 114 v°. Ibn-Miskawaïh donne le détail de la bataille: "Lorsque Djestân [ben Charmzan, qui commandait l'armée de l'anti-Khalîfe] eut rangé son armée, il s'avança vers ses troupes en leur recommandant de ne pas quitter les rangs, de garder le bon ordre, et de ne pas charger avant qu'il leur en eût donné l'autorisation. Il y avait parmi elles el-Faḍl ben Aḥmed el-Karkanî el Qaḥbatânî; ce sont une catégorie de Kurdes; avec Djestân [fils d'el-Marzobân] se trouvait une autre catégorie de Kurdes nommés el-Hedâmâniyya. Ceux-ci se portèrent à la rencontre des premiers, et les

exécuté; on dit aussi qu'il fut tué pendant la bataille; d'autres affirment qu'il mourut de mort naturelle[1].

"Quant à Wehsoûdhân, lorsqu'il constata le dissentiment qui régnait parmi ses neveux, et qu'il vit que chacun d'eux ne s'occupait que de tromper son voisin, il écrivit à Ibrâhîm, après l'incident d'el-Mostadjîr, et le pria de venir le voir; celui-ci lui rendit visite; son oncle le traita généreusement et le combla de présents de nature à le satisfaire. Il écrivit aussi à Nâçir, son autre neveu, et chercha à le séduire; celui-ci quitta alors son frère Djestân et partit pour Moûqân. Or les troupes jugèrent que sa présence était un bon moyen d'acquérir des richesses: la plupart d'entre elles abandonnèrent Djestân et allèrent rejoindre son frère Nâçir, de sorte que celui-ci, grâce à leur présence, devint plus fort que son frère Djestân et put s'emparer d'Ardébîl[2].

"Après cela, les soldats réclamèrent de l'argent à Nâçir, mais il ne put leur en donner. Son oncle Wehsoûdhân cessa de lui fournir des secours; il comprit alors que celui-ci le trompait; il écrivit à son frère Djestân, et ils firent la paix; ils se réunirent, mais ils étaient tous deux extrêmement dépourvus d'argent et dans le trouble des affaires. Les chefs des diverses régions s'emparèrent de ce qu'ils avaient sous la main; Djestân et Nâçir furent contraints de se rendre auprès de leur oncle Wehsoûdhân avec leur mère; ils lui écrivèrent à ce sujet, prirent de lui des engagements et enfin se rendirent auprès de lui.

"Quand ils furent arrivés, il rompit ses engagements, les trompa, fit arrêter Djestân, Nâçir, et leur mère, prit possession de l'armée, en donna le commandement à son fils Ismâ'îl, lui confia la plus grande partie de ses forteresses, produisit ses richesses et satisfit les troupes.

lignes de Djestân ben Charmzan furent enfoncées; il quitta alors la place qu'il occupait avec les Déilémites pour reprocher à el-Fadl d'avoir désobéi à ses ordres et le ramener vers lui; mais il trouva qu'il s'était éloigné, et il le suivit; ses troupes ne doutèrent pas qu'il ne s'enfuît, et le suivirent, de sorte que la déroute devint certaine. Les Hedâmâniyya et les soldats de Djestân et Ibrâhîm les poursuivirent, et Djestân ben Charmzan fut contraint de se retirer à Ouroumiyya."

[1] "On ne sait pas ce qu'il advint de lui," dit Ibn-Miskawaïh, *l.l.*; "toutefois j'ai entendu dire qu'il avait été tué; j'ai entendu dire aussi qu'il était décédé de mort subite dans sa prison."

[2] Djestân dut se réfugier dans la forteresse de Bîz (?), Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 238.

"Ibrâhîm était parti pour l'Arménie ; il se prépara à disputer le terrain à Ismâ'îl et à délivrer ses deux frères de la prison où les tenait leur oncle Wehsoûdhân. Quand celui-ci sut cela et constatait que le peuple se réunissait autour de la personne de son neveu, il se hâta de faire mettre à mort Djestân, Nâçir, et leur mère ; il écrivit à Djestân ben Charmzan et lui demanda d'aller à la rencontre d'Ibrâhîm ; il lui fournit des renforts en hommes et des subsides en argent. Celui-ci agit en conséquence, de sorte qu'Ibrâhîm fut contraint d'enfuir et de rentrer en Arménie. Le fils de Charmzan s'empara de son armée, de la ville de Mérâgha, ainsi que de celle d'Ouroumiyya."

IV.

Wehsoûdhân ben Moḥammed ben Mosâfir.

"En 355 (966), Ibrâhîm ben el-Marzobân fut mis en déroute et chassé de l'Adherbaïdjân à Réï. En voici la cause : lorsqu'Ibrâhîm fut mis en fuite par Djestân ben Charmzan, comme nous l'avons dit, en 349, il se rendit en Arménie et commença à s'y préparer et à s'y équiper pour revenir en Adherbaïdjân ; les rois d'Arménie étaient [alors] des Arméniens et des Kurdes. Il écrivit à Djestân ben Charmzan et fit la paix avec lui. Un grand nombre de gens vinrent le rejoindre. Il arriva qu'Ismâ'îl, fils de son oncle Wehsoûdhân, mourut ; alors Ibrâhîm partit pour Ardébîl et s'en empara. Abou 'l-Qâsim ben Mîchèkî se rendit auprès de Wehsoûdhân et resta auprès de lui.

"Ibrâhîm se mit en marche dans la direction de son oncle Wehsoûdhân pour réclamer de lui la vengeance de la mort de ses frères ; son oncle eut peur de lui et partit, accompagné du fils de Mîchèkî, pour le Déïlem. Ibrâhîm s'empara des États de son oncle, fit battre (*khabbaṭa*) ses partisans, et confisqua les richesses sur lesquelles il put mettre la main. Wehsoûdhân rassembla des hommes, retourna à sa forteresse dans le Ṭâram, et envoya Abou 'l-Qâsim ben Mîchèkî, à la tête de troupes, dans la direction d'Ibrâhîm ; une bataille formidable s'engagea ; Ibrâhîm fut mis en déroute ; on le poursuivit, mais on ne l'atteignit pas ; il continua de marcher seul jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à Réï auprès de Rokn-ed-daula, qui le traita généreusement ; celui-ci avait épousé la sœur

d'Ibrâhîm; il déploya une grande magnificence à son égard et lui fit des présents splendides[1].

"Cette même année, Ibrâhîm ben el-Marzobân était avec Rokn-ed-daula et l'aida à combattre ces Khorâsâniens qui pillaient et dévastaient le pays sous le prétexte de lever des impôts pour la razzia[2].

"Cette même année encore, Ibrâhîm revint en Adherbaïdjân et reprit cette province. Lorsque Rokn-ed-daula se fut arrêté à la résolution de combattre les Khorâsâniens, il équipa des troupes qu'il fournit à Ibrâhîm, en lui donnant comme compagnon l'*ostâdh* Abou 'l-Faḍl ben el-'Amîd[3], chargé de le ramener dans sa province et de disposer en sa faveur les chefs des diverses régions. Celui-ci l'accompagna donc, s'empara de la province, disposa en sa faveur le chef Djestân ben Charmzan et l'amena à lui obéir, ainsi que d'autres chefs Kurdes; il le mit en possession du territoire.

"Ibn-el-'Amîd, en arrivant dans cette province, constata ses productions abondantes, l'ampleur de ses eaux, et vit ce que cela rapportait à Ibrâhîm[4]; mais il établit que c'était peu, à raison de sa mauvaise administration, et parce que tout le monde y prenait sa part (*wa-ṭama'i 'n-nâsi fîhi*), le prince étant occupé avec la boisson et les femmes. Il fit connaître la situation à Rokn-ed-daula et lui insinua de lui confier à lui-même une partie de la province, moyennant le paiement de ce que le prince pouvait en tirer et percevoir;

[1] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 420; Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 281–282.

[2] Ibn-Miskawaïh, qui était alors le bibliothécaire du ministre Abou'l-Faḍl ben el-'Amîd, donne des détails curieux et précis sur cette attaque, t. vi, pp. 283–290.

[3] Célèbre ministre de Rokn-ed-daula, surnommé le second Djâḥizh; il fut un épistolier remarquable: on l'appelait *ostâdh* "le Maître," et Ibn-Miskawaïh ajoute à ce titre *ḥaqq^{an}* "réellement." On dit que le ministre Ibn 'Abbâd reçut le surnom de Çâḥib parce qu'il était son compagnon habituel; toutefois eç-Çâbî donne une autre explication. Il a reçu les louanges de Moténabbi. On a placé sa mort à Réï ou à Bagdad en 359 (969) ou 360 (970). Cf. Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 258, note 92; Ibn-Khallikân, trad. de Slane, t. iii, p. 256 et suivantes; t. i, p. 213. El-Hamdânî place sa mort à Réï en 360, f. 132 v°, tandis qu'Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 446, le fait mourir à Hamadhân en 359; mais Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, p. 349, témoin oculaire, donne la date précise: nuit précédant le jeudi, 6 çafar 360 (8 décembre 970); c'est, en conséquence, le lieu et la date qu'il convient de retenir.

[4] Voir dans Ibn-Ḥauqal, p. 254, des renseignements intéressants sur le montant des impôts de la province en 344.

car la situation ne se maintiendrait pas dans son état actuel, et la province lui serait enlevée. Rokn-ed-daula refusa [d'acquiescer à cette proposition]: 'Je ne veux pas qu'on médise de moi,' dit-il, 'et qu'on puisse prétendre que je veux tondre un hôte qui m'a demandé ma protection.' Il ordonna à Abou 'l-Faḍl de revenir et de remettre le pays à Ibrâhîm, ce qui fut fait; puis Abou'l-Faḍl raconta à Rokn-ed-daula ce qu'il avait vu, et le mit en garde contre la perte de la province. On sait ce qui arriva: Ibrâhîm fut fait prisonnier et incarcéré[1]." C'est ce qui permit à Rokn-ed-daula de dire en 364 (974-975): 'J'ai aidé Ibrâhîm ben el-Marzobân, et je l'ai rétabli en Adherbaïdjân; j'ai envoyé mon ministre et mes troupes à son secours, et je ne lui ai pas demandé un seul dirhem: tout cela en vue de la bonne renommée et pour la sauvegarde de la générosité[2].'"

En 379 (989), Fakhr-ed-daula, fils de Rokn-ed-daula, s'empara de Samîrân, où se trouvait un enfant en bas âge, Noûḥ ben Wehsoûdhân, qui était sous la tutelle de sa mère; le Bouïde épousa celle-ci et devint ainsi maître de cette citadelle[3]. C'est vers cette époque que la forteresse fut visitée par Moqaddasî, qui l'appelle Samîroûm et a remarqué ses murailles, ornées de figures représentant des lions dorés, le soleil et la lune[4].

V.

IBRÂHÎM II BEN EL-MARZOBÂN II.

L'histoire ne nous apprend rien ni sur la fin du règne de Wehsoûdân, ni sur celui de son petit-fils et successeur el-Marzoban II, fils de cet Ismâ'îl qui mourut avant son père Wehsoûdhân. Nous passons directement au règne d'Ibrâhîm, fils d'el-Marzoban II, contemporain de Maḥmoûd ben Subuk-Tégîn, qui avait reçu du Khalîfe le titre de Yémîn-ed-daula et avait fondé la dynastie des Ghaznévides.

"En 420 (1029), Ibrâhîm avait pour domaine [les terri-

[1] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 422, qui abrège le texte d'Ibn-Miskawaïh, t. vi, pp. 293-294.
[2] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. viii, p. 480.
[3] Yâqoût, t. iii, p. 149; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 319.
[4] G. le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 226; Moqaddasî, p. 360.

toires de] Serdjihân[1], Zendjân, Abhar, Chehrizoûr[2], et autres places, dont il s'était emparé après la mort de Fakhr-ed-daula le Bouïde. Quand le sultan Maḥmoûd s'empara de Réï, il envoya el-Marzobân ben el-Ḥasan ben Kharânîs, descendant des rois du Déïlem, qui s'était réfugié auprès de lui, vers le pays du Sâlâr Ibrâhîm, pour le conquérir. Il s'y rendit, et chercha à gagner les Déïlémites; certains d'entre eux eurent de l'inclination pour lui.

" Il arriva que Maḥmoûd retourna au Khorâsân; alors le Sâlâr Ibrâhîm partit pour Qazwîn où se trouvait l'armée du sultan ghaznévide: il la combattit, tua un grand nombre de soldats: le reste s'enfuit. Il avait été aidé dans cette opération par les habitants du pays; il se rendit aussi dans un endroit près de Serdjihân, entouré de rivières et de montagnes; il s'y fortifia.

" Mas'oûd, fils de Maḥmoûd, qui était à Réï, apprit ce qui s'était passé; il partit en hâte pour le rejoindre; il y eut entre eux des événements où la victoire resta au Sâlâr Ibrâhîm. Puis Mas'oûd envoya des messagers à une groupe [de soldats] de l'armée de celui-ci et chercha à les attirer à prix d'argent; ils acceuillirent ses ouvertures et lui indiquèrent le point faible du Sâlâr, et ils conduisirent une partie de l'armée de ce dernier dans un chemin encaissé, en se plaçant derrière elle; ils tombèrent sur le Sâlâr Ibrâhîm le 1[er] ramaḍân pendant que Mas'oûd l'attaquait par devant alors que [les traîtres] se trouvaient sur ses derrières; le Sâlâr et ses partisans, troublés, s'enfuirent et chacun chercha un refuge [de son côté]; Ibrâhîm se cacha dans un endroit qui fut dénoncé par une femme préposée aux bagages (*sawâdiyya*). Mas'oûd le fit prisonnier et l'amena devant Serdjihân, où se trouvait son fils, et il lui demanda de lui livrer la forteresse, mais il s'y refusa. Alors le Ghaznévide

[1] Place forte dans les montagnes du Déïlem, dominant la plaine de Qazwîn, ainsi que les villes de Zendjân et d'Abhar. Elle a été détruite par les Mongols, au rapport de Ḥamdullah Mustaufî. Cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 307 et note 1; Yâqoût, t. iii, p. 70; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 223. Cette forteresse formidable a été ruinée par les Mongols et remplacée depuis par Çâïn-Qal'a. Cf. Mustaufî, *Nuzhat-el-Qoloûb*, p. 64.

[2] Chehrizoûr est située entre Irbîl et Hamadhân, en plein Kurdistan. Elle paraît assez éloignée des territoires occupés par les Mosâfirides; sa mention est peut-être le résultat d'une erreur.

abandonna son attaque, prit possession de ses autres châteaux et territoires, ainsi que de ses richesses ; il attribua une certaine somme au fils établi à Serdjihân, ainsi qu'aux chefs Kurdes des environs ; puis il rentra à Réï[1]."

En 427 (1036), 'Alâ-ed-daula, battu par les troupes de Mas'oûd le Ghaznévide qui formaient la garnison d'Ispahân sous les ordres d'Aboû-Sehl el-Ḥamdoûnî, le ministre, se réfugia à Boroudjird et de là à Ṭâram, où le fils du Sâlâr refusa de le recevoir : "Je n'ai pas la force," lui dit-il, "de m'opposer aux Khorâsâniens (c'est-à-dire aux troupes du Ghaznévide)." Alors il renonça à son projet[2].

En 434 (1042–1043), Toghrul-beg le Seldjouqide, continuant ses conquêtes, envoya un message au Sâlâr de Ṭâram pour l'inviter à le reconnaître comme suzerain et lui demanda de lui envoyer deux cent mille dinars ; la situation fut établie entre eux sur la base de la vassalité, moyennant le paiement de quelque argent[3].

En 438 (1046), Nâçir-i Khosrau visita Chamîrân. Le prince qui y régnait se nommait Djestân fils d'Ibrâhîm et portait le surnom d'Aboû-Çâliḥ ; les pièces officielles lui donnaient les titres de *marzobân* du Déïlem et de Gîl des Gîls. Le château était occupé par une garnison de mille hommes pris dans les familles les plus considérables du pays. La sécurité était grande dans la région où le prince possédait de nombreuses forteresses ; on n'osait y commettre de vols[4].

C'est la dernière fois que l'on trouve mentionnés les Mosâfirides ; ils se sont probablement maintenus dans leur territoire montagneux, mais ils ne jouent plus aucun rôle : les Seldjouqides ont constitué un grand empire qui rétablit encore une fois, pour quelque temps, l'unité de l'Iran.

[1] Ibn-el-Athîr, t. ix, pp. 262–263.
[2] *Id. opus*, t. ix, p. 304.
[3] *Id. opus*, t. ix, p. 348.
[4] Ch. Schefer, *Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, pp. 15–16.

CL. HUART.

INDEX

A VISIT TO THE TOMB OF BĀBĀ ṬĀHIR AT HAMADĀN

'The Persians,' says Herodotus, 'honor their birthday above all other days,' and it is a pleasure to join in honoring the birthday of my friend Edward G. Browne, whose scholarly work in the field of Iran has made him half a Persian.

During my fourth visit to the country which is so dear to his heart, I spent a week once again at Hamadān. Amid the busy days devoted to work connected with the American-Persian Relief Commission, more than a year and a half ago, I found one forenoon free to devote to visiting the tomb of the poet Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān, 'the Naked' and half-mad dervish, whose quatrains in the earlier half of the eleventh century have made him noted as one of the predecessors of 'Umar Khayyām. For a knowledge of his verses and dialect we owe much to Professor Browne, as well as to Huart, Heron-Allen, Mrs E. C. Brenton, Mirza Mehdy Khan, and others. But I do not happen to know of any description of the tomb where the dust of Bābā Ṭāhir has rested for nearly a thousand years.

I mounted my horse betimes in the morning and, accompanied by a *ghulām*, cantered off to make a sort of pious pilgrimage to the tomb which lies near to the outskirts of the northwestern section of the city. As I rode along, there kept running through my memory some of Bābā Ṭāhir's quatrains which I had long ago jingled into verse because they caught my fancy on account of their simplicity. Among them I recalled these on love:

I am your taper weeping tears of fire,
What else save that is a heart burned by desire?
    All night I burn, all day I mourn in grief,
Such nights and days 'tis thou who dost inspire.

Or again this to his sweetheart:

Thy tangled locks stream o'er thy cheek with art—
Rose joined with jasmine—never found apart.
    But when thou dost those tangled strands divide,
Clinging to every strand thou'lt find a heart.

And once more, those lines beginning *Agar dil dilbarah dilbar*, etc., playing throughout on 'heart' and 'sweetheart,' which may possibly have something of a Ṣūfī tinge:

If heart is sweetheart, what's my sweetheart's name?
And whence heart's name, if sweetheart be the same?
Heart and sweetheart blend all in one, I see;
Nor know I which—sweetheart or heart—to claim.

Yet a touch of bitterness or disappointment mars the finer poetic strain of the following quatrain:

Seven days blush tulips on the hilltop ledge
Seven days bloom violets on the streamlet's edge.
This truth I shall proclaim from town to town:—
'Seven days can rose-cheeked damsels keep a pledge!'[1]

Musing thus as my horse ambled along I found myself unexpectedly at the tomb, which stands slightly above the roadside.

There is nothing whatsoever impressive about the structure. It is a low building of brick, fifty feet square and about fourteen feet high[2]. There was no imposing façade or any evidence of the tomb's ever having been surmounted by a dome; only a small cupola-like elevation, built of mud and brick, rose above the righthand edge of the roof, and served apparently for ventilation, while a low conical construction of clay was erected on the ground close by the righthand corner of the building. The double-arched portal, which served as an entrance, was flanked on either side by arched recesses in the wall, the one of which, to the right, had a small latticed window, the other, to the left, an iron-grated doorway. A scraggy tree in front offered the only semblance of shade.

Passing around to the left side of the tomb, whose wall rested here on a basement of rough brickwork, as the ground sloped a little on this side, there were noticed five window-spaces. The one nearer to the front and the two which were nearer the rear were shielded alike by rather artistic iron gratings; the two smaller ones in the middle were screened by a lattice of brick that admitted light into the interior.

[1] For the Persian text of the quatrains which are here rendered, see Heron-Allen, *The Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir*, nos. 52, 40, 31, 50, London, 1902.

[2] The measurements of the base, as I took them in inches, were: front 600 in., sides 600 in., rear 450 in.; thus the back is somewhat narrower than the front.

Piercing the basement-wall itself was a low crumbling arch of brick, not more than two feet high exposed, that formed an opening through which one could peer down into the dark impenetrable recess where was once the grave over which the tomb was probably later erected.

The rear of the building, which was slightly narrower than the front, had two wooden doors, one on the extreme right and one in the middle, with an iron-screened window between them and two similarly screened windows to the left of the middle door. A small flower-garden at the back, enclosed by a wooden railing, showed signs of attention being given to the place.

The fourth side of the tomb had no windows, but three wooden doors, and at a distance of ten feet from the wall was built a low square structure that served as a room or 'pavilion' for a dervish (*ōtāq-i darvīsh* it was called). There were some unmarked graves on this side; a few flowers and vines conveyed again the impression of a certain amount of care. A couple of hundred yards distant was a domed grave, the earthly tenant of which had lived some eight hundred years ago, as I understood, and was named Khoris? (Khūrah?) ibn 'Alī, so far as I could catch the name.

By this time the Mullah in charge of the tomb had arrived from his home, not far away, having been sent for by the attendants. He was a kindly-disposed man, of about forty-five, and immediately unlocked the iron-studded doors into the tomb itself, and I stood in a moment within the place hallowed by Bābā Ṭāhir's memory.

The room was spacious, twenty-five feet square, and took up one half of the building; the remaining half, to the right, was given up to an unoccupied chamber. The vestibule to the sanctum was a hallway, running parallel with the front as far as the wall of this chamber; it measured twenty-five feet in length by nine feet eight inches in breadth, and the floor was covered over with matting. A lattice screen of wood[1], to which were tied bits of rags and shreds of ribbons that pilgrims had attached as souvenirs or as talismans for luck, enclosed the sepulchral space where stood three sarcophagi or cenotaphs made of *gach*. The eye, glancing upward, observed that the low vaulted roof, about thirteen

[1] This screen measured 70 in. high by 99 in. long.

feet high, was covered with a dull plaster that showed in spots the brickwork underneath, and was supported by pointed archways in the walls, while some broad honeycomb designs in the plaster, together with seven small niches for effect, lent the only architectural decorative feature. A door into the empty chamber on the right let in additional light.

Of the three sarcophagi, the one farthest to the right was a low cenotaph covered with an elaborately inscribed stone that bore the name Ḥājjī Mīrzā 'Alī.

The middle oblong cenotaph of *gach*, undoubtedly directly over the grave itself, was that of Bābā Ṭāhir. It measured six feet nine inches in length, two feet ten inches in width, and one foot six and a half inches in height; but there was no inscription giving the dead poet's name. On the top there was merely a box containing old copies of the Qur'ān, and near this stood a common blue European lamp, probably of Russian make, such as would be used in the kitchen or bedroom of a farmhouse. That was all!

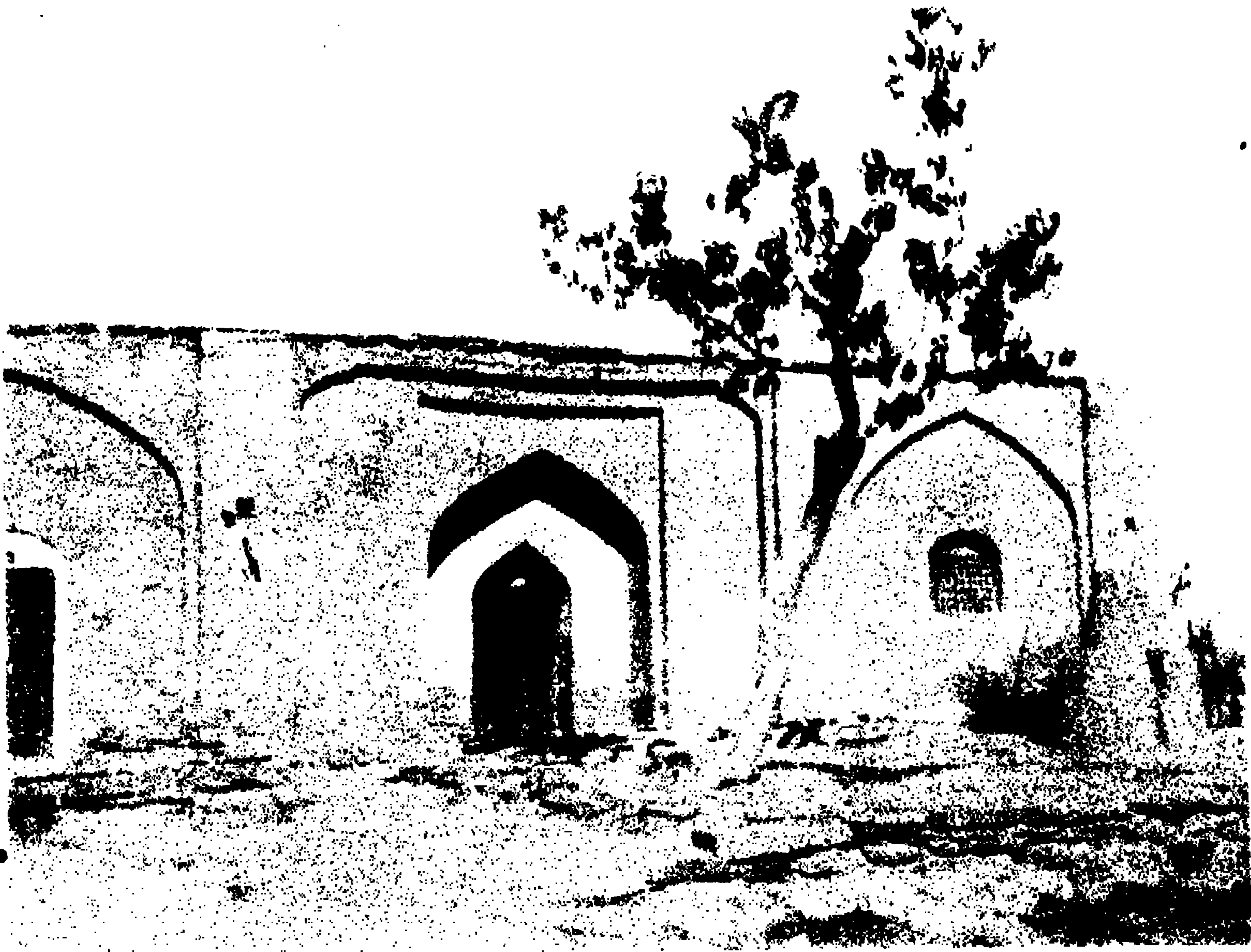
The third sarcophagus, the one close to the left, being only two feet away and matching it exactly in style though slightly smaller in size, had also an interest, because it was stated to be that of Bābā Ṭāhir's sister, Fāṭima Laylā (here pronounced 'Līlī'). The base of a metal candlestick, from which the taper had disappeared, stood at the foot.

A flood of light—for the hour had now reached noon—made the whole sepulchre bright and sunny. There was little suggestion of the 'narrow grave' (*gūr-i tang*), with its 'pillow of brick, clay, or stone,' or any of the added gruesome accompaniments which Bābā Ṭāhir pictured all too graphically in a gloomy quatrain forecasting his final resting place[1]. Far be it from saying that the place 'might make one almost in love with death,' as Shelley said of the resting place of Keats in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome; but there was a marked simplicity in it all, suitable to the simplicity which characterized Bābā Ṭāhir's own verses.

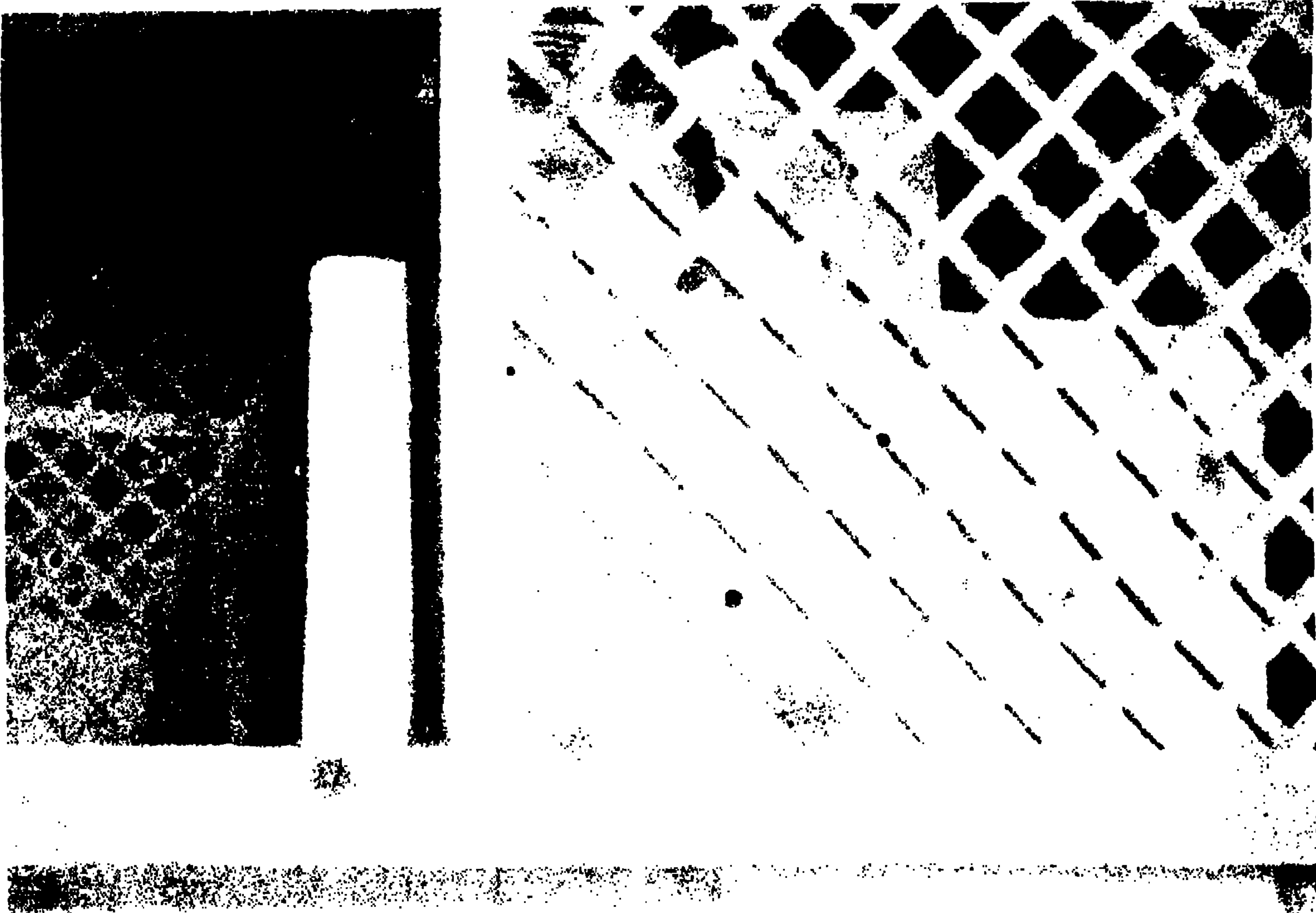
I mounted my horse once more and rode away, carrying with me these thoughts of the scene and living memories of the dervish quatrain-poet of nearly a thousand years ago.

[1] For this unpleasant quatrain see Cl. Huart, *Nouveaux Quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān*, no. 8, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 295, Bombay, 1908.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.



The Tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir at Hamadān



Bābā Ṭāhir's Sarcophagus



THE USE OF WRITING FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT ARABIC POETRY

We rely for our more intimate knowledge of Ancient Arabian civilisation upon two main sources, the traditions of the prophet collected by a host of men who made it their special profession, and in a higher degree the poems of the poets who flourished before the time of Muhammed and for about a century later. The interest in the latter died away at a fairly early date and became the field of labour for a rather limited number of philologists who collected and commented the poems. These commentaries together with the biographical literature connected with the life of the Prophet and the traditionists form the second basis for our knowledge of this civilisation which finally played such an important part in the history of the human race.

While it became a practice for the traditionists to establish an unbroken chain of authorities down to the Prophet himself, this was not done for poetry, except in a few cases, to judge from the collections of poems handed down to us, and we generally have to be content with the assertion that certain readings were those of al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr ash-Shaibānī, Ibn al-A'rābī, Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, al-Mufaḍḍal, Abū 'Ubaida and a few other grammarians. These grammarians, though cited as final authorities, are frequently said to have collected the Dīwān or collection of poems of a certain poet; very seldom, however, we learn whence they collected these poems. At the time the grammarians took the older poets in hand, the taste for poetry had already changed considerably; we can ascertain this with a fair amount of certainty from the style employed by the poets contemporary with them of whom I need mention only Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī; in addition anthologies had come into fashion. The ancient poetry was at the turn of the 2nd century of the Hijra the field for word-hunters which laid the foundation for the Arabic

dictionaries of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and it was the merit of these grammarians to have preserved so many ancient collections of poems which would otherwise have perished, as the interest which evoked this early poetry had faded away with the memory of those times. Had not these grammarians and their pupils put these dīwāns on paper, practically the whole of this poetry would have perished within a further fifty years.

If we accept this assertion as substantially true, we must enquire how much of the older poetry had been preserved up to the time when the grammarians took in hand the work of *collecting* and commenting. The general character of the older Arabic poetry is such that the poems were composed for some specific purpose, in general the praise of the tribe of the poet; in the later periods also of individuals. However, we find among the most ancient poems already some which apparently were composed to display the poet's art in composing works of a literary style in which he employed high-sounding words and difficult rhymes, which no doubt met with applause as this style in certain directions grew into a mania for cramming a poem with so many unusual words that it became almost unintelligible to an ordinary audience; the poets who might be cited as examples are Ṭirimmāh, al-ʿAjjāj and Ruʾba.

The method for making a poem widely known was the recital of the poem by the poet himself or by one of his followers or pupils, called the carrier (Rāwī); the poet himself being "the one endowed with knowledge" (Shāʿir). We find frequent references in Arabic literature to the recital of the poems by the poets themselves, and I refer only to the account given in the Kitāb al-Aghānī[1] of the recital of the Muʿallaqa by al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza before King an-Nuʿmān and that of the Burdah by Kaʿb ibn Zuhair before the Prophet. I have, however, to go to later times to get a further glimpse into the activity of the poets and their manner of reciting. In the Kitāb al-Faraj baʿd ash-Shidda of Tanūkhī[2] the poet al-Buḥturī relates that he recited to the caliph al-Muʿtazz some verses while the latter was in prison. These verses the poet had originally dedicated to Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ath-Thaghrī, then in prison, and

[1] Agh. IX, 178.   [2] Vol. I, 89–90.

now made al-Mu'tazz believe that they were composed for him. Al-Mu'tazz took *the sheet of paper* (الرقعة) *on which the poem was written* and handed it to a servant who was present for him to keep in safety. Later, when he had obtained his freedom and become caliph, al-Mu'tazz was reminded of the poem and counting the verses rewarded the poet with one thousand dīnārs for each verse; 6000 dīnārs for the six verses.

The poetess Lailā al-Akhyaliyya[1] had a poetical quarrel with the poet an-Nābigha of the tribe of Ja'da and after the customary practice she attacked the tribe of the poet with her lampoons. They, therefore, held a public council and decided to lodge complaint against the offender with the ruler of al-Madina, by which probably the caliph 'Omar or 'Othmān is meant. This being reported to Lailā she composed further verses as a complement to her satire in which she says:

News has reached me that a tribe at Shaurān is urging forward jaded riding camels.

Night and morning is their embassy journeying with a sheet of writing to get me flogged! What a bad piece of work (on their part)!

It appears that the people who were to lodge the complaint brought the offending piece of poetry with them in *writing*.

Qaisaba ibn Kulthūm as-Sakūnī[2], a South Arabian chief, while intending to perform the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in the time before Islam, fell into captivity amongst the tribe of 'Āmir b. 'Uqail where he pined for several years. The poet Abuṭ-Ṭamaḥān al-Qainī happened to pass one day the place where Qaisaba was kept in fetters, who learning that Abuṭ-Ṭamaḥān was about to journey to Yaman, made him undo the covering of his saddle and wrote in Musnad or Yamanite script verses which finally led to his rescue and liberation.

It may be considered that these instances are isolated, and that after all the poetry of the desert was handed down by oral tradition and that the poems were composed and remembered first by the poet himself and finally transmitted by his Rāwī and, when the latter had died, by his tribesmen

[1] Agh. IV, 134^{7-11}. Goldziher, *Ḥuṭai'a*, p. 19.
[2] Agh. XI, 130–131.

who had either an interest in the preservation of the poem or admired it for the beauty of the diction.

But we can get a further insight that writing was not so uncommon in Arabia as is generally assumed; if we read the verses of poets come down to us, we find there very frequent references to writing and I give in the following only a few typical examples; also that the art of writing had already attained a certain degree of perfection and that the poets had a sense for the beauty of ornamental writing. We find also that the older poets are not unacquainted with the use of writing and shape of letters.

The Rajaz poet Abun-Najm says[1]:

> I came from Ziyād like one who is bereft of reason,
> My legs tracing different characters,
> Writing on the road a Lām-Alif.

The author of the Khizāna tells us that the poet was blamed for revealing the fact that he knew writing, by whom he does not say, but probably by the grammarians who had put up the thesis that poets did not possess the knowledge of writing.

Very frequently in the earlier verses of a long poem the poet describing the deserted homestead compares the traces with writing or even with illuminated title-pages such as he may have seen in copies executed for wealthy lovers of literature.

Abū Du'ād al-Kilābi says[2]:

> To whom belong the remains of a dwelling like the title-page of a book, in the low ground of Ufāq or the low ground of aḏ-Ḏuhāb?

Al-Akhṭal has seen old manuscripts[3]:

> Just as if they were, through the length of time which has passed, decayed leaves of a book which are spread out.

[1] Khiz. I, 48, Shawāhid Mughnī

أَقْبَلْتُ من عِنْدِ زِيَادٍ كَالخَرِفْ
يَخُطُّ رِجْلَايَ بِخَطٍّ مُخْتَلِفْ
تُكَتِّبَانِ فى الطَّرِيقِ لَامَ أَلِفْ

[2] Bekrī 115[14]

لِمَنْ طَلَلٌ كَعُنْوَانِ الكِتَابِ * ببَطْنِ أُفَاقٍ أَوْ بَطْنِ الذُّهَابِ

[3] Dīwān, p. 156. 4

فَكَأَنَّمَا هِىَ مِنْ تَقَادُمِ عَهْدِهَا * وَرَقٌ نُشِرْنَ مِنَ الكِتَابِ بَوَالِى

Qais ibn al-Khaṭīm says[1]:

Do you know the traces (of a dwelling) like the lines of gilded (parchments)?

the word *maḏāhib* being explained as skins on which are lines of writing in gold.

Here we have one kind of material used for writing upon, while in the following verse of Imru'ul-Qais we get acquainted with another kind. He says[2]:

To whom belong the traces of a dwelling-place which I saw and which filled me with sorrow, resembling the hand-writing of a book upon South Arabian palm-bast?

Al-Baṭalyōsī[3] in his commentary informs us that the *'asīb* is the bast of the date palm stripped off the leaves and he adds that the Muslims at the time of the Prophet were using palm-bast and flat stones for writing, while Imru'ul-Qais specially mentions palm-bast because the people of Yaman were accustomed to write their deeds and agreements upon this material.

Ḥātim of Ṭayyi'[4] puts it even plainer that he himself and his audience were acquainted with writing and mentions another writing material in the following verse:

Do you know the traces of dwellings and a dilapidated camp-trench which is like *thy* handwriting upon thin leather scribed in lines?

Frequently we find, however, reference made to writing in another script than Arabic, a fact which has been interpreted as an admission of the poet's inability to read or write. The comparison, however, in these cases is more subtle; the poet cannot make out the meaning of the traces of the dwelling just as he is unable to read a *foreign* script. Instances of this manner of allusion to writing are the following.

Ash-Shammākh a poet of early Islam says[5]:

Just as a Jewish Rabbi in Taimā' writes Hebrew with his right hand, then draws lines (for further writing).

[1] Dīwān, ed. Kowalskī, No. 4, *v.* 1.

[2] Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, 63, *v.* 1.

[3] Ed. Cairo, p. 100.

[4] Dīwān, ed. Schulthess, 42, *v.* 1

أَتَعْرِفُ أَطْلَالاً وَنُؤْيًا مُهَدَّمَا * كَخَطِّكَ فى رِقٍّ كِتَابًا مُنَمْنَمَا

[5] Dīwān, ed. Cairo, p. 26. 7

كَمَا خَطَّ عِبْرَانِيَّةً بِيَمِينِهِ * بِتَيْمَاءَ حَبْرٌ ثُمَّ عَرَّضَ أَسْطُرَا

But much earlier al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza refers to another type of writing[1]:

Whose were those homesteads at al-Ḥabs which are effaced till their visible traces look like parchment-deeds of the Persians?

But if I could above refer to the poet al-Buḥturī reciting his poem from the written sheet, we are also told that the poet 'Uqaila ibn Hubaira al-Asadī[2] who lived to the time of Mu'āwiya handed the caliph a sheet (رقعة) on which he had written his verses, which probably were too emphatic in their expression to be recited publicly.

The poet Ḏur-Rumma when reciting his poems asks the listener to *write* them down, for he says:

A book does not forget or alter words or phrases which have taken the poet a long time to compose.

The text of his Dīwān in the oldest manuscript goes back to the poet himself.

We are further told[3] that an-Nu'mān ibn al-Munḏir, king of al-Ḥira possessed a collection (Dīwān) of the poems by celebrated poets in his praise and that of his family and that this collection finally got into possession of the Omayyad kings, or at least partly.

In Sukkarī's commentary to the poems of Zuhair ibn Abī Sulmā and his son Ka'b we are told that the collected poems of the family of Zuhair were preserved among the Banū Ghaṭafān because they resided among this tribe, though belonging to the tribe of Muzaina.

We get, however, more information in other quarters. Zubair ibn Bakkār relates[4] on the authority of a son of Jam'a the daughter of al-Kuthayyir, who said that among the *books* of his father containing the poems of Kuthayyir a certain poem was found.

Finally Farazdaq[5] tells us clearly that he possessed a copy of the Dīwān of the poet Labīd; that is, at a time before the oldest grammarians who are credited with the collecting of the ancient poems.

Still more important, however, is the fact that for all ancient poems we have a large number of various readings.

[1] Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ed. Thorbecke, 26, *v.* 1.
[2] Khizāna 1, 343.
[3] Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Hell, 10[13] ff.
[4] Agh. VIII, 30 bottom.
[5] *Naqā'iḍ*, p. 200. 1.

A great number of these variants are no doubt due to carelessness in handing down, whether caused by errors of hearing or writing, but there are quite a number of readings which can only be due to different interpretation of the unpointed letters of the very defective older Arabic script. Unfortunately only very few of the ancient collections of poems so far published contain really old glosses at first hand to enable us to point out to students these very important readings. I do not refer to the variants caused by careless writing at later periods, but the variants quoted by the earlier grammarians in the commentaries to the poems edited. As examples I cite only the following, which could be increased considerably by systematically going through the Dīwāns edited up to the present.

Dīwān 'Amir, ed. Lyall, 4, *v.* 2 أَبْدَنَا and أَبْرَنَا

7, *v.* 12 الخَمْش and الجِبْس

Hudalī poems, ed. Kosegarten, 20, *v.* 2 بالمَرْفِض and بالمَرْبِض

21, *v.* 8 سَفْعَاء and سَقْفَاء and سَقْعَاء

21, *v.* 16 ذَأْيَب and رَأْيِب

21, *v.* 21 المُقَرَّنَة and المُقَرَّبَة

22, *v.* 2 اسْتِلَال and انْسِلَال

22, *v.* 12 وَسُطَانَ and وَسْطَانَ and شَوْطَانَ

Dīwān 'Amr b. Qami'a, 1, *v.* 10 أَخْمَدَا and أَجْمَدَا

Dīwān Mutalammis, 1, *v.* 4 مُنْتَقِلًا and مُنْتَفِلًا

I have taken these passages at random, but in all cases it is impossible that the variants can be anything but different interpretations of the unpointed *written* text of the poems at a time before the commentators began to explain the poems.

I might even go further to suggest that the composition of poems and the art of writing were clearly connected, and probably the poet was also the person who wielded the magic art of writing. In addition, the very rhymes of most Arabic poems are more evident to the eye than to the ear. Some poets took a pride in composing poems rhyming upon a

letter which occurs only rarely at the end of words, as poems rhyming upon the letters ص ط and ز.

The Dīwān of Abul-Aswad ad-Du'alī contains a small poem, No. 20 in Rescher's edition[1], rhyming upon the letter ظ; against the poet Abul-Jārūd who, we are told, was unable to answer with a poem upon the same rhyme. As Abul-Aswad's life extended well into the time before Islam, we must assume that his striving after unusual rhymes was nothing new. It also seems to me to prove that letters and not sounds played a great part in the art of poetry, and I consider the subject important enough to be followed up further, as we may get more insight into the civilisation of Arabia before Islam.

I need hardly point out that frequent reference is made in ancient poems to deeds and treaties being drawn up in writing, also that from several poets we know that they were Rāwīs of older poets and, we might add, their pupils in this art. With the art of writing the pupil, if gifted, was also initiated in the art of poetry. This might also account to a great extent for the schematic trend of thought with its recurring comparisons of the same subjects. Ancient Arabic poetry as preserved to us was not the free effusion of the soul, it was practically without exception an artificial utterance of the mind, expressed more or less skilfully in accordance with the talent of the poet.

[1] W. Z. K. M. 1913, p. 382.

F. KRENKOW.

EIN TÜRKISCHES STREITGEDICHT ÜBER DIE EHE

Im Jahre 1918 sandte mir G. Jacob eine kleine armenisch-türkische Handschrift, die er seiner Erinnerung nach vor etwa zwanzig Jahren in Konstantinopel durch Vermittelung von Garabed Karakasch erhalten hat. Diese Handschrift ist ziemlich deutlich geschrieben; sie ist wohl um die Zeit, in der Jacob sich in Konstantinopel befand, aufgezeichnet. Da ihr Inhalt mir der Beachtung wert erscheint, teile ich hier den Text in Urschrift und Umschrift mit und füge eine deutsche Übersetzung hinzu.

Der Text in armenischen Buchstaben ist eine genaue Wiedergabe des Originals, dessen Schreibweise ich in allen Einzelheiten beibehalten habe; der Aufzeichner ist nicht immer konsequent gewesen, so z. B. in der Anfügung enklitischer Wörter wie *dir* und *ki* an das vorhergehende Wort, im Gebrauche von *itmek* und *etmek*, *virmek* und *vermek* u. a. m. Die Umschrift schliesst sich der Urschrift getreu an; nur ein paar Mal habe ich eine Verbesserung angebracht und durch ( ) bezeichnet, wo mir der Aufzeichner sich verschrieben zu haben scheint.

In der Umschrift habe ich dasselbe System befolgt wie in meiner Schrift *Das Malerspiel* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1918, 8. Abhandlung). Nach dem armenischen Alphabet geordnet würde es sich also folgendermaassen darstellen.

ա	*a*	ի	*i*	յ	*j*	ր	*r*
բ	*p*	լ	*l*	ն	*n*	ք	*k*
գ	*q*	խ	*ḫ*	շ	*š*	օ	*o*
ժ	*j*	կ	*g*	չ	*č*	ֆ	*f*
զ	*z*	հ	*h*	պ	*b*	ու	*u*
է	*e*	ղ	*ġ*	ս	*s*	էօ	*ö*
ը	*y*	ճ	*ǧ*	վ	*v*	իւ	*ü*
թ	*t*	մ	*m*	տ	*d*		

Das velare *ñ*, für das im *Malerspiel* ein eigenes Zeichen gebraucht ist, wird hier einfach durch ն *n* wiedergegeben. Der i-Nachschlag des arabischen *kāf* wird hier durch ե (*j*) bezeichnet.

Պիտարինին. Էվլի իլէ պէքեարըն տասիթանը.

1. Էվլիլէրլէ պէքեարլարըն էվսաֆըն
Շէօյլէ ֆիքր էյլէյուպ ղըլտըմ տասիթան
Իքի ղըսմըն տախի տիլէրէք աֆֆըն
Պիր խօշճա նազմ իլէ իտէլիմ պէյան

2. Էվէլ էվլի իտուպ պէքեարէ իթապ
Տէտի նէ պու հալին էյլէ պիր հէսապ
Պիր քէրրէ տիւշիւնքի էյ խանէ խարապ
Պու հալէ իրթիքեապ իտէրմի ինսան

BIDARININ. EVLI ILE BEKJARYN DASITANY.

1. *Evlilerle bekjarlaryn evsafyn*
Šöjle fikr ejlejub qyldym dasitan
Iki qysmyn daḫi dilerek affyn
Bir ḫošǧa nazm ile idelim bejan

2. *Evel evli idub bekjare itab*
Dedi ne bu halin ejle bir heṣab
Bir kerre düšünki ej ḫane ḫarab
Bu hale irtikjab idermi insan

VON BIDARI EIN LIED ÜBER DEN EHEMANN UND DEN EHELOSEN.

1. Der Ehemänner und der Ehelosen Eigenarten
Habe ich mir so überlegt und ein Gedicht gemacht.
Und indem wir auch beide Geschlechter um Verzeihung bitten,
Wollen wir nun in einem hübschen Liede erzahlen.

2. Zuerst schalt der Ehemann den Ehelosen
Und sprach: "Was ist das mit dir? Gib dir einmal Rechenschaft!
Denke einmal daran, du Heimloser,
Darf ein Mensch sich durch einen solchen Zustand versündigen?"

3. Պէքեար տէտի նէ տիր պանա պու ազար
Սուչում պէքեարլըգսա սէօյլէ աշիքեար
Լաքին պու տիւնեա տըր կէօնա կէօնի վար
Հէր քէս պիրէր եօլա օլմատա րէվան

4. Էվլի տէտի ֆագաթ պու եօլուն չարփըգ
Հէմ էմրի խիւտայէ տէյիլ մութապըգ
Կէր օլմագ իսթէրսէն հիւրմէթէ լայըգ
Պէքեար գալմա էվլէն պէն կիպի հէման

5. Պէքեար տէտի չօգ ուզաթմա սէօզիւ քէս
Սէնին կիպի շաշգըն տէյիլ տիր հէր քէս
Պու եօլա հէր քիմքի իթմէզսէ հէվէս
Պաշը տէրթտէն խէլաս օլմամըշ պիրան

3. *Bekjar dedi ne dir bana bu azar*
Sučum bekjarlyksa söjle ašikjar
Lakin bu dünja dyr g(jo)na g(jo)ni var
Her kes birer jola olmada revan.

4. *Evli dedi faqat bu jolun čarpyq*
Hem emr-i ḫüdaje dejil mutabyq
Ger olmaq istersen hürmete lajyq
Bekjar qalma evlen ben gibi heman

5. *Bekjar dedi čoq uzatma sözü kes*
Senin gibi šašqyn dejil dir her kes
Bu jola her kimki itm(e)zse heves
Bašy dertden ḫelas olmamyš biran.

3. Der Ehelose sprach: "Was geht mich dieser Tadel an?
Wenn die Ehelosigkeit meine Schuld ist, so sage es klar!
Aber so geht's in dieser Welt, sie ist von mancherlei Art;
Ein jeder wandelt seinen eigenen Weg."

4. Der Ehemann sprach: "Doch dieser dein Weg ist krumm.
Auch dem Befehle Gottes entspricht er nicht.
Wenn du einer Frau wert sein willst,
So bleib nicht ehelos, sondern vermähle dich wie ich sofort!"

5. Der Ehelose sprach: "Rede nicht viel! Halt ein mit den Worten!
Nicht jeder ist solch ein Narr wie du.
Ein jeder, der diesen [meinen] Weg nicht begehrt,
Dessen Haupt ist nicht einen Augenblick frei von Schmerz."

6. Էվլի տէտի պէքեար օլմաղըլա սէն
Սանքի պէրիմիսին տէրտ ու պէլատէն
Լաքին հիչ օլմազսա պազը պազը պէն
Չօլուգ չօճուղումլա սիւրէրիմ տէվրան

7. Պէքեար տէտի գարը էքմէք թուզ իսթէր
Մէսէլ տիր հէր շէյի տէրլէր տիւզ իսթէր
Ճանըլըպ եիւզ վէրսէն իքի եիւզ իսթէր
Պէօյլէ տիր էքսէրի թայֆէյի նիսվան

8. Էվլի տէտի պու սէօզ իթմէզ պիր բարէ
Սէն էվէլ կէօյնիւնի վիրուպ սէրտարէ
Պիր գանաաթ էհլի գատընճըգ արէ
Ազ չօգ գըսմէթինի վէրիր եարատան

6. *Evli dedi bekjar olmaġyla sen*
Sanki berimisin derd u beladen
Lakin hič olmazsa bazy bazy ben
Čoluq čoġuġumla sürerim devran

7. *Bekjar dedi qary ekmek tuz ister*
Mesel dir her šeji derler düz ister
Janylyb jüz versen iki jüz ister
Böjle dir ekseri tajfe-ji nisvan

8. *Evli dedi bu söz itmez bir pare*
Sen evel göjnüni virub serdare
Bir qanaat ehli qadynġyq are
Az čoq qysmetini verir jaradan

6. Der Ehemann sprach: "Dadurch dass du ehelos bleibst,
Bist du so etwa frei von Schmerz und Ungemach?
Aber ich wenigstens kann mir hin und wieder
Mit Weib und Kind die Zeit vertreiben."

7. Der Ehelose sprach: "Die Frau will Brot und Salz.
Es gibt einen Spruch: 'Alles—so sagt man—will er recht haben;
Wenn du aus Versehen hundert gibst, so verlangt er zweihundert.'
So ist meistenteils die Zunft der Frauen."

8. Der Ehemann sprach: "Diese Worte sind keinen Pfennig wert.
Vertraue du dich zunächst einem guten Freunde an
Und suche ein genügsames Frauchen;
Dann wird der Schöpfer dir wenig oder viel zu Teil werden lassen."

9. Պէքեար տէտի պու սէօզ պանա պիրատէր
Պիլմիշ օլքի իթմէզ զէրրէճէ էսէր
Օլ զէնճիրի թագըպ պօյնումա ախէր
Ճիհանը պաշըմա իտէմէմ զընտան

10. Էվլի տէտի բէք եանլըշտըր էֆքեարըն
Ասլա զընտան օլմազ եուրտու գարարըն
Հաթտա էկէր պուլտուն իսէ այարըն
Էվին ճէննէթ օլուր իշթէ օլ զէման

11. Պէքեար տէտի պէն հէր շէյի սէզէրիմ
Սանմա էվլէնիպտէ եիւրէք իւզէրիմ
Ազատէ պաշըմա սէրպէսթ կէզէրիմ
Իսթէտիյիմ եէրտէ իտէրիմ իսքեան

9. *Bekjar dedi bu söz bana birader*
Bilmiš olki itmez zerreğe eser
Ol zenğiri taqyb boinuma aher
Gihany bašyma idemem zyndan.

10. *Evli dedi pek janlyšdyr efkjaryn*
Asla zyndan olmaz jurdu qararyn
Hatda eger buldun ise ajaryn
Evin ğennet olur ište ol zeman

11. *Bekjar dedi ben her šeji sezerim*
Sanma evlenibde jürek üzerim
Azade bašyma serbest gezerim
Istedijim jerde iderim iskjan

9. Der Ehelose sprach: "Diese Worte machen auf mich, o Bruder,
Wisse es, nicht den geringsten Eindruck!
Ich mag nicht jene Kette an meinen Hals legen und schliesslich
Die Welt für mich zum Gefängnis machen."

10. Der Ehemann sprach: "Ganz falsch sind deine Sorgen:
Keineswegs wird dein Haus und Heim ein Gefängnis.
Ja sogar, wenn du das Rechte findest,
So wird dein Haus zum Paradiese, siehe, zur selben Zeit!"

11. Der Ehelose sprach: "Ich durchschaue alles;
Glaube nicht, dass ich durch Heirat [mein] Herz plage!
Frei, mein eigener Herr, ziehe ich dahin.
An jeder Stätte, die ich wünsche, siedle ich mich an."

12. Էվլի տէտի պիլսէն սէն պու լէզզէթի
Ճէհէննէմէ թէրճիհ իտուպ ճէննէթի
Յարընտան թէզի եօգ հէման նիյէթի
Տէյիշիւպ թէզվիւճ իտէրսին ինան

13. Պէքեար տէտի սէնին տէտիյին լէզզէթ
Էն չօղու ալթը այ սիւրէր նիհայէթ
Պալ այլարը կէչիւպ սօնրա աղըպէթ
Ղամէ թէպտիլ օլուր օ հալ նակէհան

14. Էվլի տէտի սէօզիւն տօղրու տըր ամմա
Պու հալի պիլէրէք ճէնապը մէվլա
Սիզէ պիր մասումճըգ էյլէյիպ իհտա
Իքինիզի տահի էյլէր շատիւման

12. *Evli dedi bilsen sen bu lezzeti*
Ğehenneme terğih idub ğenneti
Jaryndan tezi joq heman nijeti
Dejišüb tezevvüğ idersin inan

13. *Bekjar dedi senin dedijin lezzet*
En čoğu alty aj sürer nihajet
Bal ajlary gečüb sonra aqybet
Ġame tebdil olur o hal nagehan

14. *Evli dedi sözün doğru dyr amma*
Bu hali bilerek ğenab-y mevla
Size bir masumğyq (e)jlejüb ihda
Ikinizi daḫi ejler šadüman

12. Der Ehemann sprach: "Wenn du diese Wonne kenntest,
So würdest du der Hölle das Paradies vorziehen
Und noch vor morgen sofort den Sinn
Ändern und dich vermählen, glaube es!"

13. Der Ehelose sprach: "Die Wonne, von der du sprichst,
Geht in allerhöchstens sechs Monaten zu Ende.
Wenn die Honigmonde vorüber sind, dann schliesslich
Schlägt jener Zustand plötzlich in Kummer um."

14. Der Ehemann sprach: "Deine Rede ist wahr, jedoch
Da Gott der Herr dies alles weiss,
So macht er euch ein kleines Kindlein zum Geschenk
Und macht euch so alle beide glücklich."

15. Պէքեար տէտի օ տէրտ չէքիլմէզ հէլէ
Չօճուք աղլար իտէր սիւպհէտէք նալէ
Պիր եանտան գօբարըր գարը վէլվէլէ
Պու ղայլէյէ արթըգ սէն օլտէ տայան

16. Էվլի տէտի ճէվրի օլսա տա անըն
Չէքիլիր չիւն ճիլվէսի տիր խիւտանըն
Պէյիւտիւքճէ արթար էօմրիւ ինսանըն
Վարա վարա օլուր թազէ պիր ճիվան

17. Պէքեար տէտի ֆագաթ էօմրիւն հիչ օլուր
Պիր տէր իքէն իքի օլուր իւչ օլուր
Անլէրի պէսլէմէք ղայէթ կիւճ օլուր
Մէսարիֆտէն կէօզիւն աչամազ ինսան

15. *Bekjar dedi o derd čekilmez hele*
Čoču(q) aǧlar ider sübhedek nale
Bir jandan qoparyr qary velvele
Bu ǵajleje artyq sen olde dajan

16. *Evli dedi ǵevri olsa da anyn*
Čekilir čün ǵilvesi dir ḫüdanyn
Bejüdükǵe artar ömrü insanyn
Vara vara olur taze bir ǵivan.

17. *Bekjar dedi faqat ömrün hič olur*
Bir der iken iki olur üč olur
Anleri beslemek ǵajet güč olur
Mesarifden gözün ačamaz insan

15. Der Ehelose sprach: "Die Qual ist doch unerträglich.
Das Kind weint und schreit bis zum Morgen.
Von einer Seite her erhebt die Frau ein Geheul.
Gegen solch ein Elend wehre du dich dann nur!"

16. Der Ehemann sprach: "Wenn auch solch Ungemach besteht,
So wird es ertragen, da [dies] die Gnade Gottes ist:
Das Alter des Menschen nimmt zu, in dem Maasse, wie er heranwächst;
Und er wird mit der Zeit ein frischer Jüngling."

17. Der Ehelose sprach: "Dein Leben geht aber dahin.
Wenn du meinst, es wäre nur eins, so werden es zwei, ja drei.
Die zu ernähren ist sehr schwer;
Da kann vor Ausgaben der Mann sein Auge nicht auftun."

18. Էվլի տէտի պու տէտիյին խաթա տըր
Ընլէրին ըրզկընը վէրէն մէվլա տըր
Պէքեարլըղ պունլարտան պէթէր պէլատըր
Զիրա սօն տէմինտէ գալըր իւրիւրեան

19. Պէքեար տէտի պէն պիր զէնի նէյլէրիմ
Կիւնտէ պէշ օն թանէսինի բէյլէրիմ
Նէրտէ աղշամ անտէ սապահ էյլէրիմ
Սէֆա խուսուսընտա պէնիմ տիր մէյտան

20. Էվլի տէտի պէօյլէ գալմազ պու էյեամ
Պիր կիւն խասթէլէնուպ օլուրսըն պի կեամ
Պէլքի օլ տէմ սէնին մէսքեանըն էնձամ
Եա խան քէօշէսի տիր վէ եախոտ քիւլխան

18. *Evli dedi bu dedijin ḫata dyr*
Anlerin ryzgyny veren mevla dyr
Bekjarlyq bunlardan beter beladyr
Zira son deminde qalyr üpürjan

19. *Bekjar dedi ben bir zeni nejlerim*
Günde beš on tanesini pejlerim
Nerde aqšam ande sabah ejlerim
Sefa ḫususynda benim dir mejdan

20. *Evli dedi böjle qalmaz bu ejjam*
Bir gün ḫastelenub olursyn bi gjam
Belki ol dem senin meskjanyn engam
Ja ḫan köšesi dir ve jaḫod külḫan

18. Der Ehemann sprach: "Was du da sagst, ist Sünde.
Wer ihren Unterhalt gibt, ist Gott der Herr.
Die Ehelosigkeit ist ein schlimmeres Ungemach, als jene [es sind];
Denn beim letzten Atemzuge bleibt [der Hagestolz] mutterseelenallein."

19. Der Ehelose sprach: "Was soll ich mit einer Frau machen?
Jeden Tag kann ich mir fünf bis zehn von ihnen bestellen!
Wo ich den Abend [verbringe], dort verbringe ich auch den Morgen.
Im Bereiche des Vergnügens da gehört mir das Feld."

20. Der Ehemann sprach: "So bleibt es nicht immer.
Eines Tages wirst du krank und unglücklich.
Vielleicht ist dann dein letzter Aufenthalt
Entweder einer Herberge Ecke oder ein Aschenhaufen."

21. Պէքեար տէտի պէն օլ սէօզլէրէ ույմամ
Պիլմէտիյիմ ղուշըն թիւյլէրին սօյմամ
Սաղ պաշըմը քիթապ ալթընա ղօյմամ
Պու եախշի հալիմի իտէմէմ եաման

22. Էվլի տէտի եախշի եաման տէմիշլէր
Պու խուսուստա չօղու եալան տէմիշլէր
Տիշի ղուշ տըր եուվա եափան տէմիշլէր
Պու մէսէլի ֆիքր էթ ղըլ վիրտի զէպան

23. Պէքեար տէտի վար կիթ պէ հէյ տիվանէ
Հէր վաղըթ պէլատըր ղարը ինսանէ
Պիր քէրէ տիւշիւնքի ֆէյլէսօֆանէ
Հիչ ղարը ղըսմընա օլուր մը կիւման

21. *Bekjar dedi ben ol sözlere ujmam*
Bilmedijim qušyn tüjlerin sojmam
Sağ bašymy kitab altyna qojmam
Bu jaḫši halimi idemem jaman

22. *Evli dedi jaḫši jaman demišler*
Bu ḫususda čoğu jalan demišler
Diši quš dyr juva japan demišler
Bu meseli fikr et qyl vird-i zeban

23. *Bekjar dedi var git be hej divane*
Her vaqyt beladyr qary insane
Bir kere düšünki fejlesofane
Hič qary qysmyna olur my güman

21. Der Ehelose sprach: "Nach solchen Worten richte ich mich nicht.
Einem Vogel, den ich nicht kenne, reiss ich die Federn nicht aus.
Mein heiles Haupt lege ich nicht auf den Ehekontrakt.
Dies mein schönes Leben mache ich nicht zu einem elenden."

22. Der Ehemann sprach: "Man redet [viel] Gutes [und] Schlechtes.
[Aber] hierüber pflegen die Meisten Lügen zu reden.
'Der weibliche Vogel ist's, der das Nest baut,' so sagt man.
An dies Sprichwort denk und das schärfe dir ein!"

23. Der Ehelose sprach: "Ach geh doch, o du Narr!
Jederzeit ist die Frau für den Mann ein Unglück.
Denk doch nur einmal daran, ob den Philosophen
Je nach dem Frauengeschlechte der Sinn steht!"

24. Եվլի տէտի պիլ սէօզիւնիւ ա մուրտար
Ճիւմլէսինէ պիրտէն էյլէմէ ազար
Անլէրին իչինտէ էօյլէլէրի վար
Քիմ զաթը մէլայըք տիմէմտէ շայան

25. Պէքեար տէտի տինլէ ա պալգապաղը
Էօյլէսի տէյիլտիր գազըն այաղը
Մէլայըք տէյիլ ա հալտա պայաղը
Շէրլէրինտէն գաչար պապուճսըզ շէյթան

26. Եվլի տէտի սըտգըն հագգա վէր պիր եօլ
Մէրագ իթմէ սէն թէվէքքիւլ իւզրէ օլ
Պիր հէլալ սիւտ էմմիշինի արա պուլ
Գօրգմա իթտիյինէ օլմազսըն փիշման

24. *Evli dedi bil sözünü a murdar*
Ǧümlesine birden ejleme azar
Anlerin ičinde öjleleri var
Kim zaty melajyq dimemde šajan

25. *Bekjar dedi dinle a balqabağy*
Öjlesi dejildir qazyn ajağy
Melajyq dejil a halda bajağy
Šerlerinden qačar pabuğsyz šejtan

26. *Evli dedi sydqyn haqqa ver bir jol*
Meraq itme sen tevekkül üzre ol
Bir helal süd emmišini ara bul
Qorqma itdijine olmazsyn pišman

24. Der Ehemann sprach: "Bedenk was du sagst, du Schmutzkerl!
Tadle doch nicht alle auf einmal!
Unter ihnen gibt es manch eine der Art,
Dass ich ihr Wesen als das eines Engels bezeichnen kann."

25. Der Ehelose sprach: "Höre, o du gelber Kürbis,
So läuft der Hase nicht!
Nicht nur ein Engel, sondern sogar der Teufel
Läuft vor ihrer Bosheit barfuss davon."

26. Der Ehemann sprach: "Gib dem Rechte der Wahrheit die Ehre!
Sei nicht ängstlich, fasse Gottvertrauen!
Geh hin, suche eine, die erlaubte Milch getrunken hat;
Fürchte nicht, dass du dein Tun bereuest."

27. Պէքեար տէտի գարը իշինի սաղլար
Էօյլէ սէօզ սէօյլէր քի ճիյէրին տաղլար
Այտա պիր ֆիսթանըմ եօգ տէյի աղլար
Սէն ինսաֆ էթ պունա տայանըրմը ճան

28. Էվլի տէտի վագա պու սէօզ կէրճէք տիր
Լաքին էսասընը պիլմէք կէրէք տիր
Գարըլարը քէօթիւ իտէն էրքէք տիր
Պունու թէսլիմ իտէր ճիւմլէ ագիլան

29. Պէքեար տէտի կէլ հէմէֆքեար օլալըմ
Վարըպ պիզիմ Պիտարիի պուլալըմ
Պու խուսուստա պիր նասիհաթ ալալըմ
Զիրա միւճէրրէպ տիր օլ էհլի իւրֆան

27. *Bekjar dedi qary išini saġlar*
Öjle söz söjler ki ğijerin daġlar
Ajda bir fistanym joq deji aġlar
Sen insaf et buna dajanyrmy ğan

28. *Evli dedi vaqa bu söz gerček dir*
Lakin esasyny bilmek gerek dir
Qarylary kötü iden erkek dir
Bunu teslim ider ğümle aqilan

29. *Bekjar dedi gel hemefkjar olalym*
Varyb bizim Bidarii bulalym
Bu ḫususda bir nasihat alalym
Zira müğerreb dir ol ehl-i ürfan

27. Der Ehelose sprach: "Die Frau setzt ihre Sache durch.
Sie redet solche Worte, dass sie dein Herz zerreisst.
Jeden Monat ruft sie weinend: 'Ich habe keinen Rock.'
Sei doch gerecht: 'Kann die Seele solches ertragen?'"

28. Der Ehemann sprach: "In der Tat dies Wort ist richtig.
Doch muss man auch die Gründe davon erkennen.
Wer die Frauen schlecht macht, das sind die Männer.
Das geben alle Verständigen zu."

29. Der Ehelose sprach: "Komm, wie wollen uns verständigen!
Wir wollen hingehen und unseren Bidari suchen.
Über diese Frage wollen wir guten Rat uns holen;
Denn erfahren ist jener Mann des Wissens.

30. Էյիլէրէ ասլա պիչիլմէզ ղըյմէթ
Ամմա քէօթիւլէրին ճէտտինէ լանէթ
Կէրէք ղարը կէրէք էրքէք նիհայէթ
Իքիսինտէ տախի պուլունուր նօղսան ։

30. *Ejilere asla bičilmez qyjmet*
Amma kötülerin ǧeddine lanet
Gerek qary gerek erkek nihajet
Ikisinde daḫi bulunur noqsan

30. Den Guten wird nie [ihr] Wert verkürzt;
Aber die Schlechten seien verflucht!
Sei es Frau, sei es Mann, im Grunde
Finden sich doch auch bei beiden Mängel."

Eine genauere Untersuchung über Schrift, Sprache und Inhalt dieses Streitgedichts muss hier unterbleiben. Über Schrift und Sprache des Armenisch-Türkischen vergleiche man die *Studien zum Armenisch-Türkischen* von F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 168. Band, 3. Abhandlung, Wien 1912) sowie Teil II meiner oben genannten Schrift *Das Malerspiel*. Die in unserem Streitgedichte vorkommenden Sprüchwörter und sprüchwörtlichen Redensarten, wie z. B. in V. 7, 21, 22, 25, 26, müssten von einem genaueren Kenner des volkstümlichen türkischen Sprachtums auf Herkunft, Form und Bedeutung untersucht werden. Der Fluch in V. 30 "Aber die Schlechten seien verflucht," wörtlich "Aber über der Schlechten Grossvater [sei] Fluch," ist wohl durch das Arabische beeinflusst. Verwünschungen wie "Gott verfluche deinen Vater und deinen Grossvater," ja sogar auch "und den Grossvater des Vaters deines Grossvaters" sind mir aus arabisch sprechenden Ländern ganz bekannt. Hier deuten auch die arabischen Wörter *ǧedd* und *lanet* darauf hin. Die gemeinen Flüche des niederen türkischen Volks, die meist mit *sikdim* endigen, durften natürlich in ein Gedicht, das zwar einige Schimpfwörter enthält (V. 24, 25), aber im allgemeinen die gute Form wahrt, nicht aufgenommen werden; sie sind jedoch so bekannt, dass im Neuarabischen ein neues Verbum *saktam* "fluchen" daraus gebildet wurde, wie ich bei Schmidt-Kahle, *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*, Göttingen 1918, S. 282, angemerkt habe.

Nur einige kurze Bemerkungen über das Streitgedicht als solches und über das Thema unseres *dasitan* mögen hier Platz finden.

Wie Ethé in seinem ausgezeichneten Aufsatze *Über persische Tenzonen* (Verhandlungen des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Berlin, 1882, Zweiter Theil, S. 48 ff.) nachgewiesen hat, stammt die literarische Ausbildung der *munāẓara*[1] "Streitgedicht, Tenzone" aus Persien. Ihr erster und bedeutendster Vertreter war der ältere Asadī, der Zeitgenosse Firdausī's; über ihn vgl. auch *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsí to Sa'dí*, by Edward G. Browne, S. 148 f. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass Asadī der Erfinder dieser Literaturgattung ist. Natürlich kann er an arabische *naqa'iḍ* angeknüpft haben; aber dies sind doch zunächst Dichterwettkämpfe, wie sie aus allen Ländern bekannt sind und wie sie auch heute noch im Orient vorkommen. Ein paar neuarabische Beispiele finden sich in meiner *Neuarabischen Volkspoesie* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. v, Nro. 3, 1902), S. 150 f.; sehr viele sind in meinen *Tigrē-Liedern* enthalten (Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia, Vol. III, IV, Leyden 1913–15). Andererseits sind Erzählungen von Kämpfen zwischen Tieren, Bäumen, Naturgewalten im Orient auch wohl schon vor Asadī beim Volke beliebt gewesen; diese Erzählungen können auch eingestreute Verse enthalten haben. Ein Beispiel dafür—aber aus ganz moderner Zeit—wäre etwa The Tale of the Ape and the Gazel in meinen soeben genannten Publications of the Princeton Expedition, Vol. II, p. 28 f. Dort streiten sich Affe und Gazelle über ihre Lebensweise, und nachdem die Gazelle die Trinkstellen des Affen kennen gelernt hat, ruft sie

> "May thy drink be bad, o Ab-Gaḥarū!
> My drink is the breeze, the stormy wind, too."

Der Affe aber antwortet

> "May thy drink be bad, o little gazel!
> My drink is the spring, the pit and the well."

In Geschichten wie dieser kann man primitive Vorstufen zu der literarischen *munāẓara* des Asadī erkennen.

[1] Arabisch auch *mu'ātaba*, *mufāḫara* und *muḥāwara*.

Dieser verfasste seine Streitgedichte in der Form der *qaṣīda*. Darin folgte ihm Faḫr ud-Dīn (11. Jahrh. n. Chr.) dessen "Wettstreit zwischen Feder und Schwert" von Ethé a. a. O., S. 118 ff. veröffentlicht und übersetzt wurde. Dies Thema scheint auch bei den Arabern früh beliebt geworden zu sein; denn Ahlwardt führt in seinem *Verzeichnis der Arabischen Handschriften* der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Bd. VII, S. 555, eine ganze Reihe von Bearbeitungen auf, deren eine, Nr. 8596, 2, bis ins 11. Jahrh. n. Chr. zurückreicht.

Über den möglichen Zusammenhang des persischen Streitgedichts mit den Tenzonen des mittelalterlichen Europas, namentlich den provençalischen und englischen, hat Ethé auf S. 51 ff. gehandelt. Er hat dann aber auch die Weiterentwicklung des Streitgedichts innerhalb der persischen Literatur in meisterhafter Weise kurz skizziert.

An diese Weiterentwicklung wird auch die Forschung über die modernen türkischen und arabischen *munāẓarāt* anzuknüpfen haben. Während aber im modernen Persien die selbständige *munāẓara* Lieder in Mäthnävī-Baits bevorzugt, scheint die türkische und arabische, nach den mir bekannten Beispielen zu urteilen, solche in Strofengedichten gewählt zu haben. Das Streitgedicht erfreut sich im modernen Orient noch immer grosser Beliebtheit. So habe ich in Cairo vier Streitgedichte in neuarabischer Sprache aufgezeichnet: 1. Streit zwischen Katze und Mäusen; 2. Streit zwischen Schuhmacher und Schulmeister; 3. Streit zwischen Eisenbahn und Telegraph; 4. Streit zwischen Telephon und Telegraph. Sie sind in kleinen meist schlecht lithographierten Heftchen in Ägypten gedruckt; ich habe sie mir diktieren und erklären lassen und hoffe sie, mit meinen anderen Cairiner Sammlungen ان شاء الله einmal zu veröffentlichen. Alle vier sind in vierzeiligen Strofen gedichtet; Nr. 1 hat durchgehenden Reim jeder einzelnen Strofe, Nr. 2–4 haben die übliche Form *aaax, bbbx, cccx* u.s.w., also dieselbe Form wie unser *dasitan*[1]. Nach meinen

[1] Das Streitgedicht von Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter, das ich im *Journal Asiatique*, Juli-August 1903, herausgegeben habe, ist nach demselben Prinzip gebaut, hat aber zwei Doppelverse als *maṭla'*-Strofe und dann Strofen zu je vier Doppelversen mit Innenreim. Über Schwiegermutter und Schwiegersohn in Abessinien vgl. auch Publ. Princet. Exped. Vol. II, p. 61.

Erkundigungen werden sie aber nicht mehr *munāẓara* oder ähnlich (s. oben S. 281) genannt, sondern einfach *qiṣṣa* "Erzählung."

Bei diesen neuarabischen Streitgedichten wird wie bei vielen Erzeugnissen der volkstümlichen Muse kein Verfasser genannt. Aber die Überschrift des türkischen *dasitan* gibt einen gewissen Bidari als Verfasser an. Diese Überschrift lautet *Bidarinin. Evli ile bekjaryn dasitany*; das kann nur übersetzt werden "Von Bidari ein Lied über den Ehemann und den Ehelosen." Zum Überflusse steht als erste Zeile des Manuscripts noch in ungeschickter lateinischer Schrift *Dasitan. evli ilé Békiaren. p. Bidar.* Also hat der Aufzeichner den Bidari als Verfasser angesehen. Ein solcher Dichter ist mir jedoch nicht bekannt geworden, und auch F. Giese teilte mir auf meine Anfrage mit, er kenne ihn nicht. Es ist daher möglich, dass der Aufzeichner aus Strofe 29 einen falschen Schluss gezogen hat. Er hätte dann angenommen, in dieser vorletzten Strofe habe der Verfasser sich genannt wie in den Ghazelen, und Strofe 30 sei ein *tāǧ bait*, dessen Bedeutung als "Zusatzvers nach dem Verse mit dem Namen des Verfassers" mir von G. Jacob mitgeteilt wurde. Auch Asadī hat im letzten Verse seiner Tenzone "Musulman und Parse" seinen eigenen Namen genannt, wie Ethé a. a. O., S. 67 u. bemerkt; aber er hat sich darin nicht selbst zum Schiedsrichter gemacht. Und das hat nach dem Wortlaute von Strofe 29 Bidari getan, wenn er der Verfasser ist. So wird der "Streit zwischen Opium und Tabak," nach Ethé S. 74, vom Dichter selbst dadurch geschlichtet, dass er beide als seine besten Tröster und Sorgenbrecher mit gleichem Lobpreise überschüttet. In den älteren Streitgedichten wird jedoch gegen Ende eine hochgestellte Persönlichkeit als Schiedsrichter genannt und dann deren Lob gesungen. Dass nun in der Tat Bidari als Dichter des *dasitan* angesehen werden soll, darauf deuten noch zwei andere Momente: (1) die Form des Namens, der deutlich ein *taḫallus* ist; (2) der Ausdruck "unser Bidari," den der Ehelose in seinem Schlussworte gebraucht, denn das kann wohl nur heissen "unser Dichter, der uns reden lässt." Wenn der gute Bidari sich selbst als *ehl-i ürfan* "Mann des Wissens" bezeichnet, so darf man es ihm wohl nicht weiter verübeln.

Er spräche dann in der letzten Strofe das versöhnende Schiedsrichterurteil aus, dass die Guten gelobt, die Schlechten aber verwünscht werden sollen, und dass die beiden Geschlechter eigentlich keinen Grund haben, sich eins über das andere zu überheben, da Männer sowohl wie Frauen ihre Mängel haben. Damit vergleiche man den Schlussvers von The Debate and Stryfe between Somer and Wynter (nach Ethé, S. 57), wo der Sommer sagt:—

"Wynter by one assent our great stryfe let vs ceas,
And together agre we, and make a fynall peas;
God that create this worlde and made bothe the and me,
Let vs pray to hym to send vs a good ende. Amen for charitè."

Wenn wir so in der sprachlichen und dichterischen Form unseres *dasitan* ein echt morgenländisches Gewächs erkannt haben, so deutet doch sein Inhalt auf moderne europäische Einflüsse, ebenso wie oben Eisenbahn, Telegraph und Telephon. Das Problem der Ehe und der Ehelosigkeit ist hier zwar sehr naïv erörtert, ohne eigentlich in die Tiefe zu gehen, aber doch so, dass die Gedankengänge nicht etwa auf orientalisches Mönchtum oder auf Geschichten wie die von Kamar ez-Zamān in 1001 Nacht, sondern auf verwandte Dinge im Leben der europäischen Völker weisen. Auch G. Hoffmann in Kiel sprach sofort eine ähnliche Vermutung aus, als ich ihm von dem Inhalte des Streitgedichtes erzählte. Sogar ein drusischer Sänger im Libanon beruft sich auf das "fränkische" Urteil über die Frauen; vergl. meine *Neuarab. Volkspoesie*, S. 151, Z. 11. Andererseits fiel mir in Cairo eine Posse in die Hände, die den Titel trägt لا اتجوج ولو شنقونى "Ich heirate nicht, wenn man mich auch hängen will," und die ihre Beziehungen zu Europa schon dadurch verrät, dass in der Einleitung von der Abstammung des Menschen vom Affen die Rede ist.

Zum Schlusse spreche ich den Herren G. Jacob, R. Tschudi, H. Ritter und Nedjati Bey, durch die ich im Verständnis des türkischen Textes mehrfach sehr gefördert bin, meinen herzlichen Dank aus. Möge dieser Beitrag zur Festschrift für einen englischen Gelehrten, der stets für die Internationalität der Wissenschaft und für das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der morgenländischen Völker charaktervoll eingetreten ist, ein Zeichen der Hochachtung und Dankbarkeit für mannigfache Belehrung sein!

ENNO LITTMANN.

THE *MU'ALLAQAH* OF MAIMŪN AL-A'SHÀ

(rendered into English in the metre of the original)

This interesting poem is one of the two, or according to others three, compositions which were considered by the ancient critics worthy to be ranked with those *chefs d'œuvre* selected by Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah under the name of the *Mu'allaqāt*, and superior to some of those included in the chosen seven. Its text, as translated, is that contained in my edition of *Ten Ancient Arabic Poems*, Calcutta, 1894.

The poem must date from some time not long subsequent to the battle of Dhū Qār, which was probably fought about 610 or 611 A.D., and is referred to in *v.* 62. Its object is to convey an angry rebuke to Yazīd [b. Mus-hir] Abū Thubait, a chief of the tribe of Shaibān, one of the strongest and most celebrated divisions of the group of Bakr ibn Wā'il, who is accused of stirring up mischief between the author's tribe of Qais ibn Tha'labah and his own kin of Shaibān. The various tribes which constituted the Bakrite group were by no means always on friendly terms together; as noted below against *v.* 47, the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* contains two poems showing that a bitter quarrel, ending in bloodshed, had occurred between Shaibān and Yashkur. As to the facts of the dispute dealt with by al-A'shà the story given in the *Aghānī*, viii, 100, on the authority of Abū 'Ubaidah, is as follows. A certain man of the family of Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Mālik (al-A'shà's house) named Ḍubai', who was of weak intellect, killed a man named Ẓāhir, belonging to the tribe of Dhuhl b. Shaibān. Yazīd son of Mus-hir, chief of Shaibān, forbade his clansmen to slay Ḍubai' in requital for Ẓāhir, but incited them instead to kill a chief of the house of Sa'd b. Mālik. On this coming to the ears of al-A'shà, he composed this ode in reply.

The poem follows the customary scheme of a *qaṣīdah*. Of its sixty-four verses, only the last twenty-one treat of its main purpose. The introductory *nasīb* is unusually long, eighteen verses. Then follows a section in which the poet

gives a sketch of his own life and its ideals, *vv.* 19–32. A short section, which may perhaps have lost some verses, begins to treat of desert journeys and the merits of the poet's camel (*vv.* 33–35), but is very soon broken off for the description of an approaching rainstorm, with a recital of the lands in al-Yamāmah belonging to al-A'shà's tribe which its waters may be expected to invade. The pictures in each of these sections are of astonishing vividness and vigour, and the whole poem is full of individuality. The lady called Hurairah ("Kitten") is stupidly said by al-Yazīdī[1] to have been a black slave-girl belonging to Ḥassān b. 'Amr b. Marthad. This is inconsistent with the first two words of *v.* 2, in which she is described as *gharrā'u, far'ā'u*, "white and broad-browed, long-haired." Another statement, that of Abū 'Ubaidah, is that she was one of two singing-girls named Hurairah and Khulaidah, sisters, belonging to Bishr b. 'Amr b. Marthad, a cousin of al-A'shà's (see the genealogical table in *Mufaḍḍ.* ii, p. 166, and *id.* p. 216). It is quite possible that she may have been some ideal drawn by the poet out of his imagination. In *v.* 19 she is called Umm Khulaid, and the whole picture suits better a free-born Arab woman than a slave.

The ode has been rendered into French by Silvestre de Sacy in vol. II of his *Chrestomathie Arabe* (1826), pp. 464 ff. A translation in German was promised by Prof. Geyer of Vienna in his *Zwei Gedichte von al-'A'šâ* (1905), but so far as I know has not yet appeared. *Vv.* 25–31 have been given an English form in Dr Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* (1907), p. 125. I am not aware of any other rendering in a European language.

I

1. Good-bye, Hurairah! the train of laden camels is sped:
 —but canst thou bear a good-bye, O man that art but a man?
2. Clear-browed, long-haired, in her mouth the rows of teeth trim and white,
 full gently treads she, as one sore-footed limps through the mire.
3. Straight on she walks when she goes some day to visit a friend,
 as moves a cloud in the sky—no hurry, no, nor delay.
4. Whenas she turns, thou mayst hear her trinkets tinkle and chime,
 as when the breeze with a gust sets rustling seed-pods of broom.

[1] Agh. viii, 79.

5. Not she a girl whose approach the neighbours like not to see,
   not one to spy on her folk and carry secrets abroad.
6. When goes she forth to her friends, she rises languorously:
   but for the effort she makes it seems as though she would fall.
8. Her girdle hangs slack and loose: elsewhere, well fills she her shift;
   she moves to greet thee—her waist seems almost ready to snap.
10. Full-bodied, youth at its prime, her elbows well-clad and round,
   she steps as though over thorns her feet walked delicately.
11. Whenas she rises, the waves of musk fill the ambient air,
   and from her sleeves, as she goes, the scent of *zambaq* is spread.
12. No mead of those in the Upland, lush with upspringing grass
   —a sea of green where the rain has quickened life to the full—
13. Its bloom laughs forth to the Sun, that joyful laughs in return,
   waist-high its fullness of blossom, rich with all at its best—
14. One day is sweeter than she in fragrance spreading around,
   nor is it fairer than she what time still evening falls.
15. Unsought I fell to her charm: another man had her heart,
   not I; and his to another maiden straitly was bound:
16. Another maid pined for him—he would not give her a thought:
   for her a cousin had died from pangs of love unrepaid.
17. And me—there loves me a girl for whom no kindness I feel:
   so tangled love to us all—ah, what is love but a plague?
18. Each one is bound by a spell, and dotes in vain on his fere:
   far off or near though he be, hunter and hunted are one.

II

19. Hurairah will nought of me—no, not so much as a word:
   ah, foolish one! if she love not me, then whom should she love?
20. She saw, it seems, but a man weak-eyed, on whom there had played
   the guile of Fortune, and Time that brings all things to decay.
21. Hurairah said, when I came to press my suit upon her,
   "Ah, woe upon thee, O man, and woe from thee unto me!"
22. Yea, if thou seest us unshod, bare-footed seeking thy door,
   'tis so with me and my like, now bare-foot, now fully shod.
23. Sometimes I grasp at the moment when the master's asleep:
   sometimes he knows me at hand—though warned, he cannot escape.
24. Now lead I Lightness about—it follows whither I go:
   now are my comrades the eager wanton servants of joy.
25. Some morning early I seek the wineshop, close at my heels
   a cook, quick, nimble, adroit to set the feast in array,
26. With youths like Indian blades keen-hearted—well do they know
   that Death shall take everyone, bare-footed be he or shod.
27. I pass to them basil boughs, on cushions lying reclined,
   and wine 'twixt acid and sweet—its strainer never goes dry.
28. No patience know they, but ever steadfast stick to the wine,
   their word nought but "Pour again!" however often they quaff.

29. The wine is served by a boy who hands the glasses, alert,
with knots of pearl in his ears, his shirt tucked up in his belt;
30. A lute there answers the harp—so seems it, waked by its note,
what time a girl, loose of gown, trills forth her quavering song.
31. There too are damsels who proudly trail skirts purfled with silk,
and others walk mid the guests with wine-skins borne on their hips.
32. Yea, all these things know I well, life's best of pleasure and play:
from me seek learning of love—long years have taught me its laws.

III

33. Yea, many the desolate land, bare as the back of a shield,
wherein one listened at night to booming voices of *Jinn*—
34. None travelled there in the days of summer burning with heat
save those who, when they attempt a venture, think it out well—
35. Have I crost all its extent, my camel spare, strong and smooth
of pace, fore-arms well apart from trunk, no ulcer to fear.

IV

36. Enough! seest thou there beyond the cloud-mass heaped as we gaze,
where in its sides fly the darts of lightning's flickering flame?
37. A mighty backing it has, a middle broad, full of play,
and girded round with a belt of buckets charged with a flood.
38. No pleasure holds me from watching grow its promise of rain,
no glow and sweetness of wine, no business, little or great.
39. Then, as they drank, to my fellows there in Durnā I said—
well drunken had they—"Behold! where falls the oncoming rain?"
40. "Numār," they said, "then the Vale of al-Khāl—both will it fill:
"al-'Asjadīyah, and then Ablā, and then ar-Rijal;
41. "With it as-Safḥu will flow, then Khinzīr, then its rough plain:
"ar-Rabwu and al-Ḥubal its waters next will invade;
42. "Then last its flood shall bespread, and throughly soak all the ground,
"the Meads where sand-grouse abound, the low hill covered with trees.
43. "It waters thus all the lands for which its purpose was shaped
"—lands they no enemy seeks with troops of camels or horse."

V

44. This message bear to Yazīd, chief of the Sons of Shaibān,
Abū Thubait—"Wilt thou not desist from slander of us?
45. "Wilt thou not cease to assail our stock of honour and fame?
"—'tis true, thy lies harm it not, while camels moan at their loads:
46. "'Tis with thy tales as a buck that thrusts his horns at a rock:
"no hurt he brings to the stone, but splits his horns in its stead.
47. "Thou stirrest mischief between us and the House of Mas'ūd
"whenso we meet, till thou start death's work, then leavest the fray.
48. "I think not, sure, if our hate grows fiercer, and if we seek
"your help our cause to uphold, 'twill ever bring thee to fight.

50. "Thou shalt not sit at thine ease, War's blaze once lighted by thee,
"safe from her fire, on thy knees seeking protection on High.
51. "Yea, ask the Sons of Asad—sooth, well they know of our ways,
"and from them tale upon tale shall bring the truth to thine ears;
52. "And ask the Sons of Qushair and all 'Abdallāh's kin,
"and ask Rabī'ah of us, what manner fighters we be:
53. "We rain our blows upon them until we slay the last man
"in mellay fierce, whether wrong they wrought, or folly alone.
54. "Yea, in Kahf's house, whensoe'er they rouse themselves for the fight,
"and Jāshiriyah, are those who know how war should be waged.
55. "I swear by Him to whose House the camels hurry their steps
"with pilgrim crowds, and the kine in herds are led to His shrine,
56. "If ye have murdered a chief who never stood in your way,
"we shall slay for him the like of yours, yea, even your best!
57. "If thou art tried by our arms the day the battle is done,
"thou shalt not find that we swerve from seeking blood to the full.
58. "Will ye not cease from your strife? Nay, nought shall work such a cure
"of wrong as wounds from a lance nor oil nor lint shall abate:
59. "Until there lie on the ground a chieftain propped on his arm,
"while women seek with their hands, bereaved, to shelter his head.
60. "A blade from India smote him—not in vain was its stroke,
"or haply a shaft from al-Khaṭṭ, bright-headed, slender and straight.
61. "Ye said, it seems, folk of ours, that you we never should fight.
"not so! for men like to you are just the foes that we seek.
62. "We are the knights of the Day of Ḥinw under the hot noon
"around Fuṭaimah: no sign of yielding gave we that day!
63. "They said 'The spear-play!' we answered 'Even so is our wont:
"'or if ye call for the foot-fight, we are ready on foot:
64. "'We dye the limbs of the chief with streams of blood from his thigh,
"'and oft the bravest of men sobs out his life on our spears.'"

NOTES

v. 4. The word rendered "broom" is *'ishriq*, which is not really broom (in Ar. *ratam*), but a species of *Cassia*, which Forskål found still retains this name in the Yaman.

v. 7 is omitted, as not known to any of those who have handed down the poem except Abū 'Ubaidah: its substance is sufficiently given in *v.* 6.

v. 9 omitted.

v. 11. The perfume named *zambaq* is variously described. Here it is called "red," *ward*, which does not correspond with any of the equivalents given in Lane, *s.v.* Generally it is said to be oil of jasmine (LA 12, 2 and 12). It is admitted to be a foreign word: jasmine in Persian is *yāsamin*, *yāsaman*, *saman*, and its name bears no resemblance to *zambaq*. It is suggested that the word may be the Indian *Champak*, a flowering tree of the *Magnolia* family, with yellow fragrant flowers, which are used for the preparation of perfumed oils, employed in the toilet and in medicine (see Watt, *Dictionary of Indian Economic Products*, *s.v. Michelia champaca*).

v. 12. "The Upland," *al-Ḥazn* (also *Ḥazm*), the high limestone steppe which extends over many parts of Arabia, and the winter and spring pasture of which (in favourable seasons) is much praised by the poets (see *Mufaḍḍl.* ii, 24, top). Here, having regard to the poet's native place (Manfūḥah in al-Yamāmah), it is probable that the steppe from Jabal Ṭuwaiq westwards towards aṭ-Ṭā'if is meant. This is still called the Ḥazm, and was recently traversed by Mr H. St J. B. Philby, C.I.E. The richness of the vegetation produced by abundant winter and spring rain both in the steppe and in the sand-desert (*Dahnā*) has often been remarked by travellers: see *e.g.* Philby (in *Geographical Journal*, March 1920, p. 163)—"The delightful spring season of Arabia, when the desert is bright with grass and flowers."

v. 18. The reading of Abū 'Ubaidah (and in part of al-Aṣma'ī), *Maḥbūlun wa-muḥtabilū*, has been chosen for rendering in preference to that of the text.

v. 27. "Basil boughs," *quḍubu-r-raiḥāni*: this may mean either pieces of sweet basil, *Ocimum basilicum*, or sweet-scented flowers in general, such as myrtle, henna, etc., which were largely used to perfume the air at drinking feasts, and to twine round the vessels containing the wine. The explanation of the commentary, that the phrase is metaphorical and represents the interchange of pleasant talk and repartee, does not seem probable. Al-A'shā has several pictures of wine-feasts in which flowers figure literally as adornments of the banquet. See Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte v. al-A'šā*, pp. 58 ff., where there is a long list of flowers used to deck the feast, including roses, violets, mint (?), marjoram, myrtle, wall-flowers, lavender (?), lilies, sweet basil, jasmine, and narcissus. All these are cited by their Persian names: Horace's *Persici apparatus* persisted to al-A'shà's time.

"Wine 'twixt acid and sweet," *qahwatan muzzatan: mazāzah* is described as a flavour between sweet and sour. The "strainer," *rāwuq*, is the linen cloth tied over the spout of the flagon to strain the wine when poured out.

v. 31. "With wine-skins borne on their hips": this is al-Aṣma'ī's interpretation; Abū 'Ubaidah thought that the *'ijal*, plur. of *'ijlah*, might refer to the women's hips, which were admired when round and prominent. Perhaps the skins held water and not wine, which would be drawn from the amphora, *dann*. It was mixed with water before being drunk.

v. 33. For the drumming noise heard at night in the Desert, ascribed by the Arabs to the *Jinn*, see *Mufaḍḍl.* ii, p. 276, note to *v.* 9.

v. 39. Durnà is said in the commentary to be one of the gates to Persian territory, some marches short of al-Ḥīrah, where Yazīd Abū Thubait (addressed in *v.* 44) lived. It is, however, quite clear from the following verses of the poem that this was not so. The names there mentioned, so far as they can be identified, are of places in al-Yamāmah. The region is that described in Mr Philby's paper in the *Geographical Journal* for March 1920, or somewhere in its neighbourhood. Mr Philby notes the prevalence of floods, following heavy storms, in this tract, dominated by the mountain chain of Ṭuwaiq. Of the names contained in the passage, Numār is in al-Yamāmah (Yāq. iv, 812^{12}): Baṭn al-Khāl is not mentioned: al-'Asjadīyah is a water belonging to the Banū Sa'd (al-A'shà's family) also in al-Yamāmah (Yāq. iii, 672^{1}): Khinzīr is said to be a mountain in the same tract (Yāq. ii, 478^{5}): al Ablā is the name of a well (Yāq. i, 93^{22}) presumably in the same neighbourhood: ar-Rijal (pl. of *rijlah*, a torrent-bed) is in al-Yamāmah

(Yāq. ii, 755[6]): ar-Rabwu is not located in Yāq. ii, 752[5]: al-Ḥubal (linked with Khinzīr in a verse of Labīd's cited Yāq. ii, 198[20]) appears to be a station on the road from al-Yamāmah towards the lower land of Ḥajr. In Yāq. ii, 857, top, as-Safḥ, al-Ḥubal, and Rauḍ al-Qaṭà ("The Sand-grouse Meadows") are all mentioned as on the road from Ḥajr to al-Yamāmah. From this it is clear that al-A'shà's drinking-party at Durnà was in his own home in the neighbourhood of Manfūḥah, and could not possibly have been to the far North in the open plain of al-'Irāq in which Durnà is said in the commentary to *v.* 39 to have been situated. The object of this recital of places belonging to al-A'shà's tribe, Qais ibn Tha'labah, is to bring the poem to the note of defiance, as appears from the second hemistich of *v.* 43: then follows the angry message to Yazīd, a chief of the Banū Shaibān, which occupies the rest of it.

v. 45. "Assail our stock of honour and fame," *'an naḥti 'athlatinā*, lit. "from stripping the bark off our tamarisk-tree": see *Mufaḍḍ.* ii, p. 236, note to *v.* 4. "So long as camels moan at their loads," *i.e.* for ever; *'aṭṭa* is the verb used for the grumbling noise made by camels when being loaded up.

v. 47. The House of Mas'ūd was one of the chief families in Shaibān. There is in the *Mufaḍḍ.* nos. lxxxvi and lxxxvii, mention made of a quarrel between this family and the Bakrite tribe of Yashkur, in which Qais son of Mas'ūd was the chief actor. He was the father of Bisṭām b. Qais, a celebrated chief of the Banū Shaibān at the beginning of the Prophet's career.

v. 49 is omitted, as a doublet of *v.* 27.

v. 50. In this verse "War" is understood but not named, as often in the ancient poetry. "On thy knees seeking protection on High," *tabtahilū*; it is probable that Yazīd was a nominal Christian: we know that some members of his tribe were converts, among them Bisṭām b. Qais.

v. 52. Qushair, a branch of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. 'Abdallāh, probably 'Abdallāh b. Kilāb or 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb, also families of 'Āmir. Rabī'ah may likewise be the name of a sub-division of 'Āmir, the ancestor of the great house of Kilāb. It is scarcely likely that Rabī'at al-Faras, son of Nizār, a remote patriarch whose descendants in al-A'shà's time had long been settled in al-'Irāq, is intended.

v. 54. "The house of Kahf," *'ālu Kahfin*, is said to be a family in the clan of Sa'd b. Mālik b. Ḍubai'ah, of Qais b. Tha'labah, al-A'shà's kin. Al-Jāshiriyah, according to the commentary, is the name of a woman of 'Iyād, daughter of the celebrated chief Ka'b b. Māmah, who was also married into the family of Sa'd b. Mālik.

v. 55. "The kine," *al-bāqir*. This mention by a poet of Ma'add of horned cattle as victims at the sacrifice in Minà near Mecca during the pilgrimage is, so far as I know, unique, the ordinary victims being camels, sheep and goats. Horned cattle are numerous in the more fruitful region of the Yaman, but in droughty Central and Northern Arabia they are so rare as to be practically non-existent.

v. 62. "The Day of al-Ḥinw" is the great battle of Dhū Qār, fought in A.D. 610 or 611 (after the call of the Prophet) by the tribes of Bakr ibn Wā'il against the Persians and their Arab allies, resulting in the complete

defeat of the latter. For an account of the battle see *Naqā'iḍ*, pp. 638–648. Ḥinw was the place where the first encounter occurred, a night's journey from Dhū Qār proper. The accounts of the battle give the leading parts in it to Shaibān and 'Ijl: but al-A'shà, here and elsewhere, claims a share in it for his clan of Qais ibn Tha'labah. One of the features of the battle was that the women of the tribe, instead of being sent away to a place of safety, were retained in the midst of the fighting men. Futaimah, named in this verse, is said to have been Fāṭimah daughter of Ḥabīb ibn Tha'labah, presumably the chief of the detachment of Qais which took part in the fight.

C. J. LYALL.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF DHU'R RUMMAH

The tribe of 'Adî 'bn 'Abd Manât, to which Ghailân 'bn 'Uqba the poet belonged, was settled in Yamâma, occupying a portion of the vastly more extended territory which their congeners the Tamîm inhabited. Ghailân—or as he is most usually called—Dhu'r Rummah (the owner, or wearer, of the rope's-end) was probably born in the more southern portion of Yamâma verging on the great central desert of the Dahnâ', and the greater portion of his short life must have been spent in this wild region. He appears to have been well acquainted with the oasis of Yabrîn—the furthest limit towards the great Dahnâ' in which life was possible—and with the sand-hills lying between it and the more hospitable regions of Yamâma. He was born in A.H. 78 and died in A.H. 117 ('Ainî i, 412) at the age of 40. It is known that he visited, even frequently, Başra and Kûfa, and from various allusions in his poems and their glosses (*Dîw.* i, 1; xli, 5; xxxii, 16) he is supposed to have extended his wanderings as far as Işpahân; as Suyûţî, *Shaw* 52, even says that he died there, or "in the desert." As almost every anecdote related of him has at least two contradictory versions, it is only possible to construct a more or less conjectural account of his life. The earliest story told of him is that he was taken by his mother when he was a boy to visit the chief of his tribe al Ḥuşain 'bn 'Abda 'bn Nu'aim al 'Adawî, a man of some rude culture, with a view to his writing a charm to hang round her son's neck: the boy being subject to "terrors at night" (*Agh.* xvi, 110; but *Khiz.* i, 51, "they were afraid of his eyes [being affected]"; or *'Iqd* ii, 46, afraid of incipient disease [or even insanity] خشى عليه من المسّ). This charm was suspended about the neck by a bit of rope and constantly worn by the lad, and when on a subsequent occasion he presented himself thus furnished before the Sheikh al Ḥuşain, this latter gave him the nickname of "wearer of the rope's-end" by which he was afterwards known. Dhu'r Rummah seems to have taken to the composition of poetry early, probably inspired thereto by the example of his three brothers, Hishâm, Mas'ûd and

Khirfâsh—all poets[1]. Dhu'r Rummah had the greatest reputation of the four brothers, and it was complained of him that he annexed as his own some of their verse. This was not an unknown proceeding in those days and he was later in life to experience a similar fate at the hands of the arch-plagiarist al Farazdaq and—what is more strange—seems to have submitted with slight remonstrance to this high-handed treatment. (*Agh.* xvi, 16, *Dîwân ul Farazdaq* no. 313 in gloss and cf. Goldziher, *Abh.* 136 n. 5.) Of the ladye-loves celebrated by Dhu'r Rummah we find Mayya, the wife of 'Âṣim the Minqarî most frequently the subject of his praise. Fifty-five of his poems sing of her perfections, whilst Kharqâ' is celebrated in only ten; Umm Sâlim (or Umaima) in five; and Ṣaidâ, Bint Faḍḍâḍ and Ghalâb each in one. This devotion became proverbial; he was called "Ghailân of Mayya" ('*Iqd* ii, 40), and Ḥarîrî (*conss.* Derenb. i, 322, I. Qut. 334) tells of "a heat to cause Ghailân to forget Mayya." *Agh.* (xvi, 114) gives the most probable account of his first meeting with Mayya, at a time when she was still unmarried, how that he, his brother Mas'ûd and a cousin were seeking their strayed camels, travelling by night and consumed with thirst, and came to a large tent. Dhu'r Rummah was commissioned to ask for water from an old woman sitting under the tent-porch, who summoned a beautiful girl to come out and fill their water-skins. Dhu'r Rummah was at once overcome by her beauty, and having wrapped up his head, sat a little apart. Mayya then addressed him saying: "Your people have quite worn you out with travel, as I judge from your slender build and youth." Dhu'r Rummah then broke out into the verses (*Dîw.* xxii, 22–26) which he afterwards expanded into the whole poem as it now stands. And he says: "I continued afterwards for 20 years to long for her in her various encampments"—that is, almost to the close of his life. Another account of his first acquaintance with Mayya is told by ash Sharîshî ('*Iqd.* ii, 40, where the account just given is also related). According to this, Mayya and her people were neighbours, in the lower grounds of the Dahnâ', of Dhu'r Rummah and his folk.

[1] So *Agh.* xvi, 111, but *Ḥamâsa* ii, 8 خرفاس. I. Qut. 336 calls his brothers Hishâm, Aufâ and Mas'ûd; but Aufâ was a cousin; he was Aufâ 'bn Dalham (*Agh.* xvi, 111).

Mayya being engaged in washing her own and the servant's clothes in a tattered tent, and being somewhat *décolletée*, was spied upon by Dhu'r Rummah through a crack in the tent, with the result of making him deeply enamoured—and after that he made her the subject of his verse. *Agh.* xvi, 110 gives a third version of their first meeting: it is said that he was passing by Mayya's tent and she was sitting by her mother's side and he asked her for water and her mother bade her to give him some. And another version is: "that his water-skins were rent and he saw her and said to her: 'sew them up for me.' And she answered: 'by Allah! that's a fine request, for I am the Kharqâ' (she who does no work with her hands, because of her estimation in the tribe).' And he said to her mother, 'command her to pour me out water!' And her mother said, 'rise, O Kharqâ', and give him drink.' And she arose and brought him water. And about his flank was a bit of cord, or a rope's-end. And she said, 'drink, wearer of the cord!'—and he was nicknamed thus." He was also said (*Agh.* xvi, 110; I. Qut. 334; *Muzhir* ii, 221; 'Ainî i, 414) to have received this nickname from his verse (*Dîw.* xxii, 8), where he describes a battered tent-peg, "shaggy, a rope-end its collar," in allusion, no doubt, to his uncouth appearance. The Arabs ever had the engaging habit of nicknaming their fellows, preferentially, after some deformity or defect.

I. Qut. (335, 336) relates the story above given of his introducing himself to a Beduin girl with a request that she should sew up his damaged water-skins, only here he makes the heroine of the story a certain Kharqâ', a daughter of the Banû 'l Bakkâ' 'bn 'Âmir. There has been some confusion thus arising, leading to the supposition that there was but one Kharqâ', and that she was Mayya. This is, however, disproved by the fact that in *Dîw.* lxx they are spoken of as distinct persons, and in *Dîw.* lxvi, 21 Dhu'r Rummah speaks of cheering up his companion by singing the praises of Kharqâ' and of Mayya.

A story is told (I. Qut. 335, and quoted from him *Agh.* xvi, 120), how that for a long time Mayya had never seen Dhu'r Rummah, and meanwhile she had heard his poems. And she vowed that she would slay a victim on the day that she saw him for the first time. And when she saw him—an insignificant, swarthy man, she being of the

most beautiful of the people—she called out "contemptible! hideous!" and she threw about the joints of the victim. On this Dhu'r Rummah remarked:

"On the face of Mayya is a fair external surface, but below her garments is foulness, if it were only revealed."

Whereupon the injured Mayya promptly stripped herself of her clothes and asked "can you see any defect that is by you to be dispraised?" To this Dhu'r Rummah replied:

"Don't you know that the taste of water may be fetid, whilst the colour of the water may be pure and clear[1]?"

And she said to him: "as to what lies below the garments, that you have seen and know what defects are there. And now it only remains that I should say to you 'come taste what is below that; and, by Allah! that you shall never taste." And he said:

"Wasted is that song that so long continued, whose object was Mayya, and I have never yet mastered my heart's infatuation!"

(*Khiz.* i, 52; Hamdânî, 170; *Hamâsa* ii, 576; i, 679 (variant); I. Khall. Wüst. 534; *'Iqd* ii, 40; L.A. (مسح) iii, 434, etc.)

It goes on to say that after this passage of arms matters were patched up between them and he reverted to his former love for her. Dhu'r Rummah always stoutly disclaimed the paternity of these verses, and it seems that in point of fact they are to be attributed to a servant-girl of Mayya's, Kuthaira—who, possibly, owed her mistress some grudge. There is another account of the rupture between Mayya and Dhu'r Rummah related *Agh.* xvi, 119 in which Dhu'r Rummah breaks off with three verses—the last of them being the second of those above given and the other two less bitter and even pathetic in tone.

Another occasion on which Dhu'r Rummah met Mayya was when he was received as a guest one dark night by 'Âṣim, her husband (*Agh.* xvi, 114). Dhu'r Rummah was greatly alarmed lest 'Âṣim should recognize him, and this eventually he did and promptly expelled his guest, leaving him out in the desert. Mayya, however, knew who he was. In the middle of the night Dhu'r Rummah began to shout out his verses (*Dîw.* xlvii, 4):

[1] There may be some allusion to this in the verses *Dîw.* v, 20–23.

"O Mayya, will those days of ours at Dhu'l Athal ever return? or is there to be no recurrence of them?"

The husband (naturally) very angry ordered Mayya, under threat of striking her with his sword, to get up and call out "On what days was I ever with you at Dhu'l Athal?" (in *Dîw.* ذو الرمث). Dhu'r Rummah, much incensed, mounted his camel and rode off, purposing to transfer his love for her to some other object, meaning thus to anger Mayya. And he passed by Falj. There he met with Kharqâ' and addressed to her two or three poems (there are ten in the *Dîwân*) "and it was not long before he died." Evidently, Dhu'r Rummah considered that he was taking a bitter revenge on Mayya by depriving her of the distinction of being the object of a poet's love.

Agh. xvi, 129 tells the story of a stolen visit paid by Dhu'r Rummah and his cousin 'Iṣma to Mayya in the absence of the men of her tribe. Mayya and her women set 'Iṣma to recite Dhu'r Rummah's verses and the party had become very confidential, when suddenly news is brought of the return of the men of the tribe. On this Dhu'r Rummah and his cousin hurriedly (and very prudently) decamp. Dhu'r Rummah's partiality for other men's wives brought him occasionally painful experiences.

Of Umm Sâlim, Ṣaidâ, Bint Faḍḍâḍ, and Ghalâb nothing is recorded.

His professed love for Kharqâ' has been, as we have just seen, attributed to pique. Another account (*Agh.* xvi, 123) puts a rather less romantic complexion on this transfer of his allegiance. It is said that Kharqâ', to whom he applied for a cure for an affection of the eyes, exacted for her fee "ten verses in which you shall vaunt my charms so that men shall desire me." Al-Quḥaif had a similar request made to him by her, acceding to her request in the lines preserved (*Ḥamâsa* ii,375; *Dîwân*, Krenkow, *J.R.A.S.* for 1913, p. 352):

"Kharqâ' has written to me her request in order that Kharqâ' may make me of those whom she beguiles,

"And Kharqâ' only increases in beauty and is imposing, though she live to the age of Noah."

She lived to a vigorous old age, and being encamped on the direct pilgrim route and close to Mecca considered herself as one of the things to be visited by pilgrims making the Ḥajj,

citing a verse of Dhu'r Rummah's to that effect (*Agh.* xvi, 124; xx, 141):

"To complete the Ḥajj the caravan should stop at Kharqâ's tent, she having laid aside her veil."

(To see a woman unveiled was not lawful during the performance of the Ḥajj.)

Apart from his love affairs little is known of his life in the desert. He had a grievance against a certain 'Utaiba 'bn Ṭarthûth relating to a well, for 80 years the property of his tribe and of which 'Utaiba had usurped possession (*Dîw.* lxii, 35 sqq.). The matter was brought before Muhâjir, then governor of Yamâma, and apparently Dhu'r Rummah was successful in his claim.

On one occasion, recorded *Agh.* xvi, 116, he and his troop were treated with marked inhospitality by a branch of the Imru'u 'l Qais 'bn Zaid Manât, then settled at the village of Mar'a in Yamâma. The whole party were refused shelter from the burning sun (*Dîw.* lxviii, vv. 78, 79, 80, 83) and were left without the offer of food. The resentment that this treatment excited in the poet led to his attacking the whole clan of Imru'u 'l Qais in several [eight] rather more abusive than satirical poems. On this, Hishâm of that tribe replied, but handicapped by being merely conversant with the metre *rajaz* and thus *ex confesso* unequal to cope with the *qaṣîdas* of Dhu'r Rummah, he applied for help to Jarîr, by the aid of whose vitriolic muse Hishâm was said to have got the better of his satirist[1]. Later on, Jarîr, being reconciled with Dhu'r Rummah and considering that there was no sting in his satire, offered his aid on the other side and supplied Dhu'r Rummah with the pungent verses *Dîw.* xxvii, 17, 18, 19; which he incorporated into his poem. Al Farazdaq, hearing Dhu'r Rummah recite his latest satire with the addition of the borrowed verses, at once interrupted the satirist, saying: "these are not your verses, and he who said them was stronger in the jaws than you." As for Hishâm, he was reduced to despair, beating his head, saying: "Jarîr has slain me, Allah destroy him! and, by Allah, his poetry is such that a single drop of it introduced into the ocean would cloud it." (*Agh.* xvi, 117, 118; vii, 62, 63.)

[1] These are the verses *Dîw. Jarîr* ii, 184, cited *Agh.* xvi, 117; vii, 61. Dhu'r Rummah at once recognized the true author.

Dhu'r Rummah likewise tried his hand at satire on al Ḥakam, *Dîw.* vi, and on the poet ar-Râ'î and his son Jandal, *Dîw.* xix, 5, 7.

Although Dhu'r Rummah's life was mostly spent in the desert, as is evident from his poems, he frequently visited Baṣra and Kûfa, where he was a "self-invited guest at men's tables and a haunter of marriage feasts" (*Agh.* xvi, 112). Doubtless he was poor. He was a failure as a panegyrist, and in consequence received but little reward from the patrons he flattered. His appearance is described at Kûfa as that of "a Beduin Arab trailing his worn-out vesture" (*Agh.* x, 158). In spite of these visits, some sufficiently prolonged, his real home was the desert. In *Dîw.* lxxxvii, 27 sqq. he says:

"An old woman said, past whose door my steps took me every morning and evening as I came from my folk,

—And she knew my face and well-known name, because our absence from home had been a lengthened one—

'Have you a wife in this city? or have you a law-suit in it, because of which I have seen you for the last year dwelling in Baṣra?'

And I answered her: 'Nay! for verily my people and my herd are all neighbours to the sand-hills of the Dahnâ'.'"

Again he says, *Dîw.* xvii, 13: "Al 'Irâq was never a home for my folk." Al Aṣma'î, *Fuḥûlat*, says: Dhu'r Rummah, though a Beduin, never wrote as one except in the poem in which this verse occurs—meaning that this is the only place in which he declares that his folk had but slight intercourse with the Arabs of the settled district, and nowhere else is this exclusiveness openly avowed. I. Qut. 533 reports that Mayya said, "I have never met any of that (Dhu'r Rummah's) tribe except on camels." And as his life had been in the wilds, so his death and burial took place in the desert. There are many conflicting accounts of this. He was said to have died of small-pox (*Agh.* xvi, 127); or of a tumour, which burst (*ibid.*); or of starvation owing to his camel (on which was his whole provision of meat and drink) running away (*Agh.* xvi, 127); or at Ḥajr of disease (*Agh.* xvi, 127). Different versions of his last words are recorded[1]

[1] As Suyûṭî, *Shaw* 52; I. Khall., De Slane, ii, 451; I. Qut. 334 T.A. (روح) ii, 147.

some spoken (*Agh.* xvi, 126) or found written[1] on his bow by the side of his corpse (*Agh.* xvi, 126). He was buried near Ḥuzwâ, in the Dahnâ' over against al Awâ'is. The circumstantial account of his death and burial given *Agh.* xvi, 127 seems to bear the impress of truth.

Dhu'r Rummah's reception by the poets of the settled districts was not very cordial. Jarîr and al Farazdaq were notoriously jealous of him. Al Kumait on the contrary admired him whole-heartedly (*Agh.* xvi, 112, 113; x, 158). Aṭ Ṭirimmaḥ sneered at him (*Agh.* x, 158) for being an unsuccessful panegyrist. All, however, agreed in admiring his extraordinary command of the true Arabic speech and idiom, much of which had fallen into desuetude and was almost lost to them. As a *poet* they made fun of his slavish adherence to old discarded modes of expression—his harpings on the vestiges of deserted encampments and tears over the now silent scenes of former love passages, and so on. Both Jarîr and al Farazdaq remonstrated with him on this and ascribed to this wearisome monotony of treatment the fact that he was not reckoned among the *Fuḥûl* (of this Dhu'r Rummah was himself conscious).

Abû 'Amr 'bn al 'Alâ, whilst he reckoned him "the seal of the poets," meant no more by this than that there was no other successor to the great Beduin, desert-bred poets but Dhu'r Rummah—either then extant, or likely to arise—and these were the only poets he deigned to cite as authoritative (cf. Goldziher, *Abh.* 138 n. 3). As to the poetry itself, he was also the author of the disparaging and unsavoury criticism, "the poetry of Dhu'r Rummah is like the patches on a bride's face, or dung which has a sweet scent at first but soon reverts to the [true] smell of dung" (*Agh.* xvi, 115, etc.). *Khiz.* i, 52 explains the phrase fully and remarks that the patches when washed disappear, and al Aṣma'î says that "the poems of Dhu'r Rummah are sweet at first hearing, but when often repeated are weak, and there is no beauty in them." This is too severe a judgment. It is often stated (*Agh.* xvi, 113; *Khiz.* i, 51, etc.) "that people in general never belittled his praises, except through envy, because he was superior to them, young as he was." This disparagement of some newly

[1] He confessed to being able to read and write (*Agh.* xvi, 121; I. Qut. 334) but wished it kept a secret. See, however, gloss to *Dîw.* lxxv, 53.

arisen poet on the ground of his youth—a favourite one at that time—I. Qut. considers unreasonable (6): "Every poet must have been a modern at one time!" According to I. Qut. (29) Dhu'r Rummah's strength lay "in similes; in description of sand-hills, scorching afternoons and water-holes; gad-flies and snakes," and again (41), "in describing rains he was pre-eminent." Ash Sharîshî (*'Iqd* ii, 40) gives as his best subjects "deserted encampments, the wild bull-oryx, asses, hounds and deer." He was also esteemed for his amatory passages, but recognized to be a failure in satire and panegyric (*Agh.* xvi, 121). But at any rate he could say of himself (*Dîw.* lvii, 51, 52 sq.):

"And never—Allah be praised!—have I launched against any believing woman evil report entailing danger of hell-fire,
Nor ever lauded any base man, to please him by my verse, that it might acquire gain."

In all these judgments most moderns would probably agree with the verdict of his contemporaries and of the native writers on *Belles Lettres*.

That a panegyrist should prove a failure does not affect or interest us much. We know that in his eulogy he has probably "lied like an epitaph" and the subject boring us, we are content to skip the laudatory passages. But what will always interest us are the poet's vivid descriptions of the incidents of the desert life as it existed more than a thousand years ago. The pictures drawn by Dhu'r Rummah have all the vividness of sketches taken from the life, and are the outcome of the personal experience of the poet. Kumait relates (*Agh.* xv, 125) that having once submitted some verses of his own to the judgment of Dhu'r Rummah, the latter remarked that Kumait had composed verse of which no man could say either that he had hit the mark, or had missed it—he *had* missed it, but not by much—in fact, he had come quite close to it. Kumait asks, "do you know why this is so?" On Dhu'r Rummah answering "no!" he says: "you describe a thing which you have seen with your own eyes, whilst I describe a thing which has been described to me, and hearsay is not like seeing with your own eyes."

But what all united in praising was his gift of finding and using similes. Just as Imru'u 'l Qais in the pre-Mohammedan times was, they said, the greatest master of simile, so they

maintained that in post-Mohammedan times the pre-eminence in this respect lay with Dhu'r Rummah[1]. To us his use of simile does not seem particularly felicitous, nor always in the best of taste, and his poems are very much over-charged with this poetic grace. In one particular instance his comparison of Umm Sâlim to a gazelle—not only generally but point by point (*Dîw.* lxxix, 44)—was made cruel sport of by a humorous tailor of Mirbad[2], who by means of a parody shouted out in the presence of Dhu'r Rummah put the abashed author to ignominious flight, nor did the crest-fallen poet ever venture to re-visit Mirbad till after the death of his persecutor (*Agh.* xvi, 118). These same unlucky lines led to his discomfiture on a second occasion and in a similar manner (Ḥarîrî, Deren. i, 323, n.; *Maṣâri'u 'l 'Ushshâq*, 235). His tormentor this time was a servant-maid. Dhu'r Rummah implored her to take his camel and all its furniture and in return to suppress her witty verses. This she promised him, and after accepting his bribe to silence, nobly restored it to him. The poet was obviously morbidly sensitive to ridicule, and easily abashed (*Agh.* vii, 61) although he was credited with considerable powers of retort (*Agh.* xvi, 113; *Khiz.* i, 52). He was thought to be more powerful in speech than in verse (*Agh.* xvi, 113), and most eloquent in converse (*Agh.* xvi, 122).

As a versificator he was correct. He speaks in more than one place of the trouble he took over his verses. He lies awake inventing and polishing them. He says (*Dîw.* lvii, 48–50):

"And many a poem, quaint in phrase—over it I have lain awake and kept it from both *sinâd* and defect of sense.
And I kept it correct and shaped out of it verses to which I reckon there are no models.
New and strange [breathing of the desert, غرائب]. In every region are they known. They say new things, originally."

Again (*Dîw.* xliii, 26, 27) he says:

"There shall come to you from me eulogy and praise, correct in form[3].
Laborious was its original versification.

[1] He plumed himself on this gift. On one occasion (*'Iqd* ii, 41; *Agh.* xvi, 113) he said, "when I say كأنّ ('as though') and cannot find a way out (i.e. a fit simile) may Allah cut out my tongue!"

[2] A camel-market about 3 miles from Baṣra.

[3] ة, ه, see Goldziher, *Abh.* 129.

'Twas the taming of a restive creature. And every kind of *qaṣîda*, be it ever so indocile, easily do I curb its unbroken members."

(Cf. Goldziher, *Abh.* 94 and also the story related *Agh.* x, 157.)

Dhu'r Rummah once said: "Among my poems are those in which the expression was obedient to and aided me (such was *Dîw.* lxvi), and among them were those in which I had to exert myself and my soul laboured (for example, *Dîw.* lxxv), and others again in which I was inspired by the poetic dæmon (as *Dîw.* i)." Of this last poem Jarîr said (*Agh.* xvi, 118): "how delighted I should be if this poem were mine! for verily in it his [Dhu'r Rummah's] *Shaiṭân* was his counsellor."

To sum up:—in the poems of Dhu'r Rummah are many tedious passages, but also much that is beautiful, and still more that is interesting. As to idiom and language, they are a mine to the lexicographer.

C. H. H. Macartney.

A PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF SOME MSS OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

In the course of editing the Galland and the Vatican MSS (hereafter G and V) of the Arabian Nights it has shown itself necessary to make some attempt towards an appraisement and genealogical classification of the other evidence, manuscript and printed. This investigation is not yet, by any means, complete; but the time seems come for at least a preliminary statement of the results so far reached. It may, perhaps, lead other students of the subject to communicate information as to MSS which are as yet unknown or insufficiently described and catalogued.

In *J.R.A.S.* for 1909 (pp. 685–704) I dealt in detail with Habicht's edition (Breslau, 1825–38, completed by Fleischer, 1842–3), and there showed, from his MSS, that this was a recension which he had himself constructed, and that there existed no such thing as a Tunisian MS or recension. His edition must be resolved into its component parts, that is the different MSS which he used, and these must be referred to their places in the general classification. Habicht "wilfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights."

Another divergent printed text, the classification of which has given much difficulty, is that commonly called "The I Calcutta," or "The Calcutta Edition of the first 200 Nights" (Calcutta, 2 vols., 1814, 1818), I can now prove that it is a descendant of the Galland MS; the proof will come below.

All the other printed texts, with the exception of some separate stories and fragments, belong to the recension which Zotenberg, in the *Notice* prefixed to his "Histoire d' 'Alâ al-Dîn," called "la rédaction égyptienne" (hereafter ZER). He considered that the complete text "n'a reçu sa forme actuelle qu'à une époque assez récente" (p. 52/217[1]).

[1] On p. 47/213, he says that all these MSS were transcribed at the beginning of the XIXth century, or the end of the XVIIIth, and that they all derive from one single, original text, "dont la rédaction n'est peut-être pas de beaucoup antérieure."

Of this recension the I Būlāq Edition (A.H. 1251, A.D. 1835) is, in general, the best representative; the II Calcutta Edition (1839–42) is often fuller, but it can be shown that the editors have expanded it from I Calcutta and from Habicht's Breslau text. We have therefore no assurance that a *plus* in it stood in the MS brought from Egypt by Major Turner Macan. It is demonstrable, also, that the different MSS of this recension differ in details among themselves. Proof of this will come hereafter.

I turn now to the MSS. To classify the MSS of a book like the Nights, or to begin a classification of them, it is necessary to find a passage of difficulty as to sense which seems to call for emendation. I think I have found such a passage in the Story of the Fisherman and the Jinnī, which I printed fourteen years ago from G, in the Nöldeke *Festschrift* (pp. 357–383). It will be remembered that that story breaks into two parts having only a most mechanical connection with one another. The first part posits a Jinnī contemporary with Solomon, imprisoned by him in a brass *qumqum*, and thus cut off from all contact with the world, who knows about a certain enchanted lake with enchanted fish in it, near the sea-shore where he is himself fished up. These fish are white, red, blue and yellow and have a covenant with a beautiful damsel and with a black slave. If any one tries to cook them, then, at the moment when they are turned in the pan, either the damsel or the black slave appears—which one comes seems to depend on whether the cook is a woman or a man—and asks if they hold to the covenant. They reply, "Yes, yes, if ye do it again, we will do it again[1], and if ye keep faith, we will keep faith; and if ye desert, we have done likewise." Apparently this answer is displeasing, for the fish are then overturned into the fire and are burned black. Further, the fisherman gets only four fish at each cast of his net, and is warned not to cast more than once in a day. As a matter of fact he does so three times in one day and nothing happens.

In the second part there is a lake with fish of four colours in it and there is a queen and a black slave. But

[1] Cf. a similar phrase in *Nuzhat-al-abṣār wal-asmā'*, p. 25, l. 14, of Cairo ed. A.H. 1305. In the printed forms of ZER this has been turned into a *basīṭ* verse; but in G V I Calcutta and Breslau it is plain prose.

that is all. There is no covenant, no explanation of the cooking scenes, and the people are contemporaries of the fisherman and of his world. The first part has evidently a folk-lore motif, on which I will not enter now[1]; the second part is a quite normal Muslim story of feminine depravity and enchantment. That the second part is the original ending of the first I cannot believe; that original ending must have been lost, and I think that it is just possible that the second part was roughly adjusted to the first by a change in the nature of the enchantment.

However all that may be, the join comes between the king's marching out with his army and court and finding the lake between the four hills, on the one hand, and the story told to the king by the young king of the Black Isles, on the other. At this story-telling "fault" I have chosen my test passage. The king determines to set out alone and investigate for himself the story which must lie behind the fish and the lake. He thus addresses his wazīr, in G (Night 20, vol. i, F. 27b; p. 373, ll. 13 ff. in my print in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*):

وفى غداة غدٍ اجلس انت على باب خيمتى وقول للامرا الملك متشوش وامرنى ان لا اعطى احدا دستورًا بالدخول عليه ولا تعلم احدًا بفقدى ولا برواحى واستنانى تلات ايام فقبل الوزير الامر وقال السمع والطاعه ولم يقدر يخالفه تم ان السلطان تحزم وشد عليه وتقلد بسيف الملك وطلع من احد جبال البركه حتى بقى على ظهره ومسى بقيه ليله الى الصباح فلما طلع النهار واضى بنوره ولاح وعلى وامتد على صطح الجبل فنظر وادا قد لاح له سواد من بعد قال صاحب الحديت فلما راه فرح به وقصده...

[1] The nearest folk-lore parallel to it in my knowledge is what is called in Scottish Gaelic "Taghairm," probably meaning "spirit call." It consisted in roasting cats alive on spits, until the devil appeared and granted the wishes of those who dared so to force him. This parallel, I may say, was approved by the late Professor Chauvin, who wrote to me that he had always been puzzled by the story. On Taghairm see especially John Gregorson Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 304 ff. and, also, Note 2T to Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. The story stimulated the imagination of later Muslim story-tellers; I know several other forms of it, all derivative. It seems to have suggested, also, to Keats his "to draw | His magian fish through hated fire and flame" (*Endymion*, iii, 264–5).

I translate:—"And to-morrow morning sit thou at the door of my tent and say to the Emirs, 'The King is indisposed and commanded me not to permit any one to go in to him.' And let no one know that I am away and journeying; but await me three days." Then the wazīr accepted the command and said, "Hearing and obeying!" and he could not oppose him. Next, the Sultan put on his *ḥizām* and drew it tight upon him[1] and hung on him his royal sword and mounted on one of the hills surrounding (*lit.*, of) the lake until he was on its top. And he passed the rest of the night until dawn[2]. Then when the day had appeared, and shone out with its light and gleamed and was high and extended over the flat top of the hill, he looked, and lo! there had appeared to him a blackness at a distance. So said the teller of the story. Then when he saw it he rejoiced at it and set out towards it...[3]

G was evidently written in Egypt, and Zotenberg in his *Notice* (p. 5/171) suggests for its date the second half of the XIVth century. Nöldeke, in his review of Zotenberg in WZ., ii, pp. 168 ff., would make it even older; but local Cairene references in it indicate a date considerably younger than even that assigned by Zotenberg. I hope to deal with these elsewhere in connection with the older history of the Nights. It was sent to Galland from Syria after 1700 ("Il a fallu le faire venir de Syrie," Galland in the Dédicace to his first volume), and it was at the Syrian Tripoli in A.H. 955 = A.D. 1548, as we learn from a note in it. The Patrick Russell MS and the William Jones MS, descendants of it, were brought from Aleppo in the XVIIIth century; of them more hereafter. The Vatican MS (Cod. Vat. Ar. 782) divides into two parts; the first extending to

[1] I have translated here rather pedantically because of the different reading, by error, I am sure, in V. On the *ḥizām* see Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 139 ff., and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. 1, with illustrations.

[2] I am quite aware that this is an uncommon use of مسو or مسا, but the context seems to require it. Cf. رفق به = مسى السير and مسّى for every kind of استلال. It may also be مسّى for امسى.

[3] A comparison of this translation with Galland's French version will prove interesting. Galland evidently read مشى and that drove him to making the king come down from the hill again and walk on the plain. I do not think that any of the Arabic derivatives from G have adopted this method of escape.

F. 87b inclusive is not directly from G; but from a somewhat illegible descendant or collateral of G; the second part is an immediate transcript of G and has a dated colophon saying that it was transcribed in Aleppo in A.H. 1001 (=A.D. 1592–3). It is certain, therefore, that G was at Aleppo at that date.

In V, Night 20, F. 41 b, the same passage runs:

وفى غداة غدٍ اجلس انت على باب خيمتى وقول للامراء الملك متشوّش وامرنى ان لا اعطى احدًا دستورًا بالدخول عليه ولا تعلم احدًا بفقدى ولا برواحى واستنّانى ثلاثة ايام فقبل الوزير الامر وقال السمع والطاعه ولم يقدر يخالفه ثم ان السلطان تحزّم وشدّ عدته وتقلد بسيف الملك وطلع من احد جبال البركه حتى بقى على ظهره ومشى بقيّة ليله الى الصباح فلما طلع الى النهار وآضى بنوره ولاح وامتدّ على صطح الجبل فنظر واذا قد لاح له سواد من بُعْد قال صَاحبُ الحديْث فلمّا راه فرح به وقصده...

There are only two considerable differences here, both for the worse. I have already referred (p. 307, note 1) to عدته instead of عليه after وشدّ. It seems due to an obscurely written MS; but the عليه in G is very clear. The other, ومشى instead of ومسى, has had portentous consequences. Once start the king walking instead of passing the night quietly on the hill-top, and ZER ends by making him walk all that night, all the next day until the sun was too strong for him and all the second night until dawn. What was his guide as to direction we are not told.

Nearest to G and V comes a MS in the library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It belonged to the late Sr. Gayangos and now forms part of the Colección Gayangos in that library, Nos. XLIX[1 & 2]. It has been most kindly examined and described in detail for me by Professor Miguel Asín Palacios of the University of Madrid. It consists of 2 vols., forming vols. i and iii; vol. i contains Parts I and II, and vol. iii, Parts V–VII; vol. ii is lost. It is a modern MS of Christian origin and is not divided into Nights. Vol. i (Parts I and II) gives the tales in the order of G, down to the end of the Hunchback cycle.

Then comes *Ḥikāya Juḥà*. This is, in my knowledge, the only appearance of Juḥà in a MS of the Nights, although there is no reason why he should not so appear; a *Kitāb Nawādir Juḥà* is given in the *Fihrist* (p. 313, l. 21) under the rubric of the *Mughaffilīn*. See, too, Juḥà in the *Qāmūs* and *Tāj* and in the *Lisān* (vol. xvii, p. 189) where his *kunya* is given as Abū-l-ghuṣn. For the more modern Juḥà see René Basset's *Étude* prefixed to Mouliéras' "Fourberies de Si Djeh'a." Thereafter comes the story of Anīs al-Jalīs, in the middle of which the volume closes. The lost second volume contained Parts III and IV, but what stories can only be guessed. The third volume (Parts V–VII) contains the long romance of King 'Umar an-Nu'mān and Sharr Kān, relieved in its dulness by several intercalated stories. In ZER the story of Tāj al-Mulūk, with that of 'Azīz and 'Azīza and the story of the ḥashīsh eater in the bath are so inserted. Here, to the story of Tāj al-Mulūk is added that of Ghānim and Qūt al-Qulūb, and to the ḥashīsh eater, the Sleeper and the Waker. There follow ten pages of robber stories and five pages of the Beast Fables which come also in ZER. The volume closes shortly after the beginning of the story of the Son of Adam and the Beasts.

It is plain that this MS does not belong to ZER, for there Ghānim follows Anīs al-Jalīs, and thereafter comes immediately the romance of 'Umar an-Nu'mān. Here a whole volume with two parts comes between. But that arrangement connects it with another class of MSS. In the Tübingen University Library there is a MS (No. 32) of this same romance of 'Umar, dated by Seybold (*Verzeichniss*, p. 75) at latest at the beginning of the XVIth century. It consists of 209 leaves out of an original 219, numbered 286 to 506. It professes to be a second volume (*kitāb*) of the Nights, and Part (*juz'*) VII to XIII; the Nights are 283–542. Seybold unfortunately does not state what are the intercalated stories. Again, in the Rylands Library there is another MS of this romance (Arabic 706). Like the Tübingen MS it is very old and a large folio and has lost quite a number of its leaves. It begins on F. 31 (original numberings) in Part VI, Night 251 and ends on F. 263 in Part XII. The story of 'Umar an-Nu'mān begins on F. 57a, Night 281, and extends to the end of the MS; it includes

the stories of Tāj al-Mulūk and of Ghānim. The first part of the MṢ contains a story which I did not recognize when I examined it in Sept., 1914.

I conjecture that these three MSS represent an early recension of the Nights in which the contents of G formed the first quarter and the story of 'Umar formed the second quarter of the whole; it was earlier and quite different from ZER. The Christ Church MS mentioned by Jonathan Scott, in the preface to his edition of Galland (vol. i, p. x, ed. of 1811) may also be of this recension. It is of the story of 'Umar and contains Part VIII of the Nights: the Nights are not numbered. But I know no evidence which can decide whether, when G came from Egypt, it was part of such a complete recension, or whether it came as a fragment and this recension was a Syrian expansion.

The treatment, as to intercalation, of the story of 'Umar is somewhat similar in the two Paris MSS, which Zotenberg described in his *Notice*, pp. 17/183 ff. and 21/187 ff.

I give now the text of our passage in the Madrid MS (F. 49a, ll. 3-9):

وآمرنی ان لا اعطی احدًا دستور بالدخول علیه ولا تعلم احدًا بقصتی ولا برواحی وانتظرنی ثلاثة ایام فقال الوزیر سمعًا وطاعه ولم یقدر یخالفه ⁘ ثم ان السلطان سل سیف الملك وطلع من احدی جبال البرکة حتی بقا علی ظاهر الجبل وتمشا بقیة لیلته الی الصباح فلما طلع الصباح واضا بنورهِ ولاح ٠وامتد علی سطح الجبل وقد لاح سواد من بعید ⁘ قال فلما رآه السلطان فرح بهِ وقصده...

The Sultan draws his sword and mounts one of the hills. He walks (تمشّی) all that night until dawn. This is evidently derivative from G, by a scribe who abbreviates but also thinks for himself. I know no other version quite like it.

It may be convenient to describe here, so far as I can, another MS of the Aleppo group although I cannot give its reading of our passage. It is well known that Sir William Jones possessed a MS of the Nights of considerable extent. He refers to it in the preface (p. iv) to his "Poems," published anonymously at Oxford in 1772; "the *Arabian* tales of *A Thousand and one nights,* a copy of which work in

Arabick was procured for me by a learned friend at *Aleppo.*" Dr Patrick Russell was at Aleppo from 1750 to 1771 and may have been the "learned friend" in question. In Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones there are other references to his study of the Nights, especially with the assistance of a native of Aleppo whom he met accidentally in London and took with him to Oxford; see pp. 32, 33, 36, 111 of the ed. of 1804. Extracts from his MS have appeared in Richardson's *Grammar of the Arabick Language*, pp. 200–209 (ed. of 1776); and in the 20 pp. printed by Joseph White, Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford from 1775 to 1814, as a specimen of a projected edition of the Nights; see for this specimen Schnurrer's *Bibl. Arabica*, p. 487. From these it is evident that the MS was in substantial agreement, as to reading and division into Nights, with G, being closer to it than I Calcutta, to which I have already referred. Unfortunately this MS has, at present, been lost sight of. At the death of Sir William Jones in 1794 it did not pass to the India Office Library with his other oriental MSS, but was evidently retained by Lady Jones. At her death her library was sold at auction at Evans's, May 10th, 1831, and this MS was bought by the Persian scholar Nathaniel Bland[1]. At his death in 1865 his oriental MSS were bought by the Earl of Crawford (*D.N.B.*, Suppl. i, 216) and it might, therefore, be looked for in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; but it is not there. In the auction catalogue it is described as a quarto, two vols. bound in one, containing 222 Nights.

I have already referred, more than once, to the I Calcutta Edition (Calcutta, 2 vols., 1814, 1818; ii lithogr. ed. in one vol., Calcutta, 1829). The text of our passage runs in it (vol. i, pp. 124 f.):

فاجلس انتَ فى خَيْمَتِى حتّى اعود ولا تُظهر ما قلتُه لكَ لاحدٍ
وقُلْ للامراء والعسكر اذا اصبحتَ انّ الملك خاطرُه مُشَوَّشا فلذلك لا يريد
ان يدخل عليه احدٌ غيرى وقد امرنى بان اُخبركم بذلك وانا عائدٌ

[1] I am indebted for this clue to the sagacity and kindness of Mr William Roberts, the well-known bibliographer and authority on the history of art. The certainty with which he put his hand on the Evans' Sale Catalogue in the British Museum Library seems to me as magical as anything in the Nights.

ان شاء الله تعالىٰ بعد ثلاثة ايّام قال الوزير حُبًّا وكرامةً والطاعةُ لِلّه ثمّ لك يا ملكَ الزّمان ثم انّ الملك لبسَ عُدّته وركب جَوادَه من ساعته وسار بقيّةَ ليله الى الصّباح فلمّا اشرقت الشمس.لاح له سواد عظيم من بعيد فلمّا راه فرح بهِ ثم انّه سار قاصدًا له وقال ان شاء الله تعالى اجدُ احدًا يخبرني بحقيقة هذا الامر من غير عَناءٍ

In the India Office Library there is a MS (Loth's *Catalogue*, p. 243, No. 842) to which Zotenberg has already drawn attention as belonging to his oriental recension (*Notice*, p. 45/211) and as being in close agreement with I Calcutta (p. 50/216). That is exactly so. Part of our passage runs in that MS (F. 51, ll. 5–7):

ثم ان الملك لبس عدته وركب جواده من ساعته وسار بقية ليلة (ليله ?) الى الصباح فلما اشرفت (sic) الشمس واذا واذ (sic) قد لاح له سواد عظيم من بعيد فلما رآه فرح به

The unity of the text here is evident and also that it is another attempt to make the story more probable. But there is another witness to this same type of text. In September, 1914, I found, in the Rylands Library, the first volume (Arabic 40) of Dr Patrick Russell's MS of the Nights. Dr Russell had entitled it, "*Arabian Nights*, Book 1st. 141 Nights." Dr Russell died in 1805 (*D.N.B.*, xlix, 469), and this MS was bought by S. W. Lewin in 1827. Thereafter it was bought by Lord Lindsay and passed from him to the Rylands Library. It consists of 229 leaves and ends, in Night 141, in the story of the young man of Bagdad and the barber, with a long piece of verse spoken by the old woman who gets from him his secret that he has fallen in love with the judge's daughter. I Calcutta (vol. i, pp. 100 f., Night 137) gives only four lines of this; but in G (Night 141, vol. ii, FF. 47b, 48a, b) there are 49 lines. In this MS (Night 20, F. 58a, b) our passage runs:

ثم ان الملك لبس عدته وركب جواده من ساعته وسار بقية ليلته الى الصباح ⁘ فلما اشرقت الشمس واذا قد لاح له سواد عظيم من بعيد ⁘ فلما راه فرح به ⁘ ثم انه سار قاصد له وقال ان شا الله تعالى اجد احد يخبرني عن هذا الامر من غير عنا

We have, therefore, three witnesses for a practically identical text. (i) A text printed in Calcutta in 1814–18, "under the patronage of the College of Fort William," and edited by "Shuekh Uhmud bin Moohummud Shirwanee ool Yumunee of the Arabic department" in that college. Edouard Gauttier refers to him in the preface (pp. xi f.) to his edition of Galland (Paris, 1822) as "Le Mollah Firouz." The Mullā expresses the opinion in a Persian note of introduction to his edition that the tales were written by a Syrian Arab for the instruction of Europeans who wished to learn Arabic. In this he follows an Arabic preface to (ii), the Russell MS. This MS was brought by Dr Russell from Aleppo where he was resident physician to the English Factory from 1750 to 1771. Thereafter he was in India, principally at Madras (1781–89) as botanist to the East India Company. (iii) The India Office Library MS came from the library of John Leyden, the friend of Sir Walter Scott. He reached Madras on the 19th of August, 1803, and remained there until 1805; he lived at Calcutta at different times, principally, 1806–10, and died at Java, August 28th, 1811. He may have met Patrick Russell in London as he stayed there a few months studying oriental languages before sailing for India. Earlier still he had studied Arabic at Edinburgh during his vacations. Patrick Russell's letter to Sylvanus Urban (*Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1799, pp 91 f.) had drawn wide attention to his MS of the Nights and had shown also how much attention was being paid at the time to the general subject of the Nights. John Leyden must have been following all that.

There can be no doubt that these three are connected and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Russell MS is the source of the other two. But exactly how, where and when these two were derived from the Russell MS is not so easy to decide. That I Calcutta is not based immediately on either seems certain. Its editor evidently intended to put one hundred Nights into each volume and he had difficulty in making out two volumes. Yet the India Office MS has 281 Nights and ends like G and V in the story of Qamar az-Zamān, and the one volume, so far found, of the Russell MS has 141 Nights, while, in his letter, Dr Russell says that his MS has 280 Nights. The editor of I Calcutta

has had to pad out his first volume at the end with the story of the marriage of al-Ma'mūn and Būrān (Nights 94–100; pp. 398–430); the source of his text has not been determined; it is fuller than any other form of this story in the Nights. His second volume he has padded with the story of the Guile of Women (Nights 196–200; pp. 367–378). He then added for good measure *Sindbad the Sailor*, pp. 378–458, not divided into Nights. Guile of Women and Sindbad he got from Langlès' edition, *Les Voyages de Sind-Bâd le Marin, et la Ruse des Femmes* (Paris, 1814); both are also in an appendix to Savary's *Grammaire de la Langue arabe* which was edited by Langlès in 1813. That this was his source was stated by Gauttier in the preface to his edition of Galland (vol. i, p. xx) and De Goeje showed in his *De Reizen van Sindebaad* (De Gids, 1889, No. 8; and separately) that Langlès and I Calcutta were of the same recension. But the Indian editor must have touched up the style and introduced slight modifications from the point of view of the teacher of Arabic. That was evidently his attitude, and I suspect that he so dealt with his whole book[1]. It becomes, therefore, very difficult to say whether any differences between the texts, of change, addition or omission, are due to this pedagogical attitude or to the MS which he used. It is plain, however, that his MS was defective at the end of the Porter cycle of stories. I Calcutta omits entirely the second Lady (*al-madrūba*), and an ending had to be invented. So the wronged sister (she of the dogs) disenchants the dogs at Hārūn's request (p. 302, ll. 5 ff. from below). With a view to this possibility she had learned and remembered the formula. Hārūn, Ja'far and Masrūr (!) marry the three sisters. This does not give a high impression of the independent story-telling ability of the editor. At the end of the Hunchback cycle there is an equally strange addition. The Barber not only becomes a boon companion of the king but shows himself a magician and a poet (I Calcutta, vol. ii, pp. 186–188; Night 162 = G, vol. iii, F. 3b; Night 170).

I now take up the question of the Habicht text or texts. In the Breslau edition, vol. i to the middle of p. 12 (l. 9) is

[1] So the young Fleischer thought in 1827. See his "Remarques critiques" on Habicht's first volume in *J. A.*, vol. xi, p. 222.

the ordinary ZER text; but there a text begins which is a descendant of G. But in G, in the story of the Merchant and the Jinnī, the third Shaykh's story is omitted. That has been inserted here (p. 63, l. 12 to p. 66, l. 1) from ZER. On the margin of V, at this point, there is a similar insertion but abbreviated. At the foot of p. 349 in Night 69 comes the end of the Porter cycle, and on p. 350 the story of the Apples begins. But I have already noted, in my article in *J.R.A.S.* (July, 1909, p. 690) on Habicht's recension, that Habicht's MS reckoned by me as 1b and marked with Library No. ii, 17 is in two parts, coinciding with this division and change of story, and that the first part ends, in Night 69, with

وما هذا باغرب مما جرى للخليفة مع ابنة كسرى ∴ تم الجلد الاول من كتاب الف ليلة وليلة

This part of the volume is in a small unidentified modern hand; but the second part is a single gathering written by Hābicht and evidently intended to bridge over to his MS volume ii, printed in Breslau, vol. ii. We have here, therefore, a MS, a descendant of G, with Nights numbered as in G, ending, like G, the Porter cycle in Night 69; but following that immediately with the story of the Daughter (i.e. female descendant) of the Kisrà (Chauvin's No. 106).

In A.H. 1115 (A.D. 1703–4) there was finished at Baghdad the transcription of a MS of the Nights in which the first 69 Nights coincided with the first 69 Nights of G. There, then, followed the story of Hārūn ar-Rashīd and the Daughter of the Kisrà. Other stories followed in a sequence not found elsewhere. Apparently there had come to the transcriber a MS derived from the first 69 Nights of G, and he had continued it freely from other sources. For all this see Zotenberg's *Notice*, pp. 35/201 ff. This MS is now lost; but was copied in Paris early in the XIXth century by Michel Sabbagh for Caussin de Perceval. It must have come into his possession after 1806, for in that year, the year of his edition of Galland's version, he evidently did not yet know it. This copy is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds arabe 4678, 4679; Suppl. ar. 2522, 2523). In 1827 it was used by Fleischer in his article already referred to in criticism of the first vol. of Breslau in *J.A.*, vol. xi, pp. 217 ff.

From the above it is highly probable that this Baghdad MS lies behind the first vol. of Breslau, and a comparison of our test passage makes it certain. It runs in Breslau (i, p. 116, ll. 11 ff.):

وانا اغيب ثلاثة ايام لا غير فقط فقال السمع والطاعة ثم ان السلطان تحزم وتقلد بسيفه وخرجُ من هناك ومسك الطريق الى (الذى التى ?) تخرج من الجبل ولا زال ماشياً حتى طلع النهار واضى بنوره ولاح وعليت الشمس فنظر من بعيد سواد فلما راه فرح وقال لعل اجد احدًا منه...

In Michel Sabbagh's transcript of the Baghdad MS (Night 20, F. 35b) the same passage runs:

وانا اغيب ثلاثة ايام فقط لا غير فقال له الوزير سمعًا وطاعة ثم ان السلطان قام تحزم وتقلد بسيفه وتنكر وخرج من وطاقه ومسك الطريق التى تخرج من الجبل ولا زال ماشيًا حتى اشرق الصباح واضا بنوره ولاح وعلت الشمس على الروابى والبطاح فنظر من بعيد سواد فلما راه فرح وقال لعل اجد احدًا استخبر منه...

Another MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale is of the same type. It is Suppl. 1715 I, II (Nos. 3613–3614) and is described by Zotenberg in a note on p. 45/211 of his *Notice*. He considered it a modern copy, executed in Europe, perhaps by the Syrian monk Chavis. It reproduces the order of the above MS although the division into Nights is not exactly the same, and ends in the middle of the story of Gulnar of the Sea, omitting like G the third Shaykh's tale in the story of the Merchant and the Jinnī. Our passage in it runs (Night 20, F. 35a, b):

وانا ساغب (sic) ثلاثة ايام لا غير فقال السمع والطاعه ثم ان السلطان تحزم وتقلد بسيفه فخرج من هناك ومسك طريق الدى تخرج من الجبل وبقى يمشى حتى طلع النهار واضى بنوره ولاه (sic) وعلى الشمس فنظر من بعدٍ سواد فلما راه فرح وقال لعله احد استخبر منه...

These three, then, are all descendants from G and are of one type.

The second part of the Breslau text is derived directly from G. It extends from Night 72 b to Night 208, Breslau, vol. ii, p. 4 to التى in Breslau, vol. iii, p. 102, l. 7. This in Habicht's MS (see my article on him in *J.R.A.S.*, p. 691) is in the hand of Ibn Najjār, his Tunisian friend; but is derived straight from G. Why Ibn Najjār sent a MS to Habicht, which he had copied from G, breaking off abruptly in the middle of the story of Anīs al-Jalīs, I do not know; but that is the fact. It may be proved thus. Zotenberg observed (*Notice*, p. 6/172) that one leaf was lost from G containing the greater part of Night 102, the whole of Night 103, and some lines of Night 104, and that at the foot of the preceding page (G, vol. ii, F. 29b) and on the margin of the following page a few phrases had been inserted to fill the gap. These phrases are reproduced almost exactly in Ibn Najjār's MS and in Breslau (vol. ii, p. 123, l. 8, وان to p. 124, l. 15). Only I do not think, as apparently Zotenberg did, that they were suggested by the context. They seem to be derived from another recension; it is noticeable that ZER has the same recension as G (on the evidence of V) had originally, but omits much of the verse.

I now give the readings of a number of MSS which seem, so far as my present knowledge goes, to be isolated. The most remarkable of them, as to reading, is the Christ Church MS, at Oxford, No. 207 (Kitchin's *Cat.*, p. 60), which is apparently the same as the C 20 referred to by Jonathan Scott in the preface to his *Arabian Nights*, vol. i, p. x. Zotenberg (p. 45/211) reckons it in his oriental group and, according to Scott, it gives G's sequence of stories to the end of the Hunchback cycle; but I do not know how the Nights are numbered. Our passage—for the transcript I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Margoliouth—runs in it:

فلعل الله تعالى يدلنى على شى اعلم منه خبر هذه البركة وانت
تجلس فى هذا المكان باب خيمتى ولا تمكن احد من العساكر
الدخول فيها وكل من سالك عنى فقل له الملك متشوش لا يقدر
يجتمع على احد ولا تخبر احد بخبرى الى ثلثة ايام فقال له الوزير
يا ملك الزمان كيف تسير وحدك فى هذا الليل ونحن فى جبال
واودية خوالى فقال له لا تخاف على يا وزير ولا تخالفنى فيما قلته

لك فقال سمعا وطاعة يا مولانا ثم ان الملك تقلد بسيفه وصعد على ذلك الجبل الى ان صار فى اعلاه ولم يزال ماشي باقي ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد خافي فانشرح صدره لذلك وقصده...

This seems to me a derivative attempt to produce a smooth narrative in independent language.

The Wortley-Montague MS in the Bodleian stands also by itself both in contents and in reading of this passage. To the end of the Porter cycle it has apparently the same division and numbering of Nights as G; thereafter is chaos. It is a quite modern MS of the middle of the XVIIIth century (A.H. 1177/8) and shows that even at that date there was not any generally recognized recension of the Nights and that individuals had to form their own. The passage runs (vol. i, p. 89):

ثم ان الملك تحزم واعتقل بسيفه وتسلق من على احد الجبال الذى على البركه حتى صار على ظهره ومشا بقية ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد من بعيد ففرح وقال لعلى اقع على من يخبرنى القضيه...

I have extracts from two other MSS which are so abbreviated that it is not worth while to transcribe them: the Ouseley MS in the Bodleian (Ous. 242; in Ouseley's *Cat.* No. 577) and a MS in the India Office Library, Loth 843.

But the readings in a Paris MS are so individual that I give them although I cannot bring them into connection with any other MS. It is Suppl. arabe 1721 IV (Fonds ar. No. 3615; cf. Zotenberg, p. 49/215)[1]. Written at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, it came from Egypt and contains the first 210 Nights, agreeing with G in division and numbering of the Nights down to the end of the Hunchback cycle. Thereafter comes Anīs al-Jalīs; then Zādbakht; then Sindbād. Our passage comes in Night 19 on F. 29b:

فصبر الملك الى ان اقبل الظلام فاخذ سيفه وطلع على سطح الجبل وسار طول ليلته فلما اصبح ظهر له قصر من بعيد فقصده حتى قرب منه...

[1] It may be worth noticing that on l. 10 of this page Zotenberg, by a slip, has written "conte *du Pêcheur*" instead of "conte *du Marchand*."

I pass now to the MS which connects best with ZER. It is the Reinhardt MS in the Strasbourg University Library in four vols., of which ii and iii are dated A.H. 1247. It will be remembered that I Būlāq appeared in A.H. 1251 (1835). The first 73 pages to the end of the Porter cycle and the division and numbering of the Nights on these pages are as in ZER, but thereafter we have an entirely separate recension, containing some stories which elsewhere have not found their way into the Nights, e.g. Saif b. Dhī Yazan and Saif at-Tījān (Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.* iv, pp. 210-212). Our passage comes in Night 7 and I am indebted for the following transcript to the kindness of Professor Nöldeke:

وقل للامرا والوزرا والحجاب ان السلطان تشوش وامرني ان لا اذن لاحد في الدخول عليه ولا تعلم احد بقصدي فلم يقدر الوزير على مخالفته ثم ان الملك غير حالته وتقلد سيفه وانسل من بينهم ومشي بقيه ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد من بعيد...

This is almost verbatim what stands in I Būlāq (vol. i, p. 20) except that it omits about a line which tells how the king continued journeying a day and a second night. This *may* have dropped out through the repetition of the phrase الى الصباح.

I do not take space here to reproduce the printed texts of ZER. They divide under two types which can easily be linked up with the MS evidence. In the one—I Būlāq, II Būlāq and the Cairo editions generally—there is no mention of the king climbing a hill and the difficulty, which Galland removed by making him come down again, is not raised. This type says instead وانسل من بينهم, just as we have seen in Reinhardt. In one Paris MS (Fonds ar. No. 3606) neither this phrase nor mention of the hill occurs. The other type of text (II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 43; Bombay lithograph, vol. i, pp. 33, 34; Salhani, vol. i, p. 39) follows the original tradition with وتسلق من على احد الجبال and makes no mention of coming down again; the king walks on upon that hill for a day and two nights. This is also the reading in Wortley-Montague (vol. i, p. 89) and in two Paris MSS (Fonds ar. Nos. 3595 and 4675); in all these in Night 7. In this there is evidently such conscious editing as we have already seen in the Habicht text (and the Paris MSS 3613,

4678) with its ومسك الطريق الذى (التى) تخرج من الجبل. But it may be simple accident which makes the Christ Church MS and the Bodleian Ouseley 242 agree in substituting صعد for طلع. It is plain, too, that at this point II Calcutta is more original than Būlāq, which is more drastically edited. The puzzle is that the Reinhardt MS should agree so closely with this edited Būlāq only in its first 73 pages. Its scribe evidently had no more of that recension, or of any recension except what he put together himself.

Zotenberg's hypothesis of an Egyptian recension formed in the latter part of the XVIIIth century has been accepted above. It may now be in place to give some other evidence supporting it. The MSS and printed texts which, *ex hypothesi*, represent it are characterized by very long Nights. Thus, the test passage comes in it in Night 7, while in G it is in Night 20. But mingled with these long Nights are some which are very short, and it is worth while to consider whether behind this variation there lies a significant explanation. Further, the G recension when complete, if it was ever complete, would have amounted only to about vols. i and ii of II Calcutta. The first 170 Nights in G, to the end of the Hunchback cycle, take 278 pages in II Calcutta. A complete 1001 Nights of the length of these would, therefore, have required about 1630 pages; but II Calcutta has in its four vols. 2972 pp. and its first two vols. have together 1608 pp. Therefore, ZER, as contrasted with the G recension, has been greatly expanded by additions.

In the first 349 pages of II Calcutta are only 44 Nights. These are occupied by stories which take 200 Nights in G—from the beginning to the end of the Hunchback cycle (Nights 1–170) plus Anīs al-Jalīs (Nights 201–229)—with the addition of Ghānim which is not in G and which has six Nights (39–44) in II Calcutta. Thereafter in II Calcutta comes 'Umar an-Nu'mān on 366 pp. and in 101 Nights; then Beast Fables, 44 pages and six Nights; then 'Alī b. Bakkār and part of Qamar az-Zamān on 150 pages and in 65 Nights close vol. i of II Calcutta. In G 'Alī b. Bakkār and the part of Qamar az-Zamān which survives (to first five lines on p. 832 in II Calcutta) amount to 38 Nights, and this portion is 30 Nights and 71 pages in II Calcutta.

I interpret this irregularity in length of Nights by the

following hypothesis. In the recension immediately preceding ZER there were originally 152 Nights up to the end of Ghānim, and Ghānim was followed immediately by 'Alī b. Bakkār. It was desired to lengthen, by the addition of 'Umar and the Beast Fables, which seem frequently to follow 'Umar; see on this my article on Habicht in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1909, p. 701. So the Nights up to the end of Ghānim were lengthened and reduced in number to 44. That set free 107–8 Nights. Of these 101 were given to 'Umar—about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages to a Night—and over the remainder the Beast Fables were spread, $7\frac{1}{3}$ pages to a Night. But this means that the recension preceding ZER contained the full number of 1001 Nights; as, otherwise, 'Umar could have been added at the end or in a gap. Also, it means that that recension did not already contain 'Umar, as we have evidence that some quite early recensions did. Also, this explains the double occurrence of what is essentially the same story in Tāj al-Mulūk and Ardashīr; the latter was already in the Nights when 'Umar was introduced bringing with it the former.

It was a remarkable piece of luck which, at the beginning of the XVIIIth century played what is still the oldest known MS of the Nights into the hands of Galland, their first introducer to Europe. But a quite modern MS may carry a more complete tradition than one centuries older. It would, therefore, be unsafe to take G alone and disregard all others, and I already possess evidence that even ZER contains elements which had been lost in the ancestry of G; or, otherwise expressed, that ZER goes back to a more complete text of the G recension. But upon that and upon some other questions of relationship I am not yet in a position to make a complete statement.

Finally, it is a pleasant duty to thank a number of scholars, besides those specially mentioned above, for much help in examining MSS inaccessible to me here; they are M. H. Ananikian, T. W. Arnold, A. G. Ellis, I. Guidi, Sir Charles Lyall, F. Macler, L. Massignon, B. Meissner, R. A. Nicholson, C. F. Seybold, W. H. Worrell.

D. B. MACDONALD.

THE SENSE OF THE TITLE *KHALIFAH*

The word which has become familiar in the form *Caliph* had a history before Islam. It is in form the abstract noun of a verb חלף, which means in Assyrian much the same as the Greek δύνειν, *to don, get into,* in Hebrew and Aethiopic *to pass on* or *over*, in Aramaic and Arabic *to come after* or *in lieu of.* Its abstract noun naturally therefore in Assyrian means *indutus, a putting-on,* hence *a garment*; and this appears to be the sense of the Hebrew חליפה (used in the plural) *suit of clothes.* In Psalm cii. 27 this word is derived from the sense *to pass away.* "As a vesture thou shalt cast them off (תחליפם) and they shall pass away" (יחלפו). Now "a passing away" does not seem to be as suitable a phrase for a garment as "a putting on"; whence it might seem that the succession of ideas (represented in the different languages) was *put on* (Assyrian), *pass through* or *away* (Hebrew and Aethiopic); *enter* (Assyrian), *come after* or *instead of* (Aramaic and Arabic).

How much the Hebrew usage differs from the Arabic may be illustrated by the gloss quoted from a Midrash on Proverbs xxxi. 8, which explains בני חלוף as "the sons of the dead man who has passed away" שחלף, where the Arabic verb would be applied to the son who comes after, not to the father who has gone on before. In consequence of this sense of coming after, the root is a fertile source of proper names both in Aramaic and Arabic. The form خلف is often found, meaning "the father's substitute"; so the son of a qāḍī is told "Your father was a support to us, and you, thank God, are his *khalaf* (substitute)[1]." The form *khalīfah* is also used as a proper name in early times[2].

In the inscription Glaser 618 of the year 543 A.D. *khalīfah* occurs (line 11) meaning "viceroy" with the verb *istakhlafa* "appoint as such"; (line 36) in the plural *khalā'if* meaning "lieutenants."

In the Qur'an the word occurs with both its regular

[1] *Nishwar* of Tanukhi (in the press), p. 137.
[2] See Indices to *Kamil* of Mubarrad, etc.

plural خلائف and that which it takes in imitation of masculine words خلفاء ; a synonym is مستخلف and the text wherein this occurs (lvii. 7) is of some use for ascertaining its sense.: انفقوا مما جعلكم مستخلفين فيه. This evidently means *spend of that whereof God has put you in possession*, and if we should add, as the commentators do, *after other people*, the sense does not seem to gain thereby. In two cases the form خلفاء seems to mean *successors*, vii. 67 where *after the people of Noah*, and 72 where *after 'Ad* follow; the same sense apparently belongs to the form خلائف in x. 15 and 74, where some predecessors are mentioned; but in xxxv. 37 *He it is who has made you* خلائف *in the earth*, and xxvii. 63 *and makes you* خلفاء *of the earth*, ii. 28 *When thy Lord said to the Angels: Verily I am about to place on the earth a* خليفة, xxxviii. 25 *O David, verily we have set thee as a* خليفة *on the earth, so judge between mankind with right*, some word like "possessor" or perhaps "heir" would be more suitable. Indeed in this last passage it is difficult to get clear of the notion *potentate* which afterwards became associated with the word.

In the classical literature the word can be used for *substitute* in any sense. The hands of the Banū Yazdād according to Buḥturī are *Caliphs* (substitutes) for the rain-bringing constellations[1]. Abu Nuwas was induced by his youth to become the Caliph of someone's husband, i.e. commit adultery[2]. Most frequently however the word is used for the deputy of some official. The Caliph himself may have a Caliph; when the 'Abbasid Caliph lived in Samarra, there was a خليفة امير المؤمنين in Baghdad[3]. Viziers and the like often had "Caliphs," who discharged some of their numerous duties for them, or represented them when they were away from the court.

The basic tradition for the employment of the name to designate the Moslem sovereign is quoted by Badī' al-Zamān Hamadhānī in his *Rasā'il*[4]. *When the Apostolate came to an end, and the Sovereignty* (*Imāmate*) *came in, the honour fell to the latter. Abu Bakr was addressed:* Caliph of the Apostle of God; *God made the Caliphate the badge of Abū*

[1] i. 74, ed. Const.
[2] Cairo, 1898, p. 311.
[3] Tabari iii. 1410.
[4] Beyrut, 1890, p. 289.

Quḥāfah's family, and no one except the representative of that family received the title; then Abu Bakr appointed as his Caliph (successor) 'Umar. A man addressed him as Caliph of God. *He said: God confound you*[1]*! That is God's prophet David. The man then addressed him as* Caliph of the Apostle of God. *'Umar said: That is your departed master (Abu Bakr). Then the man addressed him as* Caliph of the Caliph of the Apostle of God. *'Umar said: That is my right title, only this is too long.* 'Umar proceeded to style himself Prince of the Believers.

The passage indicates that the name Caliph allowed of three interpretations, Successor to the Prophet, Successor to the Throne (i.e. follower of the last sovereign), and Viceroy of God. To the ordinary Moslem the name meant nothing more than Sovereign; hence they speak of *the Caliphate of the Moslems*[2], *our Caliph*, *their Caliph*, *Caliphs* as opposed to *Commoners*, precisely as *kings* are opposed to them[3]; the vizier Ibn al-Furāt is said to have governed in the style of a Caliph[4].

Abu Bakr is called the *Caliph of the Apostle of God* in a deed purporting to be drawn up by Khālid b. al-Walid, cited by Abu Yusuf[5]. There is a tradition that he substituted the form *khālīfah*, meaning "the worthless," but this tradition is evidence that the title was given him. The chief use of this interpretation is made by Ṣūfīs, e.g. Ibn 'Arabi in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*[6], whose purpose it is to show that the Ṣūfī *quṭb* is the substitute for God on earth, whereas the recognized Caliphate is a lieutenancy of the Apostle; since all that is in the power of the recognized Caliph is to apply a Code which he has received from an Apostle, whereas the Lieutenant of God receives orders from the same source as that whence the Apostles drew.

In an oration ascribed by Jāḥiẓ to Abu Bakr[7] the Caliphate is said to be of the Prophetic office, and Ibn Zubair is said to have termed it "Inheritance of the Prophetic office[8]."

1 خالفك الله; the play cannot be easily reproduced.
2 Tabari iii. 1489, 5. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* i. 179. Tabari iii. 1633, 11.
3 Buḥturī i. 241 من سوقة وخلائف. ii. 95 سوقة وملوكا.
4 Miskawaihi i. 13 (in the press).
5 *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Cairo, 1306, p. 84, 13.
6 Ed. Cairo, 1309, pp. 311 foll.
7 *Bayān* ii. 21.
8 *Ibid.* i. 202.

The interpretation *successor of the last sovereign* is suggested by the form *mustakhlaf*, "person chosen to succeed," which 'Abbasid poets use as the equivalent of *khalīfah* for metrical reasons. Thus Abu Tammâm speaks of the eighth *mustakhlaf*[1], Buḥturī of the tenth *mustakhlaf*[2], meaning "appointed in due succession." In one anecdote the word means "pretender," implying improper appointment[3]. Perhaps the only occasion whereon this sense has entered into political controversies was in the negotiations between the Persian ruler Ashraf and the Porte in 1727, when in the treaty of peace it was agreed that *The grand Signior shall be acknowledged head of the Musselmen and the true successor of the Caliphs*[4]. It is well known that the old line of Caliphs in the East terminated somewhere; the question was whether the Ottoman Sultan was their proper successor.

It is perhaps surprising that the question of continuity in the succession of Caliphs meets us so rarely. Abu Tammâm and Buḥturī start their lists from the first 'Abbasid, Saffāḥ; the interval between the Prophet's death and his accession is usually neglected. Buḥturī has a theory that the Prophet's uncle 'Abbas was his *waṣī*, or legatee, which he expresses in the following verse:

يتقيل العباس عم محمد   ووصيه فيما يقول ويفعل

He reproduces 'Abbas the Prophet's uncle and his legatee in what he says and does[5],

referring to Mutawakkil. 'Abbas appears indeed to have possessed the kingly gift of rainmaking; but such rights to the Caliphate as he may have had were ordinarily based on the Law of Inheritance, not on this theory that he was the *waṣī*, a name which is often applied to 'Ali. 'Ali indeed (as apart from Fāṭimah) could only inherit as *waṣī*, which implies the theory of successive appointment. This was often interpreted as the communication of mysterious knowledge for the conduct of affairs; and this theory too is adopted by Buḥturī, who explains Mutawakkil's wise government in this way:

[1] Beyrut, 1889, p. 141. [2] ii. 185.
[3] *Nishwar*, p. 74.
[4] J. Hanway, *The Revolutions of Persia*, 1762, ii. 253.
[5] i. 14.

عرفتنا سنن النبي وهديه وقضيت فينا بالكتاب المنزل
حقا ورثت عن النبي وانما ورث الهدى مستخلف عن مرسل

Thou hast taught us the Practices and guidance of the Prophet, and hast judged amongst us by the Revealed Book; a right which thou didst inherit from the Prophet; and guidance is only inherited by one appointed in due succession from an Apostle[1].

The mode wherein the 'Abbasids worked 'Ali into their claim on this principle was to make the Prophet hand over these mysteries to 'Ali, who handed them to his son Mohammed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, who handed them to the representative of the line of 'Abbas, with whose descendants they remained.

Possession of knowledge of this sort would certainly require a continuous chain; where Abu Tammām enumerates the series ending with Wāthiq, he starts with Saffāḥ[2]. Continuity of possession would also be desirable in the case of the insignia of the Caliph, enumerated by Buḥturī as the Sword, Turban, Seal, Cloak, Staff and Throne[3]. Of these personal possessions probably the Seal (*khātam*) was the most important[4]; the first business of a Caliph when installed was to secure it[5]. By the Throne (*sarīr*) probably the *minbar* is meant[6]. According to Samhūdi, however, when Mu'āwiyah tried to remove the *minbar* from Medinah miracles occurred which frustrated the project[7]; but such an object would be likely to exist in duplicate. It is probable that all these objects have been repeatedly renewed, since several of the Caliphs perished in circumstances which left little chance of their preservation. Mas'ūdi has a story according to which Marwān the last of the Eastern Umayyads buried some of them—the Cloak, the Rod and the Seal (?)[8]—lest they should fall into 'Abbasid hands; a slave revealed the hiding place to 'Āmir b. Isma'īl, the slayer of Marwān. The slave thought that if they were lost, the heritage of the Prophet would be missing. Muqtadir at the time of his death had the Cloak and Rod on his person[9]; his body was stripped. Mas'ūdī did not know whether they had been

[1] i. 9.
[2] Beyrut, 1889, p. 293.
[3] ii. 240.
[4] Ta'āwīdhī 149, 30.
[5] Miskawaihi i. 290.
[6] Ta'āwīdhī 409, 30.
[7] Cairo, 1285, p. 120.
[8] Ed. B. de Meynard, vi. 77. The word مخصر must be corrupt.
[9] Miskawaihi i. 265.

rescued or not. As has been seen, the Caliphs of the sixth century possessed them all.

The third theory that the Caliph is God's deputy appears in its crudest form in the question asked by Khālid b. 'Abdallah Qasrī[1] (ob. 126): *Which is the more honourable, the messenger whom a man sends on an errand or the person who takes his place with* (his *khalīfah* with) *his family?* His idea was to show that the Umayyad Hishām was superior to the Prophet. This interpretation is found in a letter of the Umayyad Yazīd b. al-Walīd[2], where the Caliphs are called *the Caliphs of Allah*. Jāḥiẓ[3] mentions the formula *O Caliph of Allah* among the proper forms of address to a Caliph, and according to him 'Aṭā b. Abī Saifī the Thaqafite in his consoling words to Yazīd son of Mu'āwiyah on the death of the latter said *Thou hast lost the Caliph of Allah and been given the Caliphate of Allah*[4]. This is also found in 'Abbasid accession oaths[5]. In poetry the formula is very common, and *khalīfah of the Raḥmān* is at times substituted for it[6].

Since it seems certain that the interpretation *Lieutenant of God* was approved by Umayyad princes, it may be suggested that it was due to Umayyad needs. The transference of the Islamic capital to Damascus from Medinah, where a *Successor* of the Prophet was naturally established, may well have produced a change in the interpretation of the title. Mu'āwiyah's claim, if based on the text of the Qur'an (xvii. 35), was to be *Sulṭān*; as such he was not Mohammed's deputy, but God's.

According to Ibn Khaldun[7] this interpretation though permitted by some jurists was rejected by the majority (*jumhūr*). It was the official interpretation at the Mamluk court, where the shadowy 'Abbasid was styled *The khalīfah of Allah in his earth, the son of the uncle of the Apostle, Prince of Messengers, and heir of the Caliphate from him*[8]; according to this the Prophet himself was a *Caliph*.

That the Caliphate terminated with the rise of the Umayyad dynasty is expressed in the tradition that the Prophet

[1] *Aghani* xix. 66.
[2] Tabari ii. 1843, 20.
[3] *Livre de la Couronne*, p. 86.
[4] *Bayān* ii. 103.
[5] Tabari iii. 1475, 17; 1565, 13.
[6] Buḥturī ii. 146.
[7] *Prolegomena*, Cairo, 1284, p. 109. Cf. *Mawāqif*, ed. Soerensen, p. 297.
[8] *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 89.

said *The Caliphate after me will be thirty years; then it will become a kingship*[1]. The successor of the Prophet should clearly be a king-priest of Medinah, where the Prophet had discharged those functions; when the centre of the empire was removed to a distance, the continuity was broken, and it was natural that the sense attaching to the title should undergo a change. That the 'Abbasids thought of themselves as successors to the old Persian kings appears very clearly from the *Tāj* of Jāḥiẓ; and as "Sultans of the World[2]" they might well regard themselves as lieutenants of God. And those astute Sultans, such as Mu'izz al-daulah and afterwards Baibars, who maintained Caliphs to whom they allowed no power, perhaps found the interpretation *Lieutenant of Allah* less dangerous than *Successor to the Prophet*. Complete delegation of powers could more easily be associated with the former sense than with the latter.

[1] Nasafi, *Baḥr al-kalām*, p. 93.

[2] Ta'āwīdhī 445, 4.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ESQUISSE D'UNE BIBLIOGRAPHIE QARMAṬE

AVANT-PROPOS

La publication magistrale du *Mostaẓhirī* de Ghazālī par Goldziher a ramené l'attention sur les Qarmaṭes. Les recherches de Casanova sur leurs calculs astrologiques font désirer une mise au point des travaux de Goeje sur leur histoire,—et une reprise des études de Dieterici sur leur philosophie syncrétiste ; il est à souhaiter que Griffini nous donne bientôt l'une et l'autre. Il n'existe actuellement aucune esquisse bibliographique sur l'ensemble de la question : ni Sacy, ni Wüstenfeld, ni Goeje, ni Browne n'en ont préparé le cadre. C'est cette lacune que nous voudrions voir combler.

Nous définissons "*qarmaṭe*[1]," largo sensu, l'ample mouvement de réforme et de justice sociales qui a ébranlé tout le monde musulman au IX[e] siècle de notre ère, pour avorter avec la proclamation du fondateur de la dynastie "Fāṭimite[2]" en 297/910 à Mahdīyah. Ce mouvement a été caractérisé, au point de vue *scientifique*, par la diffusion d'un vocabulaire technique hellénistique (écrits pseudo-hermétiques et sabéens); au point de vue *politique*, par la propagation d'une conspiration rigoureusement secrète en faveur du légitimisme alide ismaëlien ; au point de vue *religieux*, par l'emploi d'une catéchèse méthodique, adaptée à toutes les confessions, à toutes les races et à toutes les castes, fondée sur la raison, la tolérance et l'égalité ; avec un rituel de compagnonnage, qui, favorisant l'essor du mouvement des corps de métiers et des "universités," a gagné l'Occident où il a fait éclore les compagnonnages et francmaçonneries européennes[3].

[1] Appellation populaire, contemporaine et concrète ; de préférence à "*bāṭinī*," épithète de théologie, et à "*ismaïlien*," étiquette politique shī'ite. L'étymologie même du mot *qarmaṭe* reste obscure ; c'est peut-être l'araméen "qourmata," traduction de l'arabe *tadlīs*, nom du 6[e] grade initiatique (cfr. R. P. Anastase, in *Machriq*, x, 18, p. 857).

[2] Dont la légitimité (bâtard ou imposteur) paraît être restée suspecte aux vrais Qarmaṭes jusqu'au bout.

[3] On a pu constater que les signes de reconnaissance étaient les mêmes, dans l'Écossisme et chez les Druzes.

Sont exclues systématiquement de cette esquisse[1]: les ouvrages référant uniquement : à l'histoire intérieure de la dynastie Fâṭimite, au Maghreb et en Égypte : et à l'histoire locale des *Druzes*, des *Assassins* (*da'wah jadîdah*) et des *Ḥoroûfîs*, sectes initiatiques issues du grand mouvement qarmaṭe.

TABLE

I. TEXTES DOCTRINAUX.

(*a*) *Textes strictement qarmaṭes.* (*b*) *Textes apparentés.*

(*a*) *Textes strictement qarmaṭes:*

1. **Aboû'l Khaṭṭâb Moḥammad-b. Abî Zaynab al Asadî al Koûfî**, mort vers 145 hég., traditionniste imâmite notoire, dénoncé et exclu comme faussaire (Nisâ'î, ap. Ibn al Jawzî, *mawdoû'ât*, et Soyoûṭî, *la'âli*). Disciple de l'imâm Ja'far, qui l'excommunie[2]; il fonde une secte dont le caractéristique est une discipline du secret beaucoup plus stricte que la *taqiyah* shî'ite ordinaire, autorisant le parjure du *râwî*[3]; ce qui décida Shâfi'î, qui admet le témoignage des hérétiques en matière de traditions, à exclure les seuls *Khaṭṭâbiyah*[4]. Il édite sur la cabale alphabétique, un *Kitâb al jafr*, qu'il dit tenir de Ja'far (Ibn Ḥazm, in Friedländer, II, 106 ; Baghdâdî, *farq*, 240 ; Ḥâjjî Khalîfah, *Kashf al ẓonoûn*, II, 603 ; cfr. Casanova, ap. *JAP*, 1916). Il commente le Qor'ân dans un sens allégorique (*ta'wîl*). Réfuté vers 190 par l'imâmite Ibn Rabâḥ (*Tusy's list*, 46). Exécuté à Koûfah.

2. **Aboû Shâkir Maymoûn-b. al Aswad al Makhzoûmî al Makkî**[5], mort vers 180. Client des Al al Ḥârith-b. abî Rabî'ah al Makhzoûmî (Dhahabî, *i'tidâl*, II, 81). Disciple d'Aboû'l Khaṭṭâb (*fihrist*, I, 186). Auteur du *Kitâb al mîzân*, analysé ap. Ibn al Athîr (*Kâmil*, VIII, 21). Éditeur probable du *Kitâb al ṣifât* attribué à l'imâm Bâqir[6] (extr. in Shahrastânî, *milal*, II, 29 ; cfr. la *risâlah ilâ Jâbir-b. Yazîd Jo'fî*, citée par Salisbury, *JAOS*, 1851, 259 seq. et 300).

[1] Sont abrégées : (*a*) toutes les références peuvent être complétées en consultant Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.* ; (*b*) toutes les citations des auteurs mentionnés dans la liste III.

[2] Cfr. Friedländer, II, 90, 96 ; Khoûnsârî, *rawḍât*, II, 234 ; Ibn al Dâ'î, *tabṣirah*, 419–423.

[3] Pour déjouer la police 'abbâside, car la dynastie 'abbâside, issue elle-même de la conspiration kaysânite (Râwandite, Mas'oudî, *moroûj*, VI, 58), savait le péril politique des sociétés secrètes. Voir la formule du serment ap. Ghazâlî, *mostaẓhirî*, 54 (cfr. Baghdâdî, *farq*, 288–290 ; Ijî, *mawâqif*, 350).

[4] Qâsimî, *majmoû' motoûn oṣoûliyah*, 65.

[5] On en a fait le fils de Bardesane (*sic*), ou d'un certain Sa'îd Ghadbân.

[6] Moghîrah prétendit aussi éditer ses œuvres († 119, Friedländer, II, 80).

Il soutint à Baṣrah, contre les ḥanéfites, que le Qor'ān est une émanation divine incréée[1]. Poursuivi par la police 'abbāside, il se retire d'abord à Jérusalem[2], où il passe pour un homme pieux, mais aussi pour un alchimiste suspect. Il serait allé ensuite en Ṭâbaristan, se consacrer à l'éducation du prétendant Moḥammad-b. Isma'īl[3] qu'il dit lui avoir été confié par son grand-père l'imām Ja'far, et qui adopte son fils 'Abdallah-b. Maymoūn[4].

3. **'Abdallah-b. Maymoūn al Qaddāḥ al Makkī**, mort en prison à Koūfah vers 210[5]. Moḥaddith imāmite estimé et reconnu (*Tusy's list*, 197), ce que le poète al Ma'arrī avait déjà relevé avec ironie (*ghofrān*, 156; cfr. *fihrist*, 220). Les traditionnistes sunnites l'ont critiqué: suspect selon Bokhārī, exclu par Aboū Ḥātim, Aboū Zor'ah, Ibn Ḥibbān (Dhahabi, *mīzān al i'tidāl*, s.v.). Rāwī de Ja'far, et de Ṭalḥah al Ḥaḍramī († 152), il a pour rāwīs quatre imāmites cités ap. *Tusy's list*. Il passait pour s'attirer des disciples au moyen de jongleries (Moḥammad ibn Zakaryā[6], *makhārīq al anbiyā*, ap. Niẓām al Molk, *siyāset nāme*, XLVII; Jawbarī, *Kashf al asrār*, MS Paris 4640, f. 10).

4. **Dindān Aboū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn al Ḥosayn ibn Sa'īd al Ahwāzī**, mort vers 250, à Qomm. Moḥaddith imāmite connu, à tendances extrémistes (*Tusy's list*, 26). Non pas "complice" d''Abdallah ibn Maymoūn (*fihrist*, I, 188; *farq*, 266), mais son disciple, probablement indirect (son père mourut en 230, *Tusy's*, 104): il convertit à la secte les Kurdes du Badīn, Khorramites jusque-là (*farq*, 268, 266); il écrit le *Kitāb al iḥtijāj*, édité par Moḥammad ibn Ḥasan al Ṣaffār, qui vécut sous le XI[e] imam. Ce personnage ne fait peut-être qu'un avec le numéro suivant. La nisbah "Dindānī" est donnée à Zikrawayh par Baghdādī (*farq*, 267).

5. **Aḥmad Ibn al Kayyāl** [al Khaṣībī], mort vers 270? Missionnaire qarmaṭe, puis chef de secte; se prétend fils d'imām, et passe pour descendre d'Ibn Maymoūn al Qaddāḥ; peut-être est-ce le "grand-oncle" du Fāṭimite (Sharaf 'Alī, *riyāḍ*, p. 301); auteur d'une série d'ouvrages philosophiques fort importants, dont Shahrastānī (*milal*, II, 17–21) a donné des extraits; le médecin Rāzī les réfuta (*fihrist*, 300); leurs textes arabes et persans subsistèrent longtemps (Ibn Kamālpāshā, *firaq ḍāllah*, in fine); ils suggèrent une influence hindoue.

6. **'Abdān**, mort en 286, chef de la propagande qarmaṭe en 'Irāq. Écrit huit opuscules, dont le *fihrist* donne les titres (I, 189). Ses *balāghāt saba'*, instructions pour les *sept* degrés d'initiation, sont cités par Niẓām al Molk (*siyāset nāme*, trad. p. 286); comp. les *neuf* degrés d'initiation, cent ans après, au temps d'al Mo'izz: *tafarros*, *ta'nīs*, *tashkīk*, *ta'līq*, *rabṭ*, *tadlīs*, *ta'sīs*, *khal'*, *salkh* (cfr. Sacy, *Druzes*, I, 74*–160*; Baghdādī, *farq*, 286–287; Ghazālī, *mostaẓhirī*, éd. Goldziher, préf. pp. 40–41).

7–10. **Banoū Ḥammād, Ibn Ḥamdān, Ibn Nafīs, Ḥasanābādhī**: propagandistes secondaires, au IV[e] siècle, dont le *fihrist* (*l.c.*) cite les œuvres.

[1] Longue et curieuse notice du khārijite mzabite 'Abd al Kāfī Tinā'oūtī (*Dalīl li ahl al 'oqoūl*, MS coll. Motylinski). [2] Sacy, *Druzes*, I, 440.

[3] Dont l'existence est confirmée par ce fait, qu'une secte spéciale, les *Mobārakiyah*, soutint ses prétentions à l'imāmat, sans se confondre avec les Ismaëliens (Goeje, 206; Baghdādī, *farq*, 47) (Niẓām al Molk, *l.c.*).

[4] Cfr. Rashīd al Dīn, *jāmi' al tawārīkh* (Blochet, *Messianisme*, 89).

[5] Jawbarī dit explicitement: "sous al Ma'moūn." Casanova l'a prouvé, contre Goeje.

[6] = Rāzī? Cfr. *infra*, No. 5.

11. **Abou Hātim ('Abdal Raḥmān?) al Warsnānī al Rāzī,** apôtre du Deïlem. Écrit *al Zayyinah, al Jāmi'* (*fihrist, l.c.*; cfr. Griffini, *l.c.*, p. 87).

12. **Bandānah Abou Ya'qoub al Sijzī,** exécuté en 331, en Turkestan. Écrit *Asās al da'wah, ta'wīl al sharā'i', kashf al maḥjoūb* (Biroūnī, *Hind*, 32; Baghdādī, *farq*, 267).

13. **Abou 'Abdallah Moḥammad-b. Aḥmad al Nasafī al Baradha'ī,** exécuté en 331. Ce propagandiste, dont l'activité a été décrite par Niẓām al Molk (*siyāset nāme*, Chap. XLVII), écrivit *al Maḥsoūl* (*farq*, 267, 277).

14. **Ibn Masarrah,** mort en 319. Célèbre philosophe andalousien (Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra*, Madrid, 1913).

15. **'Obaydallah ibn Ḥosayn al Qayrawānī,** né 259, mort 321. C'est le fondateur de la dynastie fāṭimite.

On lui a attribué une lettre dogmatique adressée à Abou Ṭāhir Solaymān al Qarmaṭī sous le titre "*al siyāsah, wa al balāgh al akyad, wal nāmoūs al a'ẓam*" (extr. ap. *farq*, 278, 280–282: cfr. Maqrīzī, s.v. *maḥwīl*). Quoique de Goeje en ait fait état, j'avoue qu'elle m'apparaît d'un cynisme rare.

16. **Al No'mān ibn Abī Ḥanīfah Moḥammad ibn Manṣoūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyoūn al Tamīmī,** né 259, mort à 104 ans en 363. Qadi des qadis fāṭimite, de rite malékite (cfr. Gottheil, *JAOS*, XXVII, 217). Écrit la version officielle des origines de la dynastie sous le titre *iftitāḥ al da'wah al ẓāhirah* (ou *ibtidā al da'wah al 'obaydīyah*) dont un curieux fragment sur la vocation d'Ibn Ḥawshab, conservé par Maqrīzī, a été traduit par Quatremère (*JAP*, 1836, pp. 122, 130) (cfr. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 188).

17. **Manṣoūr al Yaman,** apôtre au Yémen.

18. **Ja'far-b. Manṣoūr al Yaman,** *ta'līfāt* (Griffini, p. 87). Écrit vers 360 le *ta'wīl al farā'iḍ* = MS Leyde 1971 (Goeje).

19. **Ma'add-b. Isma'īl al Mo'izz lidīn Allah,** mort en 365, Khalife fāṭimite: *Risālah* au qarmaṭe Ḥasan (ap. Maqrīzī, *itti'āẓ*, 134–143). *Monājāt* (prières), ap. Guyard, *N.E. MSS*, XXII, I, 224–229. *Risālah masīḥiyah*, de l'an 358, MS Paris 131.

20. Missionnaires de Ḥākim autres que Ḥamzah Dorzī: **Ḥamīd al Dīn,** et **'Alī ibn al Walīd** (Griffini, p. 87).

21. **[anonyme]**: *dostoūr al monajjimīn*, MS Paris 5968 (Goeje).

22. **Ṭalā'ī ibn Rozzīq,** mort en 505, Caire. Écrit *al i'timād* (Brockelmann, II, 70).

23. Conférence contradictoire en 543 à la cour fāṭimite, au Caire (MS Caire, VI, 129).

24. **Ḥasan ibn al Ṣabbāḥ,** fondateur de la *da'wah jadīdah* (Alamoūt). Ses *foṣoūl arba'ah* ont été insérés, sans le dire, par Shahrastānī, *milal*, éd. Caire, au t. II. pp. 47–155 (glose de Jamāl Qāsimī).

25–30. **Shaykh al Sharaf 'Obaydallī,** mort au VI^e siècle. Généalogiste de souche fāṭimite, défend l'authenticité de la généalogie de ses ancêtres dans un opuscule conservé à Leyde (MS 686, voir Goeje, p. 9, et Arendonk, XIII), et cité par Maqrīzī (*itti'āẓ*, 7); son opinion a été suivie et défendue par deux autres généalogistes, **Ibn Malqaṭah al 'Omarī,**

et **Aboū 'Abdallah al Najjārī**; tandis que les deux frères **Moḥammad** et **Ḥasan al Mobarqa'** (zeïdites), **Ibn Khidā'** et **Shiḅl ibn Takīn** refusaient de prendre parti (*l.c.*, 7–8).

31. **Aboū'l Barakāt-b. Boshrā al Ḥalabī**: *sarā'ir al noṭaqā*; *majālis* (Griffini).

32. [**anonymes** au Yémen]: liste ap. Griffini, *l.c.*, 86–87.

33. **Ḍiyā al Dīn**, au Yémen, écrit en 1169 (= 1756) (Griffini).

(*b*) *Textes apparentés.*

D'autres textes leur sont étroitement apparentés au point de vue du vocabulaire philosophique et théologique:

1. Les textes relatifs au roman syncrétiste des **Sabéens**, mythe qui paraît avoir joué en Orient au IX[e] siècle de notre ère, pour la diffusion de la conspiration sociale qarmaṭe, le même rôle que le mythe des "Rose-Croix" de Valentin Andréas (1616) a joué en Occident au XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles pour la propagation de la francmaçonnerie.

Le premier auteur de ce roman paraît être un Kharijite du Fārs, **Yazīd ibn Abī Obaysah**, qui annonça la prochaine révélation de la religion universelle, "des vrais Sabéens" (non ceux de Wasiṭ, ni de Ḥarran) (Baghdādī, *farq*, 263; Shahrastānī, *milal*, I, 183). Il y aurait à revoir au point de vue qarmaṭe cette curieuse et abondante littérature (cfr. les "nouveaux documents harraniens" publ. par Goeje et Dozy (*Congrès Orientalistes Leide*, II, 285).

2. Les traductions d'écrits hellénistiques d'alchimie et d'astrologie attribués à Hermès, Agathodémon, Jāmasp, et dont les recherches de Blochet ont montré l'importance: ce sont des écrits "sabéens" (cfr. *Ikhwān al Ṣafā*, IV, 296).

3. Des textes mystiques comme les *'ilal al 'oboūdiyah* de **Tirmidhī** († 285) et les 27 *Riwāyāt* publiées en 290 par **al Ḥallāj** († 309), qui sont peut-être identiques au *Bayān* publié en 290 par un certain "**Ghiyāth**" (Niẓām al Molk, *siyāset nāme*, Chap. XLVII)[1].

4. Des diwāns poétiques comme ceux d'**Ibn Hānī** (cfr. Kremer, *ZDMG*, XXIV, 481) et d''**Omāraḥ** du Yémen (éd. Derenbourg, 1897).

5. Des encyclopédies scientifiques comme les œuvres de **Nāṣiri Khosrau** (*Sefer Name*, étude d'Ethé, Congrès de Leide, 1883, pp. 169–237; et surtout *Zād al mosāfirīn*, MS Paris 2318), et surtout comme les **Rasā'il Ikhwān al Ṣafā**, cette œuvre maîtresse, dont la compilation, d'après le patient calcul récemment établi par Casanova, daterait des alentours de 450[2]; cfr. le *Dabistān* de **Mobed Shāh** (**Maḥmoūd Fānī**), compilé sous Akbar; et le *Desatir*.

6. Les textes noseyris et druzes (bibliographie dans Dussaud; et Seybold, éd. du *Kitāb al dawā'ir*).

7. Il ne faut pas omettre le type de naskhī des calligraphes *qarmaṭes*, et l'ornementation décorative à polygones fermés si caractéristique de l'architecture fāṭimite.

[1] Voir aussi l'école mystico-qarmaṭe d'Espagne, Ibn Barrajān, Ibn al 'Irrīf et Ibn Qasyī (*Khal' al na'layn*), maîtres directs d'Ibn 'Arabī.

[2] Cependant, Tauḥīdī († 414) la connaissait déjà, selon Bahbahānī (MS Lond. Add. 24,411, f. 182[b]).

II. TEXTES HISTORIQUES OU LÉGENDAIRES.

(*a*) *Notices polémiques.* (*b*) *Légendes occidentales.*
(*c*) *Annalistes et géographes.*

(*a*) *Notices polémiques ; et hérésiographies :*

1. **Qodāmah ibn Yazīd al No'mānī,** ouvrage perdu.

2. [**'Alī**] **Ibn 'Abdak al Jorjānī,** imāmite : fils d'un chef de secte étudié par Moḥāsibī (*makāsib*), et Malaṭī (*tanbīh*, MS Damas. tawḥīd 59); sur un de ses descendants, voir Sam'ānī (*ansāb*, s.v. 'Abdaki) ; ouvrage perdu.

3. **Aboū'l Ḥasan ibn Zakaryā al Jorjānī,** ouvrage perdu.

4. **Hādī ilā al Ḥaqq,** mort en 299 ; imām zeïdite au Yémen : *bawār al Qarāmiṭah*, cité ap. Arendonk, 278.

5. **Ibn al Monajjim,** *dīwān* (poèmes) : Sacy, I, 439.

6. **Aboū 'Abdallah Moḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Rizām al Ṭā'ī al Koūfī,** se trouvait à la Mekke en 317 (Ibn al Qāriḥ, *risālah*, p. 550); et à Bagdad en 329, comme *nāẓir al maẓālim* : extraits ap. *fihrist*, I, 188 ; Ṣābī, p. 317.

7. **Aboū Ja'far al Rāzī al Kalbī,** ouvrage perdu.

8. **Kolīnī,** mort en 328 : *radd 'alā al Qarāmiṭah* (*Tusy's list*, p. 327) : imāmite.

9. **'Abdallah-b. 'Omar Hamdānī,** zeïdite : écrit vers 330 la biographie de l'imām Nāṣir lil Ḥaqq (cfr. ici Arendonk, *l.c.*, 303).

10. **Mas'oūdī,** mort en 345 : *tanbīh wa ishrāf*, trad. Vaux, 502 : cite les Nos. 1–3, 6–7.

11. **Aboū Ḥātim-b. Ḥibbān al Bostī,** mort en 354 : *fī'l Qarāmiṭah* (Goldziher, No. 3. p. 15).

12. **Aboū'l Ḥosayn Moḥammad al Malaṭī,** mort en 377 : *tanbīh wa radd*, pp. 33–38 : de ma copie personnelle (notice détaillée).

13. **Fanākhosroū,** prince Bowayhide : *déclaration* lue à Damas en 360 sur la fausse généalogie des Fāṭimites : d'après des témoignages qarmaṭes (Goeje) (Defrémery, *JAP*, 1856, II, 376). Ibn al No'mān, qāḍī fāṭimite, y répond[1].

14. **Aboū'l Ḥosayn Moḥammad Ākh Moḥsin Ibn al 'Ābid al Sharīf al Dimishqī,** mort vers 375 (généalogie ap. Maqrīzī, *itti'āẓ*, éd. Bunz, p. 11) : pamphlet sur commande "en 20 *Korrās*," jugé sévèrement par Maqrīzī (*moqaffā*, trad. Quatremère, *JAP*, 1836, p. 117), analysé par Nowayrī et Maqrīzī (*itti'āẓ*, 11) : publié presque in extenso par Sacy (*Druzes*, I, 191–202).

15–16. **Aboū Bakr ibn al Ṭayyib al Bāqillānī,** mort 403 ; ash'arite, mālikite : *Koshoūf asrār al Bāṭinīyah*, cité ap. Aboū Shāmah (*rawḍatayn*), Ibn Taghribirdī (*nojoūm*, II, 446), et probablement recopié dans **Baghdādī** (*farq*), éd. Badr ; cfr. Sacy, I, 439.

17. **Ibn Moṭahhar al Maqdisī,** *bad' wa ta'rīkh*, éd. Huart.

18. **Ibn Bāboūyeh,** mort 381 ; imāmite : *I'tiqādāt* ; cfr. Friedländer, s.v.

[1] Cfr. aussi Al Sharīf al Hāshimī, vers 380.

19. **'Abd al Jabbār al qāḍī al Baṣrī**, mort 414; mo'tazilite: *tathbīt al noboūwah*, cité par Aboū Shāmah (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *l.c.*).

20. **Ḥamzah Dorzī**, *sīrah mostaqīmah bi shān al Qarāmiṭah*, texte druze, no. 11 de la liste Sacy: écrit en 409; publ. "Moqtabas," 1910, v, 304–306.

21. **Moqtana'**, druze, écrit en 430: *al safar ilā'l sādah* (adressé aux qarmates de l'Aḥsā).

22. **'Alī-b. Sa'īd al Iṣṭakhrī**, mo'tazilite: vers 430: *radd* (Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 2).

23. **Aboū'l Qāsim Isma'īl-b. Aḥmad al Bostī**, zeïdite, écrit vers 430: *Kashf asrār al Bāṭiniyah*, MS Griffini (*l.c.*, p. 81).

24. **Thābit-b. Aslam**, mort en 460; grammairien: *radd* (Soyoūṭī, *boghyah*, 209).

25. Déclarations publiques des **Alides de Bagdad**: en 402[1] et 442 (Goeje). Sur celle de 402, revoir Maqrīzī, *itti'āẓ*, p. 11 (cfr. Defrémery, *JAP*, 1860, p. 148).

26. **Ibn Sīnā** (Avicenne): *al dorr al naẓīm*, MS Leyde 958, p. 42 (Defrémery, *l.c.*, 167).

27. **Ibn Ḥazm**, mort en 459; zahirite. (1) *fiṣal* (cfr. Friedländer). (2) *jamāhir fī ansāb al mashāhir* (cité Maqrīzī, *itti'āẓ*, 7–8).

28. **Ibn Wakī'**, mālikite, disciple de Saḥnoūn (id.).

29. **Niẓām al Molk**, mort en 486: *siyāset nāme*, éd. et trad. Schefer, 1893, Chap. XLVII.

30. **Aboū Ḥāmid al Ghazālī**, mort en 505: *mostaẓhirī*, éd. Goldziher (signalé par Wüstenfeld): comp. ses *mawāhim al Bāṭiniyah* (Sobkī, IV, 116), *ḥojjat al Ḥaqq*, *mofaṣṣal al khilāf*, *jadāwil*, *qisṭās* (cit. ap. son *monqidh*, éd. Caire, pp. 26–27).

31. **'Abd al 'Azīz ibn Shaddād al Ḥimyarī**, émir zeïrite, mort vers 509: *al jam' wa'l bayān fī akhbār Qayrawān* (cfr. Quatremère, *JAP*, 1836, 131–134, n.; Sacy, I, 440, n.; Fagnan, 47, n. 1, donne la date 540).

32. **Ibn al Dā'ī al Rāzī**, imāmite: *tabṣirat al 'awāmm* (cfr. Schefer).

33. **Aboū'l Qāsim 'Alī al Abyaḍ (al Sharīf)** (ap. Ibn al Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII, 27).

34. **Shahrastānī**, *milal wa niḥal*, éd. Cureton, trad. Haarbrücker.

35. **Aboū Shāmah**, l'auteur des *Rawḍatayn*: *Koshoūf mā kānoū 'alayhi Banoū 'Obayd min al kofr wa'l kidhb wa'l makr wa'l kayd* (cfr. Maqrīzī, *moqaffā*).

36. **Ibn Ḥanash**, zeïdite, mort en 719: *qāṭi'ah* (cfr. Griffini, 81).

37. **Ibn Taymiyah**, hanbalite, mort en 728: *fatwās* (ap. *tafsīr al kawākib*, MS Damas, 26 vols.; cfr. Salisbury, et Guyard, *JAP*, 6e série, XVIII, 158).

38. **Aḥmad Rashīd**, *ta'rīkh-i-Yemen* (en turc), 1291 (hégire).

(*b*) *Légendes occidentales:*

1. Légende de la conversion de Moḥammad ibn Isma'īl; prophéties irlandaises de **Pastorini** (Taylor, p. 200).

[1] Celle de 382 paraît un dédoublement de celle-ci (Fagnan, *l.c.*, p. 64, n.).

2. Légende "**De Tribus Impostoribus**[1]." La première rédaction de ce blasphème célèbre contre "les trois imposteurs, le berger (Moïse), le médecin (Jésus) et le chamelier (Moḥammad)" apparaît dans la lettre d'ʿObaydallah à Aboū Ṭāhir Solaymān al Qarmaṭī († 318/932), citée par Baghdādī (*farq*, 281) et par Niẓām al Molk (*siyāset nāme*, trad. Schefer, Chap. XLVII, p. 288). Deux siècles plus tard elle circule en Occident, et finit par être attribuée à Frédéric II (*Ep.* Gregoire IX ad Mogunt. archiep. an. 1239: Alberic, *Chron.*, s.a. 1239; *Chron. August.*, s.a. 1245; comp. d'Argentré, *Coll. judic. de novis erroribus*, 1724, *i*, 145; Huillard-Bréholles, *Hist. dipl. Frédéric II*, v, 339; Cantinpré (XIII[e] siècle) *de Apibus*, XLV, 5; le livre "*de tribus impostoribus*" publié en 1753 est un faux moderne[2]— Vigouroux).

(*c*) *Annales historiques générales* (*sub anno* 289–291, 299, 301, *etc.*) *et géographes :*

1. **Ibn al Jarrāḥ** (Mo-b. Dāwoūd), † 296/908, *ta'rīkh* (extr. ap. Ṭabarī, *l.c.*, III, 2124, 2217), interrogatoires des Qarmaṭes pris en 291.
2. **Ṭabarī** († 310), *ta'rīkh*, III, 2124, 2130; 2214, 2246.
3. **Ṣoūlī** († 334), *awrāq*, MS Kratchkovsky, extr. ap. ʿArīb Qorṭobī, *ṣilah*, éd. Goeje.
4. **Masʿoūdī** († 346), *tanbīh*, *moroūj*.
5. **Ibn Ḥawqal**, *masālik*, éd. Goeje, pp. 21–23, 210 seq.
6. **Thābit Ibn Sinān al Ṣābī** († 366), *ta'rīkh*, extr. ap. Ibn al Jawzī (*montaẓam*).
7. **Moṣabbiḥī** († 420), *ta'rīkh Miṣr*.
8. **Ibn Miskawayh** († 421), *tajārib*, éd. Gibb Memorial.
9. **Moqaddasī**, éd. Goeje, *BGA*, p. 237.
10. **Ibn al Nadīm al Warrāq**, *fihrist*, éd. Flügel, I, 186 seq.
11. **al Bīroūnī**, *āthār*, éd. Sachau.
12. **Ibn Zoūlāq**, *itmām akhbār omarā Miṣr lil Kindī*, cfr. Gottheil, *JAOS*, XXVIII, 1907 (Maqrīzī, *ittiʿāẓ*, 92).
13. **ʿIdhārī**, *al bayān al moghrib*, éd. Dozy.
14. **Samʿānī** († 562), *ansāb*, éd. phot. Gibb Memorial, s.v. "qarmaṭ."
15. **Moḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥammād** († 617), *ta'rīkh*, trad. Cherbonneau, *JAP*, 1852, II, 477 seq.; 1855, 529 seq.
16. **[Qayrawānī]**, *kitāb al ʿoyoūn*, pro-faṭimite, écrit avant 626 [éd. Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*].

Et les grands recueils postérieurs: **Ibn al Jawzī** (*montaẓam*), **Ibn al Athīr** (*kāmil*), **Sibṭ Ibn al Jawzī** (*mir'āt*), **Ibn Khallikān** (*wafayāt*), **Ibn Ṭiqṭaqā** (*fakhrī*, 356), **ʿAṭā Jowaynī** (*jihān goshā*), **Nowayrī** (*ta'rīkh*), **Ibn Faḍl Allah** (*masālik*), **Ibn Shākir al Kotobī**, **Ṣafadī**, **ʿAynī** (*ʿiqd*), **Ibn Khaldoūn** (*moqaddamāt*, et *ʿibar*, t. IV), **Ibn Taghrībirdī**, **Mostawfī**, etc.

[1] Hammer (*LGA*, IV, 197) avait pressenti cette origine. Cfr. *RHR*, 1920.
[2] Édité par "Philomneste junior" (Brunet) à Paris, 1861; et par "Alcofribas Nazier," Londres, 1904, avec bibliographie critique.

Il faut mettre hors de pair **Dhahabī**, dont le *ta'rīkh al islām* et le *mīzān al i'tidāl* ont une documentation de premier ordre, et **Maqrīzī**, dont les *khiṭaṭ* (s.v. *maḥwil*)[1] et les *solоūk* sont assez brefs, mais dont le *moqaffā* (étudié par Quatremère, *JAP*, 1836, p. 113 seq.) et l'*itti'āẓ* (édité par Bunz) sont des recueils de sources fondamentaux.

Enfin une œuvre récente, d'inspiration ismaëlienne, *Riyāḍ al janān* de **Sharaf 'Alī ibn 'Abd al Walī**, éditée en 1316/1898 à Bombay chez Jīvākhān (voir pp. 301–302).

III. Études critiques des Orientalistes.

(*a*) *Recherches historiques.* (*b*) *Documents contemporains.*

(*a*) *Recherches historiques :*

1. **R(ousseau)**, *Mémoire sur les trois principales sectes du musulmanisme* (1818).

2. **Sacy**, *Druzes*, 1838; cfr. *JAP*, 1824 (IV), et *Chrest. arab.*, II, 95, 135.

3. **Quatremère**, *JAP*, 1836.

4. **Hammer**, *Geschichte der Assassinen*; cfr. aussi *Literaturg. der Araber*, et *Myst. Baphom. revelat.* ap. *Fundgruben des Orients*, VI, 3–120 (inscriptions qui seraient à réétudier).

5. **N. C. Taylor**, *History of Muhammedanism*, 1e éd. 1834, 2e 1839, pp. 200, 209.

6. **Defrémery**, *JAP*, 1849 (XIII, p. 51), 1856 seq., 1860.

7. **Weil**, *Geschichte der Chalifen.*

8. **Salisbury**, *JAOS*, 1851 (II, 259, 300), 1852 (III, 167).

9. **Amari**, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, 1858, II, 114, 115, n.: où il dénonce, un peu durement, l'"incredibile semplicità" de Maqrīzī et de Sacy: pensant que tout le mouvement qarmaṭe n'a été qu'un effort vers l'athéisme et le libertinage.

10. **Dozy**, *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, III, 8.

11. **Wüstenfeld**, *Geschichte der Fatimiden.*

12. **Kremer**, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams.*

13. **Goejè**, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes...*, 1e éd. 1862, 2e éd. 1880; *Fin des Carmathes de Bahrayn*, *JAP*, 1895.

14. **Kay**, *Carmathians* (ap. *Yemen, its early medieval history*, London, 1882, pp. 191–212).

15. **Schefer**, *Chrest. persane*, 1883: I, 163–170 (trad. du *siyāset nāme*), 177–182 (trad. du *tabṣirat al 'awāmm*).

16. **Guyard (St.)**, ap. *Not. et Extr. MSS B.N.*, XXII, 1, 1874.

17. **Blochet**, *Le messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, 1903; *Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman*, 1910 seq.

18. **Browne (E. G.)**, *Literary history of Persia*, I, 411; II, 197 seq. Ses recherches sur les Ḥoroûfis sont à consulter également.

19. **Casanova**, *JAP*, 1898, p. 151 seq. (cfr. 1915, pp. 5–17); qui signale les MSS Slane 2304, 2309.

[1] Cfr. Sacy, *Druzes*, II, 493, d'après Masīḥī et Ibn al Ṭowayr.

20. **Max von Oppenheim,** *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf,* 1899.

21. **Is. Friedländer,** *Heterodoxies...Shiites,* ap. *JAOS,* XXVIII (1907), XXIX (1908).

22. **Asín Palacios,** *Abenmasarra y su escuela,* Madrid, 1913.

23. **Ign. Goldziher,** *Vorlesungen über den Islam,* 1910, pp. 247–255; introduction au *kitāb al mo'ammarīn* d'al Sijistānī, pp. 67–89, où l'influence fāṭimite (qarmaṭe, plutôt) sur la formation des corporations est indiquée: sujet capital dont les matériaux sont encore à réunir; *Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*: édition du *Mostaẓhirī* de Ghazali, 1916.

24. **E. Fagnan,** ap. "Centenario Amari," 1910: II, 35–114: réédition corrigée et annotée de la trad. du *moqaffā* de Maqrīzī par Quatremère.

25. **C. van Arendonk,** *De opkomst van het Zaidietische...,* 1919, pp. 109–114, 216–227, 302–306.

26. **E. Griffini,** *Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung...,* ap. *ZDMG,* LXIX, 1915: pp. 80–88 et pls. XVII et XVIII (deux types d'écriture secrète qarmaṭe).

(*b*) *Documents contemporains* (sur les centres proto- et néo-ismaëliens:

En *Deïlem*: communautés néo-ismaëliennes près d'Alamoūt et Roudhbār. Et aussi à Choughan (cfr. *RMM,* XXIV, 202–218).

En *Afghanistan* et *Turkestan*: les hautes vallées occidentales du Pamir, jadis évangélisées par Nāṣiri Khosrau, restent en majorité peuplées de néo-ismaëliens; ils débordent jusqu'à Gilgit (Inde) cfr. Bobrinskoï, et V. Minorsky, *Ahlé Ḥaqq,* ap. *RMM,* XLI, 69; et Ivanow, *JRAS,* July 1919.

Dans l'*Inde*: communauté proto-ismaëlienne des *Bôhoras* du Gujrat (cfr. *RMM,* X, 468); *Dāwoūdiyah*; et néo-ismaëliens, clients de l'Aga Khan, expulsé du Kerman au XIX^e siècle (cfr. *RMM,* I, 49 seq.). Il y en a encore, au S.E. de Moltān, centre primitif de la secte.

Au *Yémen*: Beni-Yam du Nejrān; et enclave du Ḥarrāz. Leurs chefs, les Makramīs, ont essayé de faire revivre en Aḥsā (Bahreïn) le qarmaṭisme: au XVIII^e siècle: il y subsiste encore (tous néo-ismaëliens).

En *Syrie*: la secte persiste en son lieu d'origine même, à Salamia, dans le Jabal A'lā, avec le culte de la vierge sacrée, "Rawḍah" (cfr. Bliss, *Religions of Syria,* 1912, p. 311); et elle conserve, à l'ouest de l'Oronte, vingt villages avec Maṣyad, l'ancien castel des Assassins (néo-ismaëliens).

En *Maghreb*: on a cru relever certains vestiges de l'initiation qarmaṭe dans une tribu berbère (zénète) au sud-ouest d'Oujda: les *Zkâra* (voir discussion de la thèse de Mouliéras, Paris, 1905).

En *Afrique orientale*: il y a des émigrants *Bôhoras* à l'île Maurice; et des néo-ismaëliens à Zanzibar (*RMM,* II, 373).

LOUIS MASSIGNON.

OTTIGNIES, PARIS, 1919–1920.

DIE BERLINER ARABISCHE HANDSCHRIFT AHLWARDT, No. 683

(*Eine angebliche Schrift des Ibn ʿAbbās*)

W. Ahlwardt's in 10 stattlichen Bänden vorliegendes "Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften" der Berliner Staatsbibliothek wird immerdar ein bewundernswertes Zeugnis bilden für den entsagungsvollen Fleiss, die erstaunliche Literaturkenntnis und die scharfsinnige Kombinationsgabe des Verfassers. Eine weitergehende Berücksichtigung der Handschriftenkataloge der anderen europäischen und orientalischen Bibiotheken hätte den Wert und die Bedeutung von Ahlwardt's Werk noch gesteigert.[1] Aber auch so, wie er vorliegt, ist der 10 bändige Katalog nicht nur ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel für die Benutzer der reichen arabischen Handschriftenschätze der Berliner Bibliothek, er bildet vielmehr darüber hinaus eine reiche Fundgrube für einen jeden, der sich mit der im einzelnen noch immer viel zu wenig erforschten arabischen Literaturgeschichte beschäftigt.

Bei einer so umfassenden Arbeit, wie Ahlwardt sie auf sich genommen hat, sind Versehen im einzelnen unvermeidlich gewesen. Naturgemäss wird in schwierigeren Fällen, in denen der Name des Autors in einer Handschrift nicht angegeben oder falsch angegeben ist, jemandem, der eine einzelne Handschrift länger studieren kann, ihre Bestimmung besser gelingen, als dem Verfasser des Katalogs, der jedem einzelnen Manuskript vergleichsweise nur geringere Zeit widmen konnte. Eine so dankenswerte Aufgabe also eine zusammenfassende Behandlung von Versehen und Ungenauigkeiten in Ahlwardt's Handschriftenverzeichnis bilden würde, so würde sie der monumentalen Bedeutung dieses Werkes keinen Abtrag tun.

Indem die folgenden Ausführungen Ahlwardt's Angaben über die von ihm als Nr. 683 bezeichnete Berliner arabische Handschrift ergänzen und berichtigen, bilden sie zugleich einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Koranexegese und zur ältesten arabischen Literaturgeschichte überhaupt.

In Nr. 683 behandelt Ahlwardt[1] den 16. Teil (fol. 93–101) der Sammelhandschrift Codex Petermann II 405. Er führt zunächst den (von späterer Hand geschriebenen) Titel (fol. 93 a) an: غريب القرآن الوارد عن ابن عباس und teilt dann den Anfang der Handschrift mit (nach dem Bismillāh)

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى ' هذا غريب القران الوارد عن ابن عباس رَه[2] وهو جالس بفناء الكعبة وقد اكتنفه الناس يسألونه عن تفسير القران ·

Alsdann fährt Ahlwardt in seiner Beschreibung fort: "Eine dem Ibn 'Abbās (d. h. Abū'l 'abbās 'abdallah ben el'abbās elhāšimi) † 68/687 zugeschriebene Erklärung auffälliger und seltener Ausdrücke des Qorān mittelst Versstellen aus den ältesten Dichtern, deren Namen jedoch bisweilen nicht genannt werden. Nach der Vorbemerkung richtet نافع بن الازرق—der mit نجدة بن عويمر[3] zu ihm gegangen ist und die Meinung hat, er verstehe nichts davon—die Fragen über bestimmte Qorān-Ausdrücke an ihn und erhält dann die kurze Erklärung derselben nebst einem Belegverse. Diese Bemerkung findet sich auch in dem 36. نوع des الاتقان von Essojūṭī. So zuerst: أَخْبِرْني عن قوله تعالى عن اليمين وعن الشمال

عزين فقال الحلق وشاهده قول عبيد بن الابرص (الوافر)

فجاءوا يهرعون اليه حتى يكونوا حول منبره عزينا

Dann wird immer (statt der Frage) bloss fortgefahren: وقوله تعالى. Die so zuerst erklärten Wörter sind[4]: عِزِينَ[5]، الوَسِيلَة[6]—zuletzt erklärt: رِبِّيُّونَ[10]، شِرْعَةً ومِنْهَاجًا[7]، وَيَنْعِه[8]، ورِيَاشًا[9]، وَلِيَقْتَرِفُوا[12] '

[1] I Band, p. 271.

[2] So Ahlwardt; die Handschrift hat رضي الله عنهما, wobei sich die Eulogie wie häufig auf Ibn 'Abbās und seinen Vater bezieht.

[3] So Ahlwardt mit unserer Handschrift. Es ist dafür عويمر zu lesen; vgl. weiter unten.

[4] Bei den folgenden Worten ändere ich die Schreibweise von Ahlwardt und gebe sie so, wie sie—entsprechend dem Korantext—in der Handschrift tatsächlich stehen.

[5] Sure 70. 37. [6] Sure 5. 39. [7] Sure 5. 52. [8] Sure 6. 99.

[9] Sure 7. 25; ed. Flügel. وريشا Baiḍāwī z. St. gibt ورياشا als Variante an.

[10] Sure 3. 140. [11] Sure 9. 121.

Dass ein Werk des im J. 68 H. in Ṭā'if verstorbenen Ibn ʿAbbās auf uns gekommen sein sollte, wäre auch dann sehr unwahrscheinlich, wenn man überhaupt annehmen dürfte, dass Ibn ʿAbbās, der in den meisten Korankommentaren als hauptsächlicher Gewährsmann[1] zitiert wird, ein Werk geschrieben hat[2]. Mit Recht schreibt daher Brockelmann[3]: "Inwieweit aber der unter seinem Namen gehende Kommentar (Berlin 732?...gedr. Bombay 1302), den al-Kalbī redigiert haben soll...sowie das demselben zugeschriebene k. ġarīb alqor'ān Berl. 683 wirklich auf ihn zurückgehen, und wann sie ihre jetzige Gestalt erhalten haben, ist noch zu untersuchen."

Wann das in der Berliner Handschrift 683 vorliegende kitāb ġarīb al-qur'ān seine jetzige Gestalt erhalten hat, lässt sich auf Grund der Handschrift selbst mit Sicherheit bestimmen. Die hier vorliegende Redaktion ist jünger als as-Sujūṭī. Denn das ganze Werkchen ist nichts anderes als eine verkürzte Wiedergabe des betreffenden Abschnitts in as-Sujūṭī's Itqān[4].

In diesem Zusammenhang sei bemerkt, dass unter den 18 kleinen Schriften, die in unserem Codex Petermann II 405 enthalten sind, sich 6 Risāla's des Vielschreibers Sujūṭī befinden. Sie sind übrigens auf der Innenseite des vorderen Deckels von späterer Hand aufgeführt. Dort wird auch die uns hier beschäftigende Handschrift als رسالة فى غريب القران عن ابن عباس للسيوطى bezeichnet. Das ist so nicht ganz richtig. Vielmehr ist unsere kleine Abhandlung jünger als as-Sujūṭī und erst auf Grund seiner Zusammenfassung bearbeitet. As-Sujūṭī ist übrigens selbst zitiert, indem es—was Ahlwardt entgangen sein muss—gleich zu Beginn heisst (die Worte folgen unmittelbar auf die oben zitierten ersten Sätze): قال فى الاتقان, d. h. (der nicht mit Namen genannte) Sujūṭī sagt in seinem Buche al-Itqān.

[1] Cf. Ibn Ḥaǧar II, p. 807 نعم ترجمان القران ابن عباس und Ḥ. Ḫ. II, 333 وهو ترجمان القران وحبر الامة ورئيس المفسرين.

[2] Im Fihrist, p. 35 werden 13 Werke bekannter Autoren über ġarīb al-qur'ān aufgeführt. Eine Schrift des Ibn ʿAbbās befindet sich nicht darunter.

[3] Arabische Literaturgeschichte I, p. 190.

[4] Merkwürdigerweise ist das Ahlwardt entgangen, obwohl er—vgl. weiter oben—selbst bemerkt hat, dass die Angabe über den Besuch von Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq und Naǧda b. ʿUwaimir bei Ibn ʿAbbās "sich auch in dem 36. نوع des الاتقان von Essojūṭī findet."

Der Verfasser unserer Handschrift hat nichts anderes getan, als die Einleitung und die Schlussausführungen von as-Sujūṭī zu kürzen bezw. fortzulassen, und er hat den Text ferner dadurch vereinfacht, dass er eine bei as-Sujūṭī durch den ganzen Abschnitt bis zur Ermüdung sich wiederholende Wendung gestrichen hat. Bei as-Sujūṭī wird nämlich bei allen 140 fremden Ausdrücken aus dem Koran, über die Nāfi' b. al-Azraq von Ibn 'Abbās[1] Auskunft erheischt, folgende Formel gebraucht: "Da sprach Nāfi': Gib mir Auskunft über das Wort Gottes: (folgt ein Ausdruck aus dem Koran). [Ibn 'Abbās] antwortete: Dieser Ausdruck bedeutet: (folgt ein bekannteres Wort zur Erklärung jenes Ausdrucks). Da sagte Nāfi': Kennen denn die Araber jenen Ausdruck? Er antwortete: Jawohl; hast Du denn nicht den (folgt der Name eines Dichters) sagen hören: (folgt ein Vers, in dem der schwierige Koranausdruck vorkommt)." Das hat der Autor unserer Handschrift durchweg fortgelassen und sich mit der Aufzählung der fremdartigen Koranausdrücke und der Erklärungen unter Anführung der Belegverse aus der Poesie begnügt. Sonst aber stimmt unsere Handschrift —von den unausbleiblichen Wortvarianten abgesehen— wörtlich mit dem Hauptstück in dem betreffenden Abschnitt von as-Sujūṭī überein.

Fortgelassen hat unserer Verfasser ferner die Einleitung, die sich im Itqān befindet, und die nicht nur über as-Sujūṭī's Gewährsmänner Aufschluss gibt, sondern auch darüber hinaus von Interesse ist, indem sie uns zeigt, dass die Heranziehung der Poesie zur Erklärung seltener Koranausdrücke von verschiedenen Seiten als unzulässig bezeichnet worden ist. In dieser Einleitung[2] heisst es: "Abū Bekr b. al-Anbārī[3] sagt: Von 'Genossen' und 'Nachfolgern' wird vielfach berichtet, sie hätten in bezug auf fremde und schwierige Ausdrücke im Koran die Poesie zum Beweise herangezogen. Eine Menge solcher, die kein Wissen besitzen, haben das den Grammatikern zum Vorwurf gemacht und gesagt: Wenn ihr dies tut, dann macht ihr die Poesie zur Grundlage für den Koran, und wie sollte es erlaubt sein, dass man für den Koran

[1] Siehe über ihn weiter unten.

[2] Itqān, Lithog. Lahore 1280, p. 138.

[3] Offenbar in dem hinterher zitierten kitāb al-waqf (walibtidā'), (siehe Fihrist p. 75; Brockelmann I, p. 119).

die Poesie zum Beweise heranzieht, wo diese doch im Koran und in der Tradition getadelt wird? Die Sache verhält sich aber nicht so, wie jene behaupten, dass wir die Poesie zur Grundlage für den Koran machen. Wir wollen vielmehr fremde Ausdrücke aus dem Koran durch die Poesie erklären, weil Allah der Erhabene gesagt hat: 'Wahrlich, wir haben ihn als einen *arabischen* Koran gegeben[1]' und ferner gesagt hat: (Die Offenbarung geschah) 'in deutlicher *arabischer* Sprache[2].' Ibn 'Abbās hat gesagt: Die Poesie bildet den 'Diwan' der Araber[3], und wenn uns ein Ausdruck aus dem Koran, den Allah in der Sprache der Araber offenbart hat, verborgen ist, dann wenden wir uns zu ihrem 'Diwan' und suchen aus ihm jenes Wort kennen zu lernen. Dann führt er[4] auf dem Ueberlieferungswege über 'Ikrima von Ibn 'Abbās an, dass dieser gesagt habe: 'Wenn ihr mich nach einem seltenen Ausdruck im Koran fragt, so suchet ihn in der Poesie, denn die Poesie bildet den 'Diwan' der Araber[5].'"

Nachdem as-Sujūṭi dann noch eine weitere Ueberlieferung dafür heranzieht, dass Ibn 'Abbās, wenn er nach Koranausdrücken gefragt wurde, "die Poesie zitierte," d. h. sie "als Zeugnis für die Koran-Erklärung anführte," fährt er fort, Erklärungen dieser Art sein zahlreich von Ibn 'Abbās überliefert. Am geeignetsten aber einen vollen Ueberblick zu gewähren seien die Fragen des Nāfi' b. al-Azraq[6]. "Einen Teil davon hat Ibn al-Anbārī in seinem kitāb al-waqf und aṭ-Ṭabarānī in seinem grossen Mu'ǧam ausgezogen. Ich will

[1] Sure 43. 2. [2] Sure 26. 195.

[3] الشعر ديوان العرب. In diesem Zusammenhang dürfte das Wort dīwān als "Sammlung" zu fassen sein. Der Sinn ist jedenfalls: in der Poesie ist der gesamte Sprachschatz der Araber enthalten.

[4] Nämlich Abū Bekr b. al-Anbārī.

[5] Dass sich Ibn 'Abbās, dessen Lebensbeschreibung überhaupt recht wunderhaft gestaltet und dessen Gelehrsamkeit über die Massen gepriesen wird, auch mit Poesie beschäftigt habe, wird vielfach berichtet. So heisst es von ihm im Usd al-ġāba III, p. 193, er habe sich immer einen Tag ausschliesslich mit fiqh beschäftigt, einen mit Korandeutung, einen mit den maġāzī, einen mit der Poesie, einen mit den ajjām al-'Arab.—Ibn Ḥaǧar II, p. 809: "Die Gelehrten des fiqh sassen bei ihm (Ibn 'Abbās) und die Gelehrten des Koran wie die Männer der Poesie."—H. Ḫ. I, p. 109: Wenn Ibn 'Abbās müde war der Unterredung mit den Schülern, sagte er: Bringet die Diwane der Dichter herbei (هاتوا دواوين الشعراء). [Zu der oben berührten Frage vgl. jetzt Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, Leiden 1920, p. 70.]

[6] قلت قد روينا عن ابن عباس كثيرا من ذلك واوعب ما رويناه عنه مسائل نافع بن الازرق

es hier vollständig anführen, damit man daraus Nutzen ziehe." Nachdem er dann noch seinen bis auf Ibn 'Abbās zurückgehenden Isnād mitgeteilt hat, fährt as-Sujūṭī fort: "Während 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās im Vorraum der Ka'ba sass, umgaben ihn die Menschen, um sich von ihm den Koran erklären zu lassen. Da sprach Nāfi' b. al-Azraq zu Naǧda b. 'Uwaimir[1]: Wir wollen zu jenem gehen, der sich erkühnt, den Koran zu erklären usw." Hiermit beginnt—vgl. oben—der Text unserer Handschrift.

In den Schlussausführungen im 36. nau' des Itqān[2] sagt as-Sujūṭī: "Das ist das Ende der Fragen des Nāfi' b. al-Azraq. Ich habe einiges wenige von ihnen fortgelassen[3], etwas mehr als 10 Fragen. Das sind bekannte Fragen, die grosse Gelehrte vereinzelt mit verschiedenen Isnāden auf Ibn 'Abbās zurückführen." Schliesslich bemerkt as-Sujūṭī noch einmal, was er schon in der Einleitung gesagt, dass Abū Bekr b. al-Anbārī in dem kitāb al-waqf walibtidā' und aṭ-Ṭabarānī in seinem grossen Mu'ǧam Stücke daraus angeführt hätten.

In der Berliner Handschrift 683, die übrigens laut Unterschrift im Ṣafar 1060 H. (=650 n. Chr.) geschrieben ist, liegt also kein Werk des Ibn 'Abbās vor, sondern ein recht spätes Schriftchen[4], eine etwas verkürzte Wiedergabe von einer Zusammenstellung von auf Ibn 'Abbās zurückgeführten Traditionen, die as-Sujūṭī auf Grund seiner Kollegheftе und der Werke von Abū Bekr b. al-Anbārī und aṭ-Ṭabarānī im Itqān gegeben hat.

Auch betreffs des den Namen des Ibn 'Abbās tragenden Korankommentars lässt sich die von Brockelmann aufgestellte Frage, wann er seine jetzige Gestalt erhalten habe, beantworten. Darüber sollen Ausführungen an anderer Stelle Aufklärung geben.

[1] Beide kommen wiederholt bei Ṭabarī vor (s. den Index daselbst). Beide zugleich z. B. II, 517. Der Vater des Naǧda heisst bei Ṭabarī durchgängig 'Āmir, nicht 'Uwaimir.

[2] Ed. Lahore p. 149.

[3] Der Schreiber unserer Handschrift hat alles bis hierher wörtlich übernommen. Nur fährt er nach den Worten "Ich habe einiges davon fortgelassen" fort: "weil in dem Exemplar, von dem ich abgeschrieben habe, einige Blätter durch Regen beschädigt waren."

[4] As-Sujūṭī ist i. J. 911 H. (= 1505 n. Chr.) gestorben. Der Kompilator unserer Risāla muss also in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. oder der ersten Hälfte des 11. islamischen Jahrhunderts gelebt haben.

EUGEN MITTWOCH.

BERLIN.

TRACCE DI OPERE GRECHE GIUNTE AGLI ARABI PER TRAFILA PEHLEVICA

Nel 1890 Th. Nöldeke, nei suoi *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Alexanderromans*[1], pp. 16–17, era venuto all' inattesa conclusione che il Pseudocallistene *siriaco*, anziché derivare dal testo *greco*, era stato tradotto da una versione *pehlevica*, la quale naturalmente non poteva essere posteriore al VII sec. d. Cr. La grande importanza di questa scoperta fu rilevata da S. Fraenkel[2]: "...so war doch bis jetzt noch keine Spur davon bekannt, dass die Perser auch griechische Werke übersetzen[3]. Das giebt einen ganz neuen und ungeahnten Einblick in die Culturverhältnisse des Sasanidenreiches. Denn es wäre doch wohl mehr als seltsam, wenn diese persische Uebersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes ein Erzeugniss einer ganz vereinzelten Privatliebhaberei gewesen wäre. Vielmehr muss man dann wohl annehmen, dass so wie dieses Buch auch andere (vielleicht auch wissenschaftliche ?) Werke übertragen wurden...."

In questi brevi appunti mi propongo d' indicare tre casi di opere scientifiche *greche* passate agli Arabi per trafila *pehlevica*, benché manchi ogni notizia diretta delle rispettive traduzioni pehleviche[4]: l' *Agricoltura* di Cassiano Basso, le *'Ανθολογίαι* astrologiche di Vezio Valente, i *Παρανατέλλοντα τοῖς δεκανοῖς* dell' astrologo Teucro Babilonese.

[1] In: *Denkschriften d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Wien*, philos.-hist. Cl., 38. Bd., 1890, 5. Abh.

[2] Nella lunga recensione del lavoro del Nöldeke, nella *ZDMG* 45, 1891, 313.

[3] Al Fraenkel sembra essere sfuggita l' attestazione (forse esagerata) che sotto Cosroe I (Anūšarwān, 531–579 Cr.) erano state tradotte in persiano (pehlevico) opere filosofiche d' Aristotele ed alcuni dialoghi platonici: Agathias Scholasticus (ca. 580 Cr.), *Hist.*, II, 28 (*Patrol. Graeca* vol. 88°, col. 1389). Inoltre cfr. il passo del *Kitāb an-nahmuṭān* tradotto alla fine del presente lavoro.

[4] Ed infatti non si trova alcun cenno di queste opere nei lavori del West e dell' Inostrancev sulla letteratura pehlevica.

I. *L' Agricoltura di Cassiano Basso Scolastico.*

Recenti lavori di J. Ruska[1] hanno definitivamente stabilito che noi possediamo in arabo due diverse redazioni dei *Geoponica* di Cassiano Basso Scolastico[2], ossia:

A.—La versione dal "greco-bizantino" (*al-lisān ar-rūmī*) fatta da Sirǵis ibn Hiliyyā ar-Rūmī (= Σέργιος υἱὸς 'Ηλίου), lo stesso che nel 212 eg. (827-828 Cr.; non 214) tradusse dal greco in arabo l' Almagesto.—Questa versione, intitolata *al-filāḥah ar-rūmiyyah* "L' agricoltura greco-bizantina," si trova ms. a Leida, cod. Warner. 414 (*Catal.* III, 211-213, nr. 1277); inoltre, cosa sfuggita al Ruska, fu stampata al Cairo[3] col titolo: *Kitāb al-filāḥah al-yūnāniyyah*[4] *ta'līf al-faylasūf*....Qusṭūs ibn Lūqā ar-Rūmī *tarǵamat* Sirǵis ibn Hlbā[5] ar-Rūmī, Cairo, tip. wahbiyyah, ramaḍān 1293 eg. [=sett.-ott. 1876], in-8°, 10+149 pp. Infine 2 mss. sono nella moschea az-Zaytūnah di Tunisi[6].

[1] *Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus und die arabischen Versionen der griechischen Landwirtschaft* (D. Isl., V, 1914, 174-179).—*Weinbau und Wein in den arabischen Bearbeitungen der Geoponika* (Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Naturwissenschaften u. d. Technik, VI, 1913-14, 305-320).—Brevissimo sunto: *Die Geoponika in der arabisch-persischen Literatur* (Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte, 85. Versamml. zu Wien vom 21. bis 28. Sept. 1913. Leipzig 1914, II. T., 2. Hälfte, pp. 336-337).

[2] Vissuto nel sec. VI o VII d. Cr. Il vecchio argomento per porlo in modo sicuro nel VI sec. era basato sopra l' erronea congettura che il suo traduttore Sirǵis ibn Hiliyyā fosse il famoso siro Sergio di Rhesaina († 536 d. Cr.?), e che quindi si trattasse di versione in siriaco od in pehlevico.

[3] Indicata nel *Catal. périod. de livres orientaux* della casa E. J. Brill di Leida, nr. 1 (1883), p. 10, nr. 51 (con l' errore di stampa 1393 per 1293); usata da M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Philosophie § 6 (30), pp. 14-15 (Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XII, Leipzig 1893) con l' errore di stampa 1298 per 1293.

[4] Così soltanto nel frontispizio posto dallo stampatore; invece nella prefazione dell' opera e nei titoli di ciascuno dei 12 ǵuz' si ha giustamente *ar-rūmiyyah*, come nel ms. Leidense, in HH ecc.

[5] Così, per هليا (Hiliyyā, 'Ηλίας), anche a p. 2 (prefaz.) e 19 (titolo del 2° ǵuz'). Il *Catal. périod.* Brill: "Halbâ."

[6] Deduco questo dal seguente avviso pubblicato sulla 4ª pag. della copertina dell' opera *Mechra El Melki, chronique tunisienne...par* Mohammed Seghir Ben Youssef, *de Béja,...traduit par V. Serres et Moh. Lasram*, Tunis 1900, e relativo alle "publications de MM. V. Serres et M. Lasram": "En préparation. Traité d'agriculture de Kastos, traduit du grec en arabe par Serdjès ben Helia; texte arabe inédit publié d'après deux manuscrits

B.—La versione anonima dal "persiano" (*al-fārisiyyah*); in persiano il libro era intitolato *Warz-nāmah* "Libro dell'agricoltura" (ossia, come spiega il traduttore nella prefazione, in arabo *Kitāb az-zar'*).—Da oltre un secolo si conoscevano 2 mss. di questa versione: uno a Leida (cod. Warner. 540; *Catal.* III, 213, nr. 1278) finito di copiare nel ṣafar 563 eg. (nov.-dic. 1167); l' altro ad Oxford, ove il libro porta il titolo, difficilmente autentico, di *Kitāb al-barā'ah fī 'l-filāḥah wa 'z-zirā'ah* (cfr. *Biblioth. Bodlej. codd. mss. orient. catalogus*, Pars I [ed. J. Uri, 1787], p. 113, nr. 439). Il Ruska ha scoperto i libri 3–9 di questa versione in un ms. acefalo e monco di Gotha (catal. Pertsch, IV, 138, nr. 2120), ove il titolo era *Kitāb al-fallāḥīn* "Il libro degli agricoltori"; invece gli è sfuggito che un esemplare completo si trova anche a Berlino (catal. Ahlwardt, v, 484, nr. 6204), in un ms. copiato circa il 450 eg. (1058 Cr.), ed erroneamente intitolato "L' agricoltura d' Ibn Waḥšiyyah."—È da notare che anche l' originale traduzione "persiana" sembra essere stata anonima[1].

Tanto la redazione A quanto la redazione B sono divise in 12 sezioni (*ǵuz'*) o libri; invece varia moltissimo il numero dei capitoli (*bāb*) delle singole sezioni[2], sovra tutto nella sez. IV (73 capp. in A, 118 in B) e nella IX (7 in A, 22 in B). La redazione B offre un testo più ampio di A.

Infine è da tenere presente l' importante risultato a cui è arrivato il Ruska, *Weinbau*, pp. 308, 318–319. È noto che i Geoponici greci a noi giunti, e, con il titolo περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί, attribuiti a Cassiano Basso Scolastico, rappresentano

de la Bibliothèque de la Grande-Mosquée de Tunis, et traduction française. (Le texte grec original est perdu, et l'on ne connaissait jusqu'ici que le titre et quelques fragments de la traduction arabe.)" I due traduttori ignoravano dunque l' esistenza dell' ediz. cairina; sembra che l' opera annunziata come in preparazione non sia mai uscita.

[1] Nell' esemplare ms. di Ḥaǵǵī Ḫalīfah della Bodleiana (secondo E. B. Pusey, *Bibl. Bodl. codd. mss. orr. Cat.*, Pars II [1835], p. 582), è detto che autore della versione persiana fu Zakariyyā' Darwīš ibn 'Alī. Questa notizia, affatto inverisimile e dovuta senza dubbio a qualche confusione, non si trova nelle edd. di ḤḪ, s. v. "*Kitāb*" (ed. Flügel, v, 132, nr. 10,377; ed. Cstnpli 1311 eg., II, 293), e neppure nel ms. leidense di ḤḪ.

[2] Secondo il Ruska, *Weinbau*, 307, le sez. XI e XII di B (secondo il ms. Leida) avrebbero rispettivamente 4 e 10 capp. Invece la descrizione Ahlwardt del ms. di Berlino (pure redazione B) dà rispettivamente 14 e 31 capp.

un testo rimaneggiato, fatto mettere insieme da Costantino VII Porfirogenito (912–959 Cr.). Ora A e B rappresentano due redazioni greche *più antiche* di quella a noi giunta.

Che cosa si deve intendere per quella "lingua *persiana*" (*fārisiyyah*) dalla quale fu tradotta in arabo la redazione B?

Se si considera, da un lato, che una copia della traduzione araba (ms. Berlino) è già del 1058 Cr., e dall' altro lato che la redazione greca che sta a base di B è più antica di quella fatta nella 1ª metà del sec. x per Costantino Porfirogenito, è chiaro che la versione "persiana" deve risalire ad età non posteriore al sec. VIII o IX, ossia deve risalire ad un' epoca nella quale non è possibile pensare all' esistenza di prose scientifiche in persiano propriamente detto, cioè in persiano moderno. È necessario dunque concludere che quella lingua *fārisiyyah* sia il *pehlevico*; ed allora è necessario anche ammettere che il testo "persiano" non sia posteriore al sec. VII d. Cr., essendo da escludere che dopo di esso, ossia mezzo secolo dopo la conquista araba della Persia, si pensasse ancora a tradurre in pehlevico testi profani greci[1].

Questa origine *pehlevica* ci dà la chiave per comprendere come sia accaduta la trasformazione araba del nome Scolastico (Σχολαστικός "avvocato"). Il nome Cassiano (Κασσιανός) è stato ridotto dagli Arabi a قسطوس *Qusṭūs* (varr. فسطوس *Festūs*, قسطوطس *Qasṭūṭus*), in seguito a corruzione grafica di قسيانوس *Qasyānūs* favorita da confusione con il nome cristiano قسطا *Qusṭā* (diffuso tra Arabi cristiani)[2] e con quello del medico greco *Festo*, noto agli eruditi arabi[3]. Quindi di solito il nome dell' autore dei Geoponica è Qusṭūs ar-Rūmī. Ma talvolta a Qusṭūs si trova aggiunto *ibn*... ("figlio di..."), e, al posto dei miei puntini, un nome variamente corrotto, cioè:

[1] Cfr. le considerazioni di Th. Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. Gesch. des Alexanderromans*, p. 17.

[2] Appunto per confusione con il notissimo scrittore e traduttore arabo-cristiano Qusṭā ibn Lūqa al-Ba'labakkī (sec. IX Cr.), il frontispizio posto dallo stampatore all' ed. Cairo dà come autore dell' Agricoltura Qusṭūs ibn Lūqā. Per analogo errore ḤḤ, *l.c.*, pone Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī fra i traduttori arabi dell' "Agricoltura greco-bizantina."

[3] Il nome Cassiano era famigliare presso i Siri, i quali lo scrivono ܩܣܝܢ, ܩܣܝܢܐ, ܩܣܝܢܘܣ, ܩܣܣܝܢܘܣ (Κοσσιανός); quindi la corruzione قسطوس non può essere nata nella scrittura siriaca.

ḤḤ e ms. Leida A	اسكوراسكينه[1]	ed. Cairo	اشكوراشكنبه[2]
ms. Leida B	اسكوراسيكيا[3] اسكوراسكمه[4]	ms. Berlino	اسكوراسكتپه[5] اسكوراستمكه[6]
ms. Oxford	اسكُوراسكانه		

Il Ruska, *Cassianus*, pp. 176–177, conoscendo solo le forme date dai 2 mss. di Leida, affermò giustamente che questo presunto nome del padre di Cassiano era null' altro che la trascrizione dell' epiteto Σχολαστικός "avvocato"; ma suppose che la forma fondamentale fosse (senza punti diacritici) اسكوراسمكيا, da correggere in اسكولاستيكيا (*iskūlāstīkyā*), e concluse: "Sie weist auf eine *syrische* Vorlage hin, die ܐܣܟܘܠܣܛܝܩܝܐ gelautet haben mag—bei Payne-Smith sind andere Transkriptionen gegeben—und scheint damit zugleich für eine ältere syrische Uebersetzung zu zeugen."

L' ipotesi del Ruska urta contro parecchie difficoltà. Prima di tutto essa sostituisce arbitrariamente *lā* al *rā* attestato unanimemente da tutte le varianti. In secondo luogo essa prende come base la forma terminante in يا, che si trova una sola volta nel solo ms. B di Leida, mentre tutte le altre numerose volte la finale è ه. In terzo luogo suppone che il presunto originale siriaco avesse reso σχολαστικός, ben noto ai Siri, aggiungendovi la desinenza *-āyā* degli aggettivi relativi; cosa inverosimile[7]; e suppone anche (cosa non meno inverosimile) che il traduttore arabo, anziché renderla con la corrispondente desinenza araba *-ī*, l' avesse conservata meccanicamente, scrivendola *-yā*. Infine, per giustificare il secondo ك arabo (*k*), il Ruska è costretto a supporre un impossibile ܟ (*k*) siriaco per il greco κ, ed inoltre a pensare che il τ greco fosse stato trascritto in siriaco con ܬ (*t*, arabo ت) anziché con ܛ (*ṭ*, arabo ط)[8]. E sarebbe anche poco probabile che un antico traduttore arabo

[1] Soltanto nei titoli di ciascuna delle 12 sezioni (*ǵuz'*).

[2] Soltanto a pag. 19, nel titolo della sez. II.

[3] Solo nel titolo della sez. III (Ruska, *Cassianus*, p. 176).

[4] Solo nel titolo della sez. IV (Ruska, *l.c.*).

[5] Nella breve introduzione.

[6] Nel titolo delle sez. III e IV.

[7] Il vocabolo σχολαστικός nel senso di "avvocato" era famigliare ai Siri, che lo adoperavano di solito nella forma *eskōlīsṭīqā* (con *ṭ* ܛ) od *eskōlasṭīqā* (con *ṭ*; solo eccezionalmente con *t* ܬ). Occorre appena ricordare le norme costanti seguite dai Siri nel trascrivere i vocaboli greci: χ = ܟ (*k*, *kʰ*), κ = ܩ (*q*), τ = ܛ (*ṭ*), θ = ܬ (*t*, *tʰ*).

[8] Cfr. la nota precedente.

dal siriaco avesse introdotto, in un caso come questo, la parola *ibn* "figlio di..." fra i due nomi propri.

La misteriosa forma araba si spiega invece assai bene se si supponga ch' essa derivi da un originale *pehlevico*, ove la straordinaria ambiguità della scrittura doveva rendere impossibile il leggere con sicurezza nomi propri stranieri[1]. Siccome χ e κ diventano entrambi *k* nelle trascrizioni pehleviche, σχολαστικός doveva essere trascritto regolarmente *Skōlāstīkōs* [illegible] ove [illegible] si può leggere *lā* e *rā*, [illegible] si può leggere *v*, *n*, *ū*, *ō*, *u*, ed [illegible] *s* si può confondere con [illegible] *a* (iniziale), *ā* (media), *h*. Si comprende quindi facilmente che il traduttore arabo potesse leggere *Skūrāstīknh* e quindi scrivere in caratteri arabi, secondo le norme fonetiche arabe, اسكوراستيكنه *Iskūrāstīkinah*.

Anche l' inserzione di *ibn* "figlio di..." tra i due nomi si spiega assai bene con la doppia funzione del pehlevico *ī* (ı), che si adopera tanto per unire l' aggettivo messo in apposizione al sostantivo (come sarebbe stato il caso del greco Κασσιανὸς σχολαστικός), quanto per esprimere "figlio di..." nelle serie genealogiche. Il traduttore arabo l' interpretò nel secondo senso, e così si ebbe Cassiano "*figlio di Iskūrāstīkinah*[2]," che, divulgato dalla redazione araba B

[1] Basti ricordare, p. es., che l' illustre pehlevista E. W. West, nel tradurre le epistole di Manūšcihar (II, ii, 9-11), aveva parlato di tavole astronomiche (*zīk*) di *Satvâharân*, *Avênak* e *Padramgôs*, e solo più tardi (*Pahlavi Texts*, vol. IV [= The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXXVII], pp. xlvi-xlvii), si accorse che la vera lettura sarebbe stata: *Shatro-ayârân*, *Hindûk*, *Ptolemêôs*. A proposito di questo ultimo nome mi sia permesso osservare che la lettura *Ptolemêôs*, basata sul greco Πτολεμαῖος, non sembra esatta, poiché la trascrizione pehlevica, che non indica mai la *a* breve, avrebbe certamente indicato la prima *o* e la prima *e* della parola, se l' avesse presa dal greco. Invece il pehlevico ha [illegible] che si può leggere *Pdrmgōs* oppure *Ptlmyūs*; sicché il nome sembra derivare dalla forma araba *Baṭlamyūs*, nel qual caso rimarrebbe escluso che il sacerdote zoroastriano Mānūšcihar, ca. 880 d. Cr., usasse le tavole di Tolomeo in greco od in una traduzione pehlevica dal greco.—Per il *zīk-i-šatroayārān* cfr. la mia nota ad *al-Battānī*, *Opus astronomicum*, Mediolani Insubrum 1899-1907, vol. I, p. 218, n. 4.

[2] È noto che simili equivoci sono frequenti negli scrittori arabi a proposito di nomi propri pehlevici nei quali la *i* è semplice unione grammaticale del nome di persona con l' aggettivo patronimico. P. es. in al-Ǵāḥiẓ e nel libro di *Kalīlah e Dimnah* il famoso ministro sāsānide Buzurǵmihr-i-Buḫtakān ("B. il discendente di Buḫtak") è chiamato

(fatta sul pehlevico), passò poi anche eccezionalmente in alcuni mss. della redazione A (fatta sul greco).

La traduzione di Sergio figlio d' Elia, ossia A, è considerata da ḤḤ come la migliore di tutte) اكمل واصحّ من غيرها). Non è impossibile che Sergio abbia avuto già sott' occhio la traduzione B, e da questa abbia derivato i sinonimi *persiani* che egli, in parecchi luoghi, pone accanto ai nomi *greci* di piante[1].

II. *L' astrologia di Vezio Valente*[2].

Nel *Kitāb al-Fihrist* composto intorno al 380 eg. da Ibn an-Nadīm, p. 269 ed. Flügel, si legge a proposito di Vettius Valens (Οὐέτιος Οὐάλης), il noto astrologo fiorito intorno alla metà del II sec. d. Cr.: " Fālis il greco-bizantino (ar-Rūmī). [Scrisse]...il libro الزبرج[3] che fu commentato da Buzurǵmihr...."—Ṣā'id al-Andalusī († 462 eg.), *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, p. 41 (=al-Mašriq, XIV, 1911, 582), parlando dei Caldei (*Kaldāniyyūn*) dice: " Fra i loro dotti è Wālis, autore del *Kitāb aṣ-ṣuwar*[4] e del libro اليرندج[5] composto intorno alle natività, alle loro 'revolutiones' ed all' introduzione a ciò. Egli fu re."—Ibn al-Qifṭī († 646 eg.), *Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* ed. Lippert (1903) p. 261 =ed. Cairo (1326 eg.) p. 172, in un articolo indipendente da quello del *Fihrist*, scrive: " Fālis l' egiziano, detto talvolta

Buzurǵmihr ibn al-Buḫtakān. Cfr. altro esempio in Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos* (Grundr. der iran. Philologie, II, 1896–1904), p. 136, n. 5.

[1] P. es. III, 6 (ed. Cairo, p. 25), III, 18 (p. 32), IV, 43 (p. 57), IV, 64 (p. 66), IV, 65 (p. 67), IV, 67 (p. 67), V, 58 (p. 91), V, 62 (p. 92), V, 70 (p. 95), V, 74 (p. 96), V, 76 (p. 98).

[2] Gran parte delle cose che qui seguono furono già esposte nelle mie lezioni sui primordi dell' astronomia araba, tenute nell' Università Egiziana del Cairo, nel 1911; v. C. A. Nallino, *'Ilm al-falak, ta'rīḫuhu 'inda 'l-'Arab fī 'l-qurūn al-wusṭā*, Roma 1911–12, pp. 192–196. Ma poiché solo pochissimi esemplari di questo libro sono stati messi in circolazione (la massima parte è chiusa nei magazzini dell' Università Egiziana), non è inutile riprendere qui l' argomento.

[3] Così il ms. di Leida; varr. الدبدح, الربرح, الرندح.

[4] Questo libro sui παρανατέλλοντα non figura nelle liste delle opere di Valente contenute nel *Fihrist* ed in Ibn al-Qifṭī. Probabilmente è confusione con il libro omonimo del "caldeo" Teucro.

[5] Così 2 mss.; un terzo ha بالزندج (cfr. la tavola delle varianti, p. 102).

Wālīs il greco-bizantino,...è autore del libro, famoso fra i cultori di quest' arte [astrologica], intitolato البريدج greco-bizantino, e commentato da Buzurǵmihr."

Le notizie del *Fihrist* e d' Ibn al-Qifṭī erano note da molti anni agli studiosi europei, senza che alcuno di questi, eccettuato H. Suter[1], tentasse di spiegare il titolo misterioso del libro, e di fissarne l' esatta lettura.

La traduzione araba del libro di Valente commentato dal persiano *Buzurǵmihr* sembra aver avuto una notevole diffusione fra gli astrologi arabi, benché sia ora completamente perduta. Avendo avuto occasione, nel settembre 1891, di esaminare a Monaco di Baviera il ms. unico dell' opera astrologica *al-Muǵnī* del cristiano Ibn Hibintā[2], vi ho notato le citazioni seguenti[3]: fol. 15 v. وقال بزرجمهر في كتابه الذي جمع فيه اقاويل الحكما ; f. 18 r. بزرجمهر في كتاب الاىربدح ; f. 27 r. قال صاحب كتاب الاىربدح الفارسي بزرجمهر الحكيم ; f. 32 v. e 38 v. صاحب بزرجمهر ; f. 107 v. وحكي في الاىربدح الفارسي ; f. 108 v. وفسر بزرجمهر الاىربدح ; f. 122 r. كتاب الاىربدح الفارسي ; f. 154 r. في الاىربدح الفارسي ما يدل عليه الشمس...وذكر انه اخذ ذلك من كتاب سكلوش البابلي...ولما عدنا الى كتاب سكلوس وجدناه قد فسر ما تدل عليه الكواكب... Dalle quali citazioni si desume, fra le altre cose, la preziosa notizia che l' originale del commento di Buzurǵmihr era in "persiano" (*fārisī*), ossia in *pehlevico*, e che quindi nel nome misterioso del libro dobbiamo vedere l' articolo arabo *al-* seguito da un vocabolo pehlevico.

La forma الاىربدح usata da Ibn Hibintā è quella che sta alla base delle varie e strane corruzioni del nome ricorrenti nella versione latina del *Kitāb al-bāri' fī aḥkām an-nuǵūm* di Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī 'r-Riǵāl, "Albohazen" dei

[1] H. Suter, *Das Mathematiker-Verzeichniss im Fihrist* (Abhandl. z. Gesch. der Mathematik, VI. Heft, Leipzig 1892), p. 65, n. 188: "Ich vermuthe, dass das unter Valens angeführte Buch az-Zabradsch heissen sollte az-Zāïrdscha." Il Suter ripete questa sua congettura nella sua recensione dell' ed. Lippert di Ibn al-Qifṭī (*Biblioth. Mathem.* hrsg. von G. Eneström, III. Folge, 4. Bd., 1903, p. 297).

[2] Il libro fu composto dopo il 329 eg. (940 Cr.); cfr. le mie osservazioni ad al-Battanī, *Opus Astronomicum*, I, p. lxvi.

[3] Nel ms. mancano quasi tutti i punti diacritici (quindi sempre برزحمهر); li ho suppliti, conservando inalterati soltanto الاىربدح, سكلوش e سكلوس (cfr. più avanti il nr. II).

nostri scrittori medioevali, composto fra il 428 ed il 459 eg. (1036–1062 Cr.) in Tunisia[1]. Le citazioni sono le seguenti: Lib. IV, cap. 4 (ed. Venezia 1485, fol. 58 r., col. *a*; edd. Basilea, p. 149, col. *b*): "Et dicit ille qui fecit librum *yndidech* et qui fuit ex fortibus: quando ambo luminaria fuerint..." (si tratta della determinazione dell' "alcochoden," ossia *kathudāh*, *οἰκοδεσπότης*).—Lib. IV, 10 (Ven. 67 r., col. *a*; Bas. 176, col. *a*): "Dixit sapiens qui fecit librum nominatum *enzirech*: quod signa solis sunt masculina..." (si tratta di determinare il "significator" della natività, ossia *dalīl*, *ἀφέτης*).—Lib. VII, 102 (Ven. 128 r., col. *a*; Bas. 347–348): "Et dicitur in libro *endemadeyg persarum*: et quando pars fortunae fuerit in aliqua nativitate a fortunis..." (si tratta di determinare il tempo in cui si compiranno gli eventi indicati dal "significator" della natività).—Lib. VII, 102 (Ven. 128 r., col. *b*; Bas. 348, col. *b*): "Hoc est illud quod dixit ille qui fecit librum *endemadeyg persarum*" (argomento come il precedente).—Lib. VIII, 35 (Ven. 149 v.–150 r.; Bas. 404–405): "Et dicit ille qui fecit librum *andilarech prosu*[2] quod invenit in libro chronicarum mundi quod signum mundi est aries et planeta eius est sol: et ascendens eius est cancer et iupiter in eo. Et[3] postea diviserunt 7 climata per 7 planetas et per 12 signa. Unde babylonia iovis et arietis; et romania libre et saturni..." (segue questa corografia astrologica, per cui ogni regione è posta sotto l' influenza speciale di un dato pianeta e di un dato segno zodiacale).

[1] Il testo arabo è inedito; la traduzione latina (fatta intorno al 1256 Cr. da Egidio de Tebaldis e Pietro de Regio sopra una versione spagnuola) è stata stampata cinque volte: Venezia 1485, 1503, 1523; Basilea 1551 e 1571. Le due edd. di Basilea si corrispondono esattamente anche nel numero delle pagine e delle righe; esse furono curate da "Antonius Stupa Rhaetus Praegallensis," il quale si basò sulla stampa di Venezia 1523, ma ripulendo il barbarissimo latino dei due traduttori medioevali che invece era stato conservato nelle tre edd. venete. Io riferisco i brani secondo l' editio princeps del 1485 (*Praeclarissimus liber completus in iudiciis astrorum: quem edidit* Albohazen Haly, filius Abenragel).

[2] A questo brano accennò incidentalmente O. Loth, *Al-Kindî als Astrolog* (Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift...H. L. Fleischer... gewidmet, Leipzig 1875), p. 288, n. 4, con l' ipotesi: "In dem letzteren Theile des Wortes ist wohl تاريخ فارس oder الفُرْس zu erkennen (*tarech* für *larech* zu lesen)?"

[3] Qui lo Stupa inserisce "quod," riferendo giustamente tutto il discorso all' autore del libro *andilarech prosu*.

Dunque non solo abbiamo in Albohazen la conferma esplicita dell' origine "persiana" del libro tradotto in arabo, ma anche abbiamo la prova di tale origine persiana *pehlevica*; infatti la predetta corografia astrologica (opera evidentemente del commentatore Buzurǵmihr) nomina in tutto 38 regioni, delle quali 6 sono terre limitrofe all' impero dei *Sāsānidi*[1], e le rimanenti 32 (in massima parte riconoscibili anche attraverso le forme assai alterate della versione latina) sembrano essere tutte province del dominio *sāsānidico*. Inoltre questo Buzurǵmihr[2] doveva scrivere il suo commento verso la fine dell' età dei Sāsānidi od ai primordi della conquista araba della Persia, poiché nel lib. IV, cap. 1 (Ven. 56 v., col. *a*; Bas. 145) si legge la seguente profezia relativa alla detronizzazione di Ardašīr [III][3] e al declinare della religione zoroastriana: "Dixit *expositor*[4]: vocavit me rex civitatis nostrae: et una ex mulieribus suis pepererat filium: et fuit ascendens libra .8. gradus terminus mercurij: et fuerunt in eo iuppiter et venus: mars et mercurius: et convenit ibi una societas astrologorum: et quilibet eorum suam opinionem dixit: ego tacui. Rex dixit mihi quid habes quod non loqueris: cui respondi: date mihi spacium trium dierum: quoniam si filius vester transiverit tertiam diem: erit de ipso miraculum magnum: et quando natus

[1] Romania, India, Azyud (cioè *as-Sind*), Alhegeç (*al-Ḥiǵāz*) et tota terra Arabiae, Turchia (cioè *bilād at-Turk*, il Turkestan centrale), post Turchiam (*mā warā' at-Turk*).

[2] È impossibile, per ora, sapere se questo è il nome *vero* dell' astrologo commentatore di Vezio Valente, oppure se è uno *pseudonimo* scelto per far credere che autore fosse il sapiente e semi-leggendario Buzurǵmihr, ministro di Cosroe I Anūšarwān (che regnò 531–579 Cr.).

[3] Ardašīr (in arabo anche Azdašīr) III, dopo poco più di 1½ anno di regno, fu detronizzato ed ucciso da Šahrbarāz il 27 apr. 630. L' ultimo re sāsānide, Yazdaǵird III, salì al trono verso la fine del 632; con la battaglia di Nihāwand (21 eg., 642 Cr.) perdette definitivamente il regno, e, dieci anni dopo, morì assassinato nella Persia settentrionale (31 eg., 651–652 Cr.).

[4] Non esito ad identificare questo "expositor" (*al-mufassir*) con Buzurǵmihr, interprete o commentatore di Vezio Valente. Si noti che, parlando del libro di quest' ultimo, il *Fihrist* e Ibn al-Qifṭī usano appunto l' espressione: "*wa fassarahu Buzurǵmihr*"; inoltre Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, p. 16 ult. (ed. Cheikho = al-Mašriq, XIV, 1911, 579 ult.) dice dei Persiani: "I Persiani (*al-Furs*) hanno libri ragguardevoli sull' astrologia giudiziaria, fra i quali: un libro sulle figure dei gradi della sfera celeste [= τὰ παρανατέλλοντα] attribuito a Zoroastro; il *Kitāb at-tafsīr*; il libro di Ǵāmāsp, assai ragguardevole." Questo *K. at-tafsīr* è verisimilmente l' opera di Buzurǵmihr.

completas habuit .24. horas: posuit se ad sedendum et locutus fuit et fecit signa cum manu: et rex multum expavescit inde: et ego dixi possibile esse quod diceret aliquam prophetiam vel aliquod miraculum. Et rex ivit ad natum et nos cum eo ad audiendum quod diceret: et infans dixit, Ego sum natus infortunatus[1]: et natus sum ad indicandum amissionem regni *açdexit* et destructionem gentis *almanaç*; et statim cecidit natus et mortuus est[2]."

Finalmente è da notare un passo del cap. XIV dell' *India* di al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, London 1887, p. 75): وفي باب المواليد كتاب لهم [= للهند] كبير يسمى ساراوَلِ اي المختار شبه البزيدج عمله كَلانَ بَرَمَ الملك وكان يرجع الى فضيلة علمية, che il Sachau nella sua versione (London 1888, I, 158) traduce: "Further the Hindus have a large book on the science of the astrology of nativities called *Sârâvalî, i.e.* the chosen one, similar to the *Vasîdaj* (= Persian *guzîda* ?), composed by Kalyâna-Varman, who gained high credit for his scientific works." — Questo passo ci dà la chiave per stabilire l' esatta lettura ed il significato del nome misterioso del libro del quale ci stiamo occupando ed al quale evidentemente al-Bīrūnī allude: ossia البزيذج *al-Bizidağ*, trascrizione del *pehlevico vižīdhak* = lo scelto. A sua volta questo nome pehlevico non è che la traduzione del titolo dell' opera di Vezio Valente: Ἀνθολογίαι.

Come si è visto sopra (pp. 351–352), Ṣā'id al-Andalusī aveva caratterizzato esattamente l' opera, dicendo che essa riguardava "le natività, le loro 'revolutiones' e l' introduzione

[1] Così le edd.; ma bisogna leggere "informatus" (cioè: già formato, ben formato come un giovane), come risulta dal senso e dal testo arabo citato nella nota seguente.

[2] Per caso le prime e le ultime parole di questo brano sono riferite nel testo arabo (ms. dell' India Office) da M. Steinschneider, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un' opera inedita di Bernardino Baldi, con note*, Roma 1874, p. 92: قال المفسر دعاني ملك بلدنا..... ولدت غلاما لزوال ملك اردشير وخمود نيران المجوس......فقلت له ان زرادشت قال (Questa citazione si trova solo nell' ed. 1874; manca in quella del 1873, che è riproduzione esatta del lavoro dello Steinschneider, quale era apparso nel *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, v, nov.-dic. 1872, pp. 427–534). Come si vede, il testo arabo dice soltanto: "la cessazione del regno di Ardašīr e l' indebolirsi (o: l' estinguersi) dei fuochi dei Maǵūs (Zoroastriani)." Le parole seguenti dell' arabo ("E gli dissi che Zoroastro aveva detto") mancano nella vers. latina.

a [tutto] ciò." Invece il *Fihrist* ed Ibn al-Qifṭī hanno erroneamente distinto il *Bizīdaǵ* dal libro sulle natività[1] e dalla introduzione all' astrologia, dividendo così un' opera sola in 3 opere diverse.

Dai passi del *Bizīdaǵ* riferiti da Ibn Hibintā e da Albohazen risulta che l' opera di Buzurǵmihr, più che un commento alle 'Ανθολογίαι di Valente, ne fu un rimaneggiamento o adattamento, con aggiunte di vario genere. Dal suo libro deriva anche la citazione di "*Herçeiomoor*" (ossia Buzurǵmihr) relativa alla IV "casa celeste," che ricorre nella traduzione latina del libro ebraico di Abʰrāhām ben 'Ezrā († 1167 Cr.) sulle natività[2].

III. *I παρανατέλλοντα di Teucro*[3].

Attingendo evidentemente a fonti diverse, l' autore del *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, seguito poi da Ibn al-Qifṭī, nomina, fra i personaggi celebri dell' antica Babilonia, *Tīnkalūs* تينكلوس[4] e *Ṭīnqarūs* طينقروس, entrambi i quali sarebbero stati fra i 7 sacerdoti preposti ciascuno ad uno dei 7 templi dedicati ai singoli pianeti[5], ed entrambi avrebbero composto un libro astrologico; quello di Tinkalūs si sarebbe intitolato "Libro dei 'decani' e dei 'fines'[6]," quello di Ṭīnqarūs "Libro delle natività secondo i 'decani' ed i 'fines'[7]."

[1] L' astrologo [persiano, della fine dell' età sāsānidica?] al-Andarzaǵar, nel suo libro sulle natività, scriveva a proposito di Vezio Valente: "I suoi 10 libri sulle natività abbracciano la forza di tutti i libri [degli altri autori]; se alcuno pronosticasse cosa non risultante da questi suoi libri, io non crederei mai ch' essa fosse accaduta o fosse per accadere" (cit. in Ibn al-Qifṭī, ove il nome dell' astrologo è storpiato in الايدغر, che il Lippert, negli indici, legge *al-Ayduǵur*).—Su al-Andarzaǵar v. il mio *'Ilm al-falak*, pp. 211–213.

[2] *Liber* Abraham Iudei *de nativitatibus*, Venetiis 1485, fol. b 3, v. (in altra ediz.: *Gerçeiomoor*). Cfr. M. Steinschneider, *Zur Gesch. der Uebersetzungen aus dem Indischen*, *ZDMG* 24, 1870, 386, n. 103 (ove "Berçeiomoor" è errore di stampa).

[3] Cfr. il mio *'Ilm al-falak*, pp. 196–205, e qui sopra p. 351, nota 2.

[4] Varr. كلوس, بيت كلوس, تينكلوشى.—Ibn al-Qifṭī sceglie la forma *Tīnkalūš*, aggiungendo: "si dice anche *Tankalūšā*; ma la prima [forma] è più corretta."

[5] *Fihrist* 270 e Ibn al-Qifṭī ed. Lippert 218 (ed. Cairo 148) dicono che Ṭīnqarūs era preposto al tempio di Marte; *Fihrist* 238 dice che Tīnkalūs era preposto al tempio di Giove e Ṭīnqarūs a quello di Marte.

[6] *Fihrist* 270; Ibn al-Qifṭī 105 (ed. Cairo 74).

[7] *Fihrist* 270; Ibn al-Qifṭī 218 (ed. Cairo 148).

Negli altri scrittori arabi sembra mancare ogni accenno a Ṭīnqarūs. Invece *Tīnkalūs* è citato come autorità in astrologi del III e IV sec. eg. (IX e X Cr.), ossia in Abū Ma'šar ed Ibn Hibintā, come vedremo più avanti. Dopo il IV sec. eg. la forma Tīnkalūs sembra scomparire completamente dall' uso degli astrologi, ed essere sostituita dalla forma *Tankalūšā*, la quale ha origine dall' "Agricoltura Nabatea," che il falsario Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn az-Zayyāt (nel 318 eg., 930 Cr.) immaginò tradotto in arabo nel 291 eg. (904 Cr.) da Ibn Waḥšiyyah sopra un originale *nabateo*, frutto della sapienza degli antichi Babilonesi. Nella prefazione di quest' opera è detto che Ibn Waḥšiyyah aveva tradotto 4 libri dal nabateo in arabo: il Libro di Dawānāy babilonese intorno alla cognizione dei segreti della sfera celeste e dei giudizi [astrologici fondati] sugli avvenimenti (*ḥawādiṯ*) degli astri; il Libro dell' agricoltura nabatea; il Libro dei veleni di Sūhābsāt e Yārbūqā; il Libro di *Tankalūšā* al-Bābilī al-Qūfānī[1] sulle figure dei gradi della sfera celeste e su ciò ch' esse indicano riguardo agli eventi (*aḥwāl*) dei nati in esse.

Questo libro di *Tankalūšā* non tardò ad essere messo in circolazione, forse per opera dello stesso Abū Ṭālib az-Zayyāt, cosicché se ne conservano ancor oggi almeno 3 mss.[2] oltre ad una traduzione persiana. L' autore è citato p. es. nella *Safīnat al-aḥkām* di an-Naṣīrī[3], sotto la forma تنكلوشا البابلى القوفايتى[4], e nel commento di Naṣīr ad-din aṭ-Ṭūsī

[1] Di solito il nome nell' Agricoltura Nabatea ed altrove è scritto قوقانى *Qūqānī*; Th. Nöldeke, *Noch Einiges über die "Nabatäische Landwirthschaft"* (*ZDMG* 29, 1875, 449), ha mostrato che si tratta di aggettivo derivato da Qūfā, l' attuale 'Aqar Qūf, a circa 10 km W di Baġdād.

[2] Leida (*Cat.* III, 81, nr. 1047), ove il titolo è كتاب تَنْكَلُوشَا البابلي القُوقَاني في صور درج الفلك وما تدل عليهُ من أحوال المولودين بها; Pietroburgo (Inst. des langues orient., Cat. mss. arabi nr. 191, 2°), ove il titolo è كتاب سكلوشا (sic) القوفاي من اهل بابل في صور درج الفلك وبعض دلائلها على ما اخذ عن القدماء; Firenze (Bibl. Laurenziana, nr. 312 del Catal. Assemani).

[3] H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber*, Leipzig 1900, p. 114, nr. 270, ritiene probabile ch' egli sia identico ad Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn an-Naṣīr, uno dei più famosi astrologi egiziani della fine del V e del principio del VI sec. eg. (XI–XII Cr.).

[4] Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss d. arab. Hss. zu Berlin*, V, 294, nr. 5895.

(† 672 eg., 1274 Cr.) al 95° aforismo del Καρπός o *Centiloquium* attribuito a Tolomeo[1]; l' opera sua fu compendiata dal famoso teologo, filosofo e cultore di scienze occulte Faḫr ad-dīn ar-Rāzī[2], † 606 eg., 1210 Cr.—Ḥāǵǵi Ḫalīfah III, 223, nr. 5045 (ed. Cstnpli 1311, I, 490) conosce il nostro libro nella forma: درج الفلك في الاحكام لتنكلوشاه; ed altrove (V, 247, 10877 = Cstnpli II, 332) attribuisce a Tankalūšāh un commento (*šarḥ*) al *Kanz al-asrār wa ḏaḫā'ir al-abrār*[3] del mitico Hermes al-Harāmisah, riguardante il modo di conoscere l' avvenire mediante le lettere dell' alfabeto ed i quadrati magici (*awfāq*)[4].

Il Chwolson, persuaso che le presunte traduzioni dal *nabateo* fossero veramente resti genuini dell' antica letteratura babilonese, si occupò a lungo del libro di *Tankalūšā* sulle figure dei gradi della sfera celeste, secondo il ms. di Leida[5], e cercò di dimostrare ch' esso era stato composto, al più tardi, nel I sec. d. Cr.— H. Ewald, in una recensione del lavoro del Chwolson[6], si avvicina all' ipotesi del Saumaise riferita qui sopra (p. 358, n. 1), e ritiene che il libro arabo di Tankalūšā il babilonese sia la traduzione del libro greco,

[1] Cl. Salmasii *de annis climactericis et antiqua astrologia diatribae*, Lugd. Batavor. 1648, praefatio fol. c 3, v.: "Interpres quoque Nasirodinus Thusius, ad eum locum notat, In libro qui adscribitur Tenkeluxae Babylonio, بتنكلوشا بابلي, scriptum extare *cum quovis gradu ascendente*, similique modo ab Indis allegari...... تنكلوشا autem sive Tenkelus ille Babylonius quem memorat Nasirodinus, is omnino est qui Τεῦκρος Βαβυλώνιος Graecis vocatur, et fortasse in scriptis Graecorum perperam hodie legitur Τεῦκρος pro Τένκερος idque deflexum ex illo nomine Babylonis *Tenclus*."

[2] Nell' elenco degli scritti di Faḫr ad-dīn ar-Rāzī presso Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah II, 30_{12}: كتاب دنكلوشا (il Müller non indica varianti); in Ibn al-Qifṭī ed. Lippert, 292, l. 22 (ed. Cairo 191, l. 4 d. C.): كتاب منتخب تنكلوشا.

[3] A torto il *Catal.* di Leida (III, 81, nota) identifica il *Kanz al-asrār* con il libro di Tankalūšā sulle figure dei gradi della sfera celeste; l' argomento delle due opere è completamente diverso.

[4] Un trattatello di chiromanzia esistente a Berlino (Ahlwardt III, 572, nr. 4258) è attribuito ai dotti "indiani" Ṭumṭum e Tankalūšā.

[5] D. Chwolson, *Ueber die Ueberreste der altbabylonischen Literatur in arabischen Uebersetzungen*, St. Petersburg 1859, 196 pp. (= Mémoires présentés à l'Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg par divers savants, t. VIII, pp. 329–524). Le p. 130–164 (= 458–492) riguardano il libro astrologico di Tankalūšā.

[6] Nelle *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1859 (a me inaccessibili).

ora perduto, che *Teucro* Babilonese aveva composto su τὰ παρανατέλλοντα τοῖς δεκανοῖς, ossia sulle figure (rappresentanti costellazioni diverse da quelle dell' Almagesto) che sorgono all' orizzonte di un dato paese insieme con ciascuno dei 36 "decani" (δεκανοί, πρόσωπα, "facies") nei quali l' eclittica è divisa.—A. von Gutschmid[1], riconoscendo il carattere apocrifo della presunta letteratura arabo-nabatea, ritiene che Tankalūšā sia "ein entstellter Griechischer Name," ma nega ch' esso corrisponda a Τεῦκρος per due ragioni (p. 82): 1°. che la τ greca "sonst nicht durch ت ausgedrückt zu werden pflegt"; 2°. che l' astrologo Teucro Babilonese è il Tinqarūs del *Fihrist*, distinto da Tīnkalūs. Secondo il von Gutschmid Tankalūšā, storpiatura di Tīnkalūs, rappresenterebbe un altro nome greco (Θεάγγελος o Θέοκλος o Θεύκολος). Infine egli dà grande importanza ad una notizia trovata dal Chwolson alla fine d' un ms. della traduzione del libro di Tankalūšā in persiano (moderno); è l' aggiunta di un lettore il quale dice: "Nella cronaca di تبرى sta scritto che questo libro fu composto 80 anni prima dell' ègira[2]," il che ci porterebbe al 542 d. Cr., durante il regno di Cosroe I Anūšarwān[3]. Quindi conclude (p. 88): "Ich glaube also, dass das Griechische Original des Thînkelûs frühzeitig, eben in jenem Jahre 542, in das Persische übersetzt und diese Uebersetzung von Späteren geradezu für das Original gehalten worden ist: alle jene Angaben über Thînkelûs dürften aus Persischen Quellen geflossen sein." Ma lascia in sospeso la questione dei rapporti fra il libro persiano di Tīnkalūs e quello pseudo-nabateo di Tankalūšā, (pp. 88–89).

[1] *Die Nabatäische Landwirthschaft und ihre Geschwister* (*ZDMG* 15, 1861, 1–110; ristampato nei *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig 1889–91, II); cap. XXII: "Das genethlialogische Buch des Thenkeloshâ" (pp. 79–89; cfr. 108).

[2] Chwolson, *l.c.*, p. 132 (= 460): در تاريخ تبرى نبشته اند كه اين كتاب هشتار سال بيشتر از هجرت نبوى نوشته شده. Il Chwolson, a ragione, insiste sulla poca fiducia che merita questa notizia, nella quale تبرى sembra essere strano errore per طبرى. Negli *Annali* d' aṭ-Ṭabarī non si trova menzione di Tankalūšā ecc.

[3] "Der bekanntlich viele Griechische und andere Bücher ins Persische übersetzen liess" (p. 88). Probabilmente il von Gutschmid aveva presente il passo di Agathia (da me citato qui sopra, p. 345, n. 3), il quale tuttavia accenna solo a traduzione d' opere filosofiche greche.

M. Steinschneider[1], d' accordo con il Renan[2] e contro il Gutschmid, identifica a ragione i due personaggi Ṭīnqarūs e Tīnkalūs del *Fihrist* (e d' Ibn al-Qifṭī); considera il nome Ṭankalūšā come inventato da Ibn Waḥšiyyah; lascia incerto se si debba ritenere che Ibn Waḥšiyyah abbia usato o non un libro tradotto dal *greco* in *arabo* sotto il nome di Ṭīnqarūs = Teucro; ed osserva che la questione potrebbe forse essere risolta se si studiasse la storia delle figure dei "decani" presso gli Arabi, notando anche che Abū Ma'šar nel suo *Introductorium* VI, 2, indica quelle figure secondo i Greci, i Persiani, gl' Indiani.

La via additata dallo Steinschneider fu seguita solo nel 1903, quando Fr. Boll[3] raccolse da parecchi mss. greci numerosi frammenti del libro perduto di Teucro (I sec. Cr.) sui παρανατέλλοντα, e pubblicò inoltre[4] l' inedito testo arabo del suddetto capitolo dell' *Introductorium magnum* d' Albumasar o Abū Ma'šar († 272 eg., 886 Cr.). In questo sono descritte le figure delle costellazioni che sorgono con i decani o si trovano in essi, secondo 3 sistemi (*madhab*): dei Greci (*al-Yūnān*; sono le figure accolte dall' Almagesto), dei Persiani (*al-Furs*) e degl' Indiani. Abū Ma'šar aggiunge più volte che il sistema dei Persiani è quello di Tīnkalūs (تينكلوس, var. تنكلوس).—Il confronto con i frammenti *greci* di Teucro ha mostrato al Boll il loro completo accordo con quello che Abū Ma'šar riferisce secondo i *Persiani* e *Tīnkalūs*; l' identità di quest' ultimo con *Teucro* è dunque sicura.

Assodato questo punto fondamentale, mi pare che sia lecito dedurne le conseguenze seguenti:

1°.—Il libro di *Tankalūšā* sui παρανατέλλοντα, giunto fino a noi come tradotto dal nabateo in arabo, ed analizzato dal Chwolson, è una falsificazione da considerarsi come degna compagna dell' Agricoltura nabatea; il falsario si è contentato di sfruttare la rinomanza di Tīnkalūs, al cui nome ha voluto dare un aspetto arcaico babilonese trasformandolo

[1] *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, § 137: Teukros (*ZDMG* 50, 1896, 352-354).

[2] *Sur l'âge du livre intitulé: Agriculture nabatéenne* (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr., t. XXIV, 1e p., 1861).

[3] *Sphaera. Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der Sternbilder*, Leipzig 1903.

[4] Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 490–539.—Abū Ma'šar dichiara di scrivere il suo libro nel 1161 di Ḏū 'l-qarnayn (cioè 234–235 eg., 849 Cr.).

in Tankalūšā. Il libro di Teucro-Tīnkalūs descrive soltanto le figure (non tolemaiche) delle costellazioni ascendenti insieme con ciascuno dei 36 decani nei quali l' eclittica è divisa (3 decani di 10° per ciascun segno zodiacale); invece Tankalūšā immagina assurdamente di descrivere per ciascuno dei 360 gradi dell' eclittica le figure che ascenderebbero contemporaneamente ad essi[1], ed a tale scopo inventa con grande minuzia descrizioni del tutto fantastiche, le quali non hanno alcun rapporto con il sistema ragionevole di Teucro-Tīnkalūs.

2°.—Il fatto che, per Abū Ma'šar, il sistema di παρανατέλλοντα di Tīnkalūs è il sistema dei Persiani (opposto a quello dei Greci e degli Indiani), e che inoltre Abū Ma'šar deriva dal libro di Tīnkalūs alcuni nomi persiani di costellazioni, prova che questo libro di Tīnkalūs non era stato tradotto dal greco, ma dal persiano. Se poi si tiene conto che Abū Ma'šar componeva la sua opera nell' 849 d. Cr., è evidente che il libro persiano di Tīnkalūs non poteva essere scritto se non in lingua *pehlevica*.

L' esistenza di questa traduzione *pehlevica* dei παρανατέλλοντα di Teucro-Tīnkalūs è accertata anche per altra via; giacché uno dei passi d' Ibn Hibintā, da me riferiti qui sopra (p. 352), ossia quello del f. 154 r. del ms. di Monaco, mostra che Buzurǵmihr, il commentatore pehlevico del *Bizīdaǵ* di Vezio Valente, già conosceva e citava il libro di Tīnkalūs il Babilonese[2].

Finalmente l' origine *pehlevica* del testo arabo ci dà anche la chiave per comprendere l' origine della forma Tīnkalūs, che altrimenti non sarebbe spiegabile. Secondo le regole solite di trascrizione dei nomi stranieri nell' età sāsānidica, Τεῦκρος doveva essere scritto in pehlevico *Tēwkrōs* [illegible], dove [illegible] può essere letto *ēw*, *īw*, *vī*, *īn*, *nī*, *nē* ecc.,

[1] Si noti che questa particolarità esisteva anche nel libro di Tankalūšā usato da Naṣīr ad-dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, come risulta dal passo del Saumaise riferito da me qui sopra, p. 358, n. 1.

[2] Disgraziatamente nel 1891 trascurai di copiare per intero quel brano del f. 154 r., cosicché mi è impossibile di stabilire se il libro di Tīnkalūs, da Ibn Hibintā messo a confronto con la citazione fattane da Buzurǵmihr, sia il libro autentico di Teucro-Tīnkalūs oppure quello spurio corrente sotto il nome di Tankalūšā.

ed [illegible] essere letto *rō*, *lō*, *rū*, *lū* ecc. Si comprende quindi agevolmente come sia nata la lettura *Tīnk(a)lūs*, seguita dal traduttore arabo, dall' autore del *Fihrist* ecc.

L' altra forma *Ṭīnqarūs*, ricorrente nel *Fihrist* ed in Ibn al-Qifṭī, e da costoro (come poi dal von Gutschmid) ritenuta nome d' un personaggio diverso da Tīnkalūs, sembra, a primo aspetto, potersi collegare direttamente con Τεῦκρος; infatti la *r* greca è conservata, e le consonanti τ e κ sono rese rispettivamente con *ṭ* (non *t*) e *q* (non *k*), appunto secondo le regole seguite dai traduttori *siriaci* ed *arabi* nel trascrivere i nomi *greci*. Invece rimane inspiegabile la sostituzione di *īn* ad ευ, anche supponendo che la *n* sia un errore grafico nato nei mss. arabi; τευ da un Arabo sarebbe stato certamente trascritto طوْ, e da un Siro in una delle forme seguenti: ܛܘ o ܛܗܘ o ܛܐܘ.—Tutto si spiegherebbe bene se si ammettesse che l' arabo *Ṭīnqarūs* derivi da una trascrizione *siriaca* del nome *pehlevico*, letto *Tīnkarūs*; la sostituzione di *ṭ* e *q* al pehlevico *t* e *k*, insolita in arabo, è invece regolare in siriaco.

Questi sicuri indizi di traduzioni d' opere scientifiche dal greco in pehlevico meritano forse di essere messi in rapporto con un passo del libro astrologico arabo *Kitāb an-nahmuṭān*[1] *fī 'l-mawālīd*, composto da Abū Sahl al-Faḍl ibn Nawbaḫt († ca. 200 eg., 815 Cr.), passo conservato nel *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ma, se non m' inganno, sin qui trascurato dagli studiosi europei. L' autore prima narra (*Fihrist* p. 238 lin. 9–239 lin. 23) che la conquista d' Alessandro Magno smembrò l' impero persiano e fece scomparire la scienza

[1] Così è vocalizzato il nome in tutti i mss. del *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. 238 lin. 9 e le note II, 238). Ignoro che cosa esso significhi, oppure se esso debba ritenersi (come è forse probabile) un *nome proprio*; insostenibili sono tutte le spiegazioni finora proposte dal Flügel (note al *Fihrist*, II, 239; dall' aramaico *neḥāmāt^hā* "Tröstungen und dann das zukünftige Leben..."), dal Clermont-Ganneau (*Comptes-rendus Ac. Inscr.* 1907, 483-484 = *Recueil d'archéol. orient.*, VIII, 1907; corruzione del persiano *nuhṭāq* "les neuf voûtes célestes"; cfr. *RSO* II, 1908, 478), dal Suter (*Mathematiker-Verzeichniss im Fihrist*, 1892, p. 28; *Mathem. u. Astronomen der Araber*, 1900, p. 5; recens. d' Ibn al-Qifṭī ed. Lippert, in *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 3. Folge, 4. Bd., 1903, p. 297; corruzione di *an-numūdār* "oroscopo").—A torto il Lippert nella sua ed. di Ibn al-Qifṭī, p. 255 (e quindi anche l' ed. Cairo p. 169) ha البهطمان.

dall' 'Irāq; poi dice che Ardašīr figlio di Bābak[1] ristabilì l' unità del regno, ed aggiunge (p. 239 lin. 23-31): "Egli mandò a cercare nel paese degli Indiani e dei Cinesi i libri ch' erano presso di loro, e così pure nel paese dei Rūm; fece copiare quelli che erano capitati a loro, unendovi poi i pochi resti che erano rimasti nell' 'Irāq; così riunì i libri ch' erano separati e mise insieme quelli ch' erano dispersi. Lo stesso fece, dopo di lui, suo figlio Sapore [I, regnò 241-271 Cr.]; cosicchè tutti quei libri vennero trascritti in *persiano*, a quel modo che [li] avevano [composti] Hermes babilonese, il quale fu re d' Egitto, Doroteo Sidonio (دورسوس السرياني; cfr. *ZDMG* 46, 1892, 743), Codro (قيدروسج?) greco della città di Atene (اثينس) famosa per la scienza, Tolomeo alessandrino e Frmāsb l' indiano. Questi libri furono spiegati ed insegnati alla gente, così come erano stati desunti da tutti i libri la cui origine era dalla Babilonia. Poi, dopo di loro due [Ardašīr e Sapore], Cosroe [I] Anūšarwān [531-578 Cr.] li riunì, li mise insieme e se ne servì, per l' inclinazione e l' amore ch' egli aveva verso la scienza. Gli uomini d' ogni tempo e d' [ogni] età hanno esperienze nuove e scienza rinnovata intorno alla potestà (قدر) degli astri e dei segni zodiacali, alla quale [potestà] per ordine di Dio altissimo è affidato il governo del tempo" (الذي هو وليّ تدبير الزمان بامر الله تعالى).

Come si vede, al-Faḍl ibn Nawbaḫt, d' origine persiana, allude essenzialmente a traduzioni pehleviche d' opere astrologiche.

[1] Ossia Ardašīr I, che regnò 226-241 Cr.

CARLO A. NALLINO.

ROMA (33), VIA ATTILIO REGOLO 12.

PÍR JAMÁL

In August, 1920, I was asked to examine and report on a beautifully written and almost unique[1] Persian manuscript containing the *Kulliyyát* of Pír Jamál, which had been brought from Iṣfahán by Ḥájjí 'Abdu 'l-Majíd Belshah and is now in the India Office Library. It is a volume of 1518 pages of folio size; and as it remained in my hands for a few days only, my acquaintance with it is necessarily slight. The following details, however, may be worth publishing, for in the case of an unknown author I venture to think that even the most inadequate notice is better than none.

Jamálu'ddín Aḥmad Ardistání, generally called Pír Jamál, was a native of Ardistán, a considerable town lying to the north-east of Iṣfahán[2]. That he was an eminent Ṣúfí appears from the fact that he gave his name to an order of dervishes—the Pír Jamáliyya. His Shaykh and *murshid* was Murtaḍá 'Alí Ardistání, a pupil of Shaykh Muḥammad of Zuwára[3], and he traced his spiritual pedigree through Najíbu'ddín 'Alí b. Buzghush of Shíráz, Shihábu'-ddín Suhrawardí, and Aḥmad Ghazálí to Ma'rúf Karkhí. Another *silsila* (given in the *Bustánu 'l-siyáḥa*[4]) leads back to Fakhru'ddín 'Iráqí, the author of the *Lama'át*, whose teacher, Bahá'u'ddín Zakariyyá of Multán, was a pupil of Shihábu'ddín Suhrawardí. As Pír Jamál died in A.H. 879 = A.D. 1474–5, he must have been contemporary with Jámí (ob. A.H. 898). It is mentioned in the *Uṣúlu 'l-fuṣúl*, on the authority of "a certain book," that he was martyred (*shahíd shud*).

[1] There is a less complete copy in Professor Browne's collection.

[2] These particulars are derived from the *Ṭará'iqu 'l-ḥaqá'iq* by Ma'ṣúm 'Alí Sháh al-Ni'matu'lláhí al-Shírází (Teheran, A.H. 1319), vol. ii, p. 159.

[3] Zuwára or Uzwára is near Ardistán. See G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 208.

[4] By Ibn Iskandar Zaynu 'l-'Ábidín Shírwání Ni'matu'lláhí. This work is described by Rieu in his Suppl. to the Cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 140.

The contents of the India Office MS. are as follows:

I. *Mir'átu 'l-afrád* (pp. 1–128). A large number of *risálát* in prose and verse addressed to his disciples on points of Ṣúfí doctrine and the interpretation of verses of the Koran. On p. 127 the writer describes a vision of angels which he saw on the 8th of Muḥarram, A.H. 877.

II. *Kanzu 'l-daqá'iq* (pp. 129–175)[1].

III. *Mishkátu 'l-muḥibbín* (pp. 175–179).

IV. *Kitáb-i Rúḥ al-quds* (pp. 179–297). A long *mathnawí* in three parts, dealing with the *Sharí'at*, the *Ṭaríqat*, and the *Ḥaqíqat*. Each part is associated with one of the Shaykhs in the author's *silsila*. Shihábu'ddín Suhrawardí represents the *Sharí'at*, 'Abdu 's-Salám Kámú (or Kámúsí) the *Ṭaríqat*, and 'Alí Ardistání (who invested Pír Jamál with his own *khirqa*, *i.e.* appointed him to be his successor) the *Ḥaqíqat*. This *mathnawí* was finished in A.H. 865.

V. *Tanbíhu 'l-'árifín* (pp. 297–369).

VI. *Maḥbúbu 'l-ṣiddíqín* (pp. 369–487). This *mathnawí* is mentioned by Ḥájjí Khalífa (ed. Flügel v, 418), who says, perhaps correctly, that it is نظم ونثر. He adds that it forms part of the *Kitáb kashf al-kunúz*. No work bearing that title occurs either in the India Office MS. or in the list of Pír Jamál's writings in the *Ṭará'iqu 'l-ḥaqá'iq*; but the *Ṭar.* mentions a *Sharḥu 'l-kunúz*, which may be the work referred to by Ḥájji Khalífa.

VII. *Kitáb-i ma'lúmáti asrári 'l-qulúb wa-mafhúmáti anwári 'l-ghuyúb* (pp. 488–493).

VIII. *Kashfu 'l-arwáḥ* (pp. 493–608).

IX. *Qiṣṣa'i 'Ayyúb* (pp. 608–614).

X. *Bayán-i ḥaqá'iq-i aḥwál al-Muṣṭafá* (pp. 614–1285).

The subject of this great *mathnawí* is the Life of the Prophet, regarded as the perfect model for mystics. Many prose passages are interspersed. Probably the title given above, which occurs on p. 713, is no more than a description

[1] Nos. II to XII are *mathnawís*.

of the poem. The whole work is divided into seven parts, each being entitled separately as follows:

1. *Miṣbáḥu 'l-arwáḥ* (pp. 614–713).
2. *Aḥkámu 'l-muḥibbín* (pp. 713–762).
3. *Niháyatu 'l-ḥikmat* (pp. 763–852).
4. *Bidáyatu 'l-maḥabbat* (pp. 852–900).
5. *Hidáyatu 'l-ma'rifat* (pp. 900–1015).
6. *Fatḥu 'l-abwáb* (pp. 1015–1159).
7. *Sharḥu 'l-wáṣilín* (pp. 1159–1285).

XI. *Mihr-afrúz* (pp. 1285–1293). The India Office MS. gives the title as مهر القلوب, which I have corrected in accordance with the *Ṭará'iqu 'l-ḥaqá'iq*.

XII. *Kitáb-i Mathnawiyyát* (pp. 1294–1313). This consists of a number of *risálas*. It begins with an explanation of some verses in the *Gulshan-i ráz* of Maḥmúd Shabistarí (812–13, 815, and 19 in Whinfield's edition). Verses by Niẓámí and 'Aṭṭár are also explained.

XIII. *Kitáb-i Qaṣá'id* (pp. 1314–1327).

XIV. *Kitáb-i Tarkíb-band* (pp. 1327–1339). This includes several examples of the *tarjí'-band*.

XV. *Kitáb-i Ghazaliyyát* (pp. 1339–1373). In his *ghazals* the author uses the *takhalluṣ* Jamálí.

XVI. *Kitáb-i Rubá'iyyát* (pp. 1377–1427).

XVII. A *mathnawí* of which I have not been able to ascertain the title (pp. 1428–1435).

XVIII. The Sixth Book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí (pp. 1437–1518).

The list in the *Ṭará'iqu 'l-ḥaqá'iq*, though admittedly incomplete, adds five more titles, *viz.*, (1) *Istiqámat-náma*, (2) *Núr 'alá núr*, (3) *Náẓir u manẓúr*, (4) *Miftaḥu 'l-faqr*, (5) *Sharḥu 'l-kunúz*. On the other hand, it does not include No. IX, while the seven parts of No. X are (perhaps rightly) reckoned as independent poems.

Judging from the few passages that I have read, I am not inclined to believe that Pír Jamál is an author of great originality. Nevertheless, his works—the *mathnawís* in

particular—comprise a vast quantity of material for the study of Ṣúfism in the 15th century and might repay a careful examination.

The following is a translation of the passage in which he describes his vision of the angels:

"On the eighth night of the holy month Muharram in the year 877, being in ecstasy I saw that over against the house where this *faqír* (Pír Jamál) and his friends live, the sky was cloven and angels came forth, so many that they stood between the heaven and the earth all the way from East to West, chanting in unison, with voices sad and sweet, a verse of the sublime Koran, namely, *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: they upbraid thee with their having embraced Islam. Say, 'Do not upbraid me with your having embraced Islam. Nay, it is God who upbraids you, inasmuch as He led you to the Faith. If ye speak truly (God has bestowed a favour on you)*[1].' Then this host of angels vanished, and a multitude as great as the first came forth, chanting with a louder voice the verse—*Say, 'O my servants who have trespassed against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of God. Verily, God forgiveth all sins, for He is the Forgiving, the Merciful*[2].' Then those also departed, and another host came forth, chanting with a voice louder than that of the former twain the verse—'*We are your friends in this life and in that which is to come: therein shall ye have whatsoever your souls crave, and therein shall ye obtain whatsoever ye desire*[3].' After they had chanted these verses, the Presence whose light fills the world, he that is the First and the Last—upon him be blessing and peace!—came forth from the cleft in the sky and took his abode in the place of which there has been mention already.

Now I will explain these happenings and interpret this experience. Hearken, that thou mayst come to life from the state in which thou art to-day; and God bless the unlettered Arabian Prophet, Mohammed, and his family, and grant him peace!

O my brother, know the meaning of the Greater Punishment, as distinguished from the Lesser. When the sins of a man are not pardoned, at once he is delivered into the hands of punishment in such wise that he is cast into a pit, which they call the Everlasting, whence he never can escape, or a mountain is dashed against his head and he is made naught, or he is transformed into a wild beast or some animal. But if it be ordained that his punishment shall pass, this is the Lesser Punishment, and the sinner is punished in such wise that they keep him at the bottom of a terrace and pour over his head an ass-load of straw mixed with earth, so that he is begrimed with dust; yet at last he can be cleansed from that defilement, and 'tis well, for grievous is the punishment of him who is made naught or raised again in a foul shape.

O dear friends, watch your eyes and ears and hands and hearts, and live as though ye were dead! And to those who love (God) these two punishments which have been explained seem of little account, for the retaliation (*qiṣáṣ*) on those who love (God) is that they are rejected and disregarded (by the Loved One). The thing that has caused the lover to be rejected is

[1] Koran, xlix, 17. [2] Koran, xxxix, 54. [3] Koran, xli, 31–2.

raised (on the Day of Judgement) in a horrible shape, and he and it are annihilated together. That horrible shape seizes its fellow with its teeth; and its teeth are like those of a wild beast. Beware, and a hundred times beware, lest ye be occupied with yourselves and with a thing that is not pleasing unto God. To know this (Divine) pleasure and displeasure is a hard matter. Therefore do not step aside from the Way of that sovereign Presence (Mohammed), who is the First and the Last."

The collection of *rubá'iyyát*—more than a thousand in all—begins with several in which God is praised. These are followed by a series (arranged from ا to ی in alphabetical order) in praise of Mohammed. In many of them the Prophet is addressed as the Logos, *e.g.*—

ای جان تو و جان جان و هم جانان تو
وی حسن و صفای ظاهر و پنهان تو
لوح و قلم و بصارت و درك و حروف
کام دل و جان و معنیٔ قرآن تو

O thou who art the soul and the soul of soul and the Beloved,
And O thou who art all beauty and loveliness, both manifest and hidden!
Thou art the Tablet and the Pen and sight and perception and letters,
The desire of heart and soul and the meaning of the Koran.

Pír Jamál places 'Alí on a level with Mohammed and extols him in similar terms.

آغاز محمّد است و انجام علیست * آشوب محمّد است و آرام علیست
آیات خدا ز کام پیغمبر ماست * ای دوست بدان که سرّ پیغام علیست

Mohammed is the beginning and 'Alí is the end,
Mohammed is the storm and 'Alí is the calm.
The Divine verses (of the Koran) are from the mouth of our Messenger:
O friend, know that 'Alí is the core of the message.

میدان که محمّد و علی همدوشند * یك لقمه بدو دهان بهم مینوشند
یعنی فیضی که از خدا می آیند * باهم نوشند و پرده بر خود پوشند

Know that Mohammed and 'Alí are equals,
Ever partaking of one morsel with two mouths.
That is to say, the abundant grace which is always coming from God
They drink together, and draw the veil over themselves.

The author's *nom de plume*, Jamálí, occurs in several quatrains. One gives the date A.H. 864:

از هشصد و شصت وچار بگذشت که باز * از پرده برون فتاد مجموعهٔ راز
جز جان امیر نیست واقف ز فقیر * یعنی که ز شمع پرس این سوز و گداز

Two others celebrate a certain Rúzbihán, who was evidently a mystic of the same period. Afḍal—probably Afḍalu'ddín of Káshán (ob. A.H. 707)—is twice mentioned. He seems to be the author of the first of the three following *rubá'ís*, while the second is Pír Jamál's variation of it.

افضل دیدی که هرچه دیدی هیچست
وآن نیز که گفتی و شنیدی هیچست
سر تا سر آفاق دویدی هیچست
واین نیز که در کنج خزیدی هیچست

افعال نکوی خود چو دیدی هیچست
در بحث هر آنچه کج شنیدی هیچست
بی یار دلا بسر دویدی هیچست
در خلوت عُجْب خود خزیدی هیچست

افضل فرمود رو بآفاق مُکن * در عالم انفس آی و خود عاق مکن
خواهی که شوی عارف اسرار خدا * جز طوف دل خراب مشتاق مکن

Rubá'ís are seldom characteristic, and so far as I can judge, those of Pír Jamál have no extraordinary merit; but I will conclude this article with a few selected specimens.

ای خواجه بدان که اسم اعظم عشقست
اکرم عشقست زآنکه اقدم عشقست
تفهیم معلّمان و ادراك عقول
روح القدس و عیسیٔ مریم عشقست

O Master, know that the Greatest Name (of God) is Love;
The most noble is Love, because the most ancient is Love.
The instruction of teachers and the perception of intellects
And the Holy Spirit and Jesus the son of Mary—is Love.

بدخواه کسی مباش ای نیك سرشت
گر اهل صوامعند ور اهل کنشت
اندیشهٔ بد چه جای بد دوزخ ازآنست
ز اندیشهٔ نیك دان و بس عیش بهشت

Do not wish ill to any one, O man of good nature,
Whether they be people of the cell (Christian ascetics) or of the synagogue.
What a bad place is a bad thought! Hell springs from it;
Know that the joys of Paradise are from good thoughts alone.

صد جزو اشارتست و یك لفظ صریح
ای خواجه کلیمدین ر ای شیخ فصیح
آنجا که لقا و دیده و عشق و بلاست
کو آیت جبریل و انجیل مسیح

There are a hundred volumes of doctrine and one plain word,
O Master who art of Moses' religion and O eloquent Shaykh!
When there is meeting and vision and love a..d pain,
Where are Gabriel's verses (the Koran) and the Messiah's Gospel?

عقل از سر ما وز در ما دور بود * زآنروی که چشم عقل بس کور بود
عقلی نه که نور نور آن شمع دلست * آن عقل که در مغاك چون مور بود

Far be intelligence from my head and from my door,
Inasmuch as the eye of intelligence is very blind.
Not that Intelligence, the light of whose light is a candle to the heart,
But that intelligence which is like an ant in a cave.

سدّ تو توئی تو زود برخیز از پیش * یعنی که فنا بود بقای درویش
درویشی اگر بصوف بودی و نمد * سرحلقهٔ صوفیان بدندی بز و میش

Thou art thine own barrier (prison). Arise quickly and depart!
That is to say, death to self (*faná*) is the life (*baqá*) of the dervish.
If dervishhood consisted in (garments of) wool and felt,
Goats and sheep would be the leaders of the Ṣúfís.

فرمان محمّد بر و خوش جبری باش
آزار جهان مکن به پنهانی و فاش
این هر دو صفت اگر بجای آری تو
آن مرگ و حیات و تاب گو باش و مباش

Obey Mohammed and be a happy Necessitarian,
Do no harm in the world secretly or openly.
If thou wilt put these two qualities into practice,
Death, life, and suffering—let them be or let them not!

با زاهد دمسرد نخواهیم نعیم * مائیم و دم گرم گنهکار و جحیم
با عاشق مست و رند بدریده گلیم * بتوان گفتن راز دل و عشق و ندیم

We desire not Paradise with the ascetic whose breath is cold;
Give us the hot breath of the sinner and Hell!
To the drunken lover and the ragged libertine
One can declare the mystery of heart and love and Friend.

در مکتب دل حاجت گفتار نبو * اعمال نبو و ذکر و تکرار نبو
آنکس که همیشه مست و بیدار نبو * در بارگه یار منش بار نبو

In the school of the heart there is no need for speech,
There are no works, no recollection or repetition.
He who is not always drunk and sleepless
Is not admitted to the audience-chamber of my Beloved.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

DAS GLEICHNISS VOM AUFZIEHEN EINES JUNGEN RAUBTIERS

Im *Agamemnon* des Aeschylus (Wilamowitz, 717 ff., Kirchhoff, 691 ff.) heisst es:

Str. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἶ-
νιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὔ-
τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,
ἐν βιότου προτελείοις
ἅμερον εὐφιλόπαιδα
καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.
πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν
φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαί-
νων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.
Ant. χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἦ-
θος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων, χάριν
γὰρ τροφεῦσιν ἀμείβων
μηλοφόνοισιν < ἐν > ἄταις
δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν·
αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη
ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,
μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον·
ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεύς τις ἄ-
τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη[1].

[1] Im überlieferten Text entsprechen Strophe und Antistrophe einander metrisch bis ins Kleinste, nur dass *v.* 729 das von Wilamowitz durch τροφεῦσιν ersetzte τροφᾶς nicht stimmt (ob da vielleicht auch τροφᾶς μεταμείβων in Frage kommen könnte, mögen Kenner entscheiden) und dass er, gewiss mit Recht, in *v.* 730 ἐν eingesetzt hat. Die noch von Kirchhoff aufgenommene Conjectur λέοντα σίνιν *v.* 717 f. zerstört nicht nur die metrische Entsprechung, sondern giebt auch einen verkehrten Sinn, denn das noch nicht entwöhnte Löwenjunge, das mit den Kindern spielt und von seinem Pfleger auf den Arm genommen wird, ist noch kein "Schädiger" wie der erwachsene Löwe (σίντης bei Homer). Ἶνις ist, so weit ich sehe, ein bloss poetischer Ausdruck, und zwar für Söhne vornehmer Abkunft, passt also trefflich für das Junge des Königs der Tiere. Die Etymologie ist dunkel. Mehrere möglich scheinende sind doch bedenklich. Für unzulässig halte ich die Zusammenstellung mit sskr. *sūnu*, die Curtius, *Grundzüge der griech. Etymologie*[5], 390 und Leo Meyer, *Griech. Etymologie*, ii, 60 bieten.

Das übersetzt Wilamowitz sinngemäss, aber frei, rhythmisch, aber ohne dem Schatten nachzujagen, das Versmass wiederzugeben:

Es zog einmal ein Mann
ein Löwenjunges, Säugling noch, sich auf.
Wie war das Kleine zahm,
der Kinder Spielgesell', der Greise Lust.
Oft schaukelt er's im Arm,
als wär's ein Kind. Da leckt' es seine Hand
und blickte fromm, und wenn es hungrig war,
so wedelt' es und bat.
Doch als es älter ward,
da zeigte sich die eingeborene Art.
Was war der Pflege Dank?
Es schuf das Mahl sich in der Lämmer Mord.
Die Herde lag zerstört,
der Hof voll Blutes, das Gesinde schrie:
erwachsen war des Hauses Höllengast
ein grimmig reissend Tier.

Nun legt Aristophanes in den "Fröschen" 1431, 1433 (Süss) beim Wortgefecht zwischen Aeschylus und Euripides jenem folgende Verse in den Mund:

οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν
ἢν δ' ἐκτραφῇ τις τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν[1].

Diese Worte sind mit Unrecht mehrfach als echte Fragmente des Aeschylus angesehen worden. Aristophanes wendet sie ausdrücklich auf Alcibiades an, allem Anschein nach mit den oben angeführten Versen des grossen Tragikers spielend wie vorher mit solchen des Euripides. Denn dass Aeschylus zweimal davor gewarnt hätte, einen jungen Löwen aufzuziehen, ist doch recht unwahrscheinlich. Die Zugabe des Komikers ist ἐν πόλει, wodurch eben das Gleichniss die Beziehung auf die Politik erhielt. An sich liegt es ja besonders fern, dass ein Löwe in einer *Stadt* aufgezogen

[1] *v.* 1432 μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν kann nur jemand eingeschoben haben, der die unnötige Lehre einschärfen wollte: "aber erst recht keinen erwachsenen Löwen!," jedoch keines selbstständigen poetischen Ausdrucks fähig war. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 15, hat den Vers allerdings schon, lässt dagegen den ersten (1431) weg. Er oder sein Gewährsmann fühlte vielleicht, dass beide nicht neben einander stehen konnten.

würde[1]. Und bei πόλις dachte der Zuhörer gleich an den Staat.

Der zum Sprichwort[2] gewordene Vers

οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν·

kam mir plötzlich in den Sinn, als ich vor einiger Zeit bei einer neuen Durchlesung von Firdausī's *Shāhnāme* die Stelle las, wo König Afrāsiyāb in Bezug auf den ihm von dem treuen Pīrān zur Aufnahme anempfohlenen flüchtigen persischen Prinzen Siyāwush sagt (Vullers-Landauer 588, *vv.* 1205–7, Macan 423, 8–10):

[3]ولیکن شنیدم یکی داستان * که باشد برآن رای همداستان

که چون بچّهٔ شیر نر پروری * چو دندان کند تیز کیفر بْری

چو با زور و با چنگ برخیزد اوی * بپروردگار اندر آویزد اوی

Aber ich habe einen Spruch vernommen, mit dem die Einsicht übereinstimmt:

So du das Junge eines gewaltigen[4] Löwen aufziehst, wirst du es, wenn es erst scharfe Zähne kriegt, büssen.

Wenn es sich mit Kraft und Kralle[5] erhebt, wird es gerade mit dem Erzieher gewaltsam anbinden.

Und ebenso sagt Zavāre zu seinem Bruder Rustam, dem grössten aller Heroen, als dieser auf Bitte des sterbenden Isfandiyār, den er, durch seine Ehre gezwungen, im Kampfe

[1] Darauf hat mich mein Freund und bis zur Auflösung unsrer Universität College Ed. Schwartz brieflich aufmerksam gemacht. Beiläufig bemerkt, haben die streitenden Dichter in den ihnen in den "Fröschen" beigelegten Aeusserungen über den eben so genialen wie ehrgeizigen und gewissenlosen Alcibiades beide Recht. Trotz des Sieges bei den Arginusen war es ja damals für Athen ebenso bedenklich, ihm ganz zu Willen zu sein (τοῖς [αὐτοῦ] τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν) wie ihn ganz von sich zu stossen.

[2] *Paroemiographi graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, ii, 167. Der Spruch stand wohl schon in weit älteren Sammlungen als der des Macarius.

[3] Die wenigen, für den Sinn gleichgültigen uns bekannten Varianten lasse ich in beiden Stücken weg. Wesentlich anders kann auch der Urtext überhaupt nicht ausgesehen haben. Nur wäre eigentlich für د nach einem Vocal immer ذ, für که und چه aber کی und چی zu schreiben.

[4] Das beliebte Epitheton des Löwen نر bedeutet eigentlich "männlich," steht dann aber für "stark, heldenhaft." Dass es hier nicht sexuell zu nehmen ist, versteht sich von selbst, denn das Junge hat ja immer auch eine Mutter.

[5] So wörtlich. Das heisst, "begehrt er, nachdem er Kraft gewonnen, nach Kampf."

hat töten müssen, bereit ist, dessen Sohn Bahman zur Erziehung zu übernehmen (Macan, 1222, 9–11):

زدانا تو نشنیدی این داستان * که او گوید از گفتهٔ باستان
که گر پروری بچّهٔ نرّ شیر * شود تیز دندان و گردد دلیر
چو سر بر کشد زود جوید شکار * نخست اندر آید بپروردگار

Hast du nicht von einem Kenner den Spruch gehört, den er aus den Worten der Alten vortrug[1]?
"So du das Junge eines gewaltigen Löwen aufziehst, bekommt es scharfe Zähne und wird mutvoll.
Wenn es dann das Haupt erhebt und Jagdbeute sucht, geht es zuerst auf den Erzieher los."

Genau an den entsprechenden Stellen (Afrāsiyāb zu Pīrān und Zavāre zu Rustam) finden wir bei Firdausī's Zeitgenossen Tha'ālibī in dem uns erhaltenen Teile seines arabischen Werkes, welches die, grösstenteils mythische, Geschichte des persischen Reiches von den Urkönigen bis zu den letzten Sāsāniden enthält[2]:

لكنّى أخشى أن يستأسد الشِّبل فيَسْعَى الى هلاك مربّيه (S. 205)

Aber ich fürchte, dass das Löwenjunge zum Löwen heranwachsen und sich dann bemühen werde, seinen Erzieher umzubringen.

Und

يا اخى لم تُصبْ فى تسلّم بَهْمَن من والده وهو شبل من اسد تولّيتَ
إراقةَ دمه وما أخْوَفَنى أن يكون خَرابُ بيتنا على يده (S. 375)

O mein Bruder, du hast nicht recht getan, Bahman von seinem (sterbenden) Vater zu übernehmen, da er das Junge eines Löwen ist, dessen Blut du zu vergiessen übernommen hattest. Ich fürchte gar sehr, dass er unserm Hause den Untergang bringen werde.

Diese Stellen sind den oben angeführten des *Shāhnāme* so ähnlich, wie man es von einem sich gern kürzer fassenden, aber doch deutlich redenden Prosaiker nur erwarten kann. Doch hat Tha'ālibī, der zwischen 1007 und 1020 schrieb, nicht aus dem grossen Epos seines älteren Zeitgenossen geschöpft, denn, so viel er auch sachlich und nicht ganz selten, wenn man von dem Unterschied der Sprache absieht, fast wörtlich mit ihm übereinstimmt, so hat er doch, wie

[1] Hier wohl besser die Variante, "den er...im Gedächtniss hat."
[2] Hg. von dem hochverdienten Zotenberg.

Zotenberg in seiner Einleitung im Einzelnen darlegt, neben manchen anderen, uns zum Teil noch erhaltenen, Quellen, besonders gerade die Hauptquelle des Dichters stark benutzt. Es macht nichts aus, ob Tha'ālibī das Werk selbst vor sich hatte, oder ein anderes es ihm vermittelte. Doch ist ersteres wahrscheinlicher. Jenes ist, wie ich in meiner Abhandlung "Das iranische Nationalepos[1]" glaube fest gestellt zu haben, die Geschichte des persischen Reichs vom Anfang bis zu seinem Untergang durch die Araber, die der Statthalter von Firdausī's Vaterstadt Tōs im Jahre 957/8 von einigen zoroastrischen Gelehrten zusammenstellen liess. Das Werk war in neupersischer Sprache, aber seine Quellen waren mittelpersisch und natürlich in den wunderlichen Pehlevi Charakteren geschrieben, die nur der lesen konnte, der sie durch besonderes Studium gelernt hatte, also nicht leicht ein als Muslim aufgewachsener, sondern nur gelehrte Zoroastrier oder solche, die im gereiften Alter aus der nationalen Religion zum Islām übergegangen waren. Von seinen Quellen war die wichtigste das "Königsbuch" *Chodhāināmа(k)* = *Shāhnāme*, das erst am Ende der Sāsānidenzeit abgeschlossen war, aber sich wieder auf ältere Darstellungen stützte. Wir dürfen als sicher annehmen, dass das Gleichniss vom jungen Löwen, das seinem Erzieher und Pfleger den Tod bringt, an den beiden Stellen der mythischen Geschichte, wo es Firdausī wie Tha'ālibī haben, schon in einem Pehlevi Werke des 7ten oder 6ten Jahrhunderts stand.

Kaum denkbar ist, dass dies eigentümliche Gleichniss bei Persern und Griechen selbstständig zu Tage getreten wäre. Freilich bringt bei jenen der herangewachsene Löwe seinem Wohltäter direct (Rustam) oder indirect (Afrāsiyāb) den Tod, bei Aeschylus aber Schafen und vielen anderen Wesen, ohne dass der Erzieher selbst genannt würde, aber dieser Unterschied hat doch wenig zu bedeuten[2].

[1] Im *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.* [Neue Bearbeitung, Berlin und Leipzig, 1920.]

[2] Ganz anders ist es, wenn ein der gemeinmenschlichen Ethik angehörender, nahe liegender Satz sich einmal bei einem Griechen und einem Perser fast wörtlich gleich findet, wie bei Hesiod, *Opera et dies* 309 (als Schluss einer Lobrede auf den Fleiss):

ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος

und bei dem reichen und vornehmen Nāṣiri Chosrau (1004–1088):

Da das Gleichniss auf griechischem Boden wenigstens ein Jahrtausend früher erscheint als auf iranischem, und in wie vollendeter Form!, dachte ich anfangs dass es von dort nach dem fernen Osten gewandert sei. Aber Schwartz möchte lieber glauben, dass dieser *αἶνος*, der wie der *αἶνος* von dem Habicht und der Nachtigal (Hesiod, *Op.* 200 ff.) und der vom Fuchs und Adler (Archilochus 67 [Hiller]; nach andrer Zählung 81)[1], mit einem Unheil endet, im europäischem Griechenland nicht wohl entstanden sei; da sei der Löwe ja immer ein Fabeltier gewesen[2]. Im vorderen Kleinasien gab es freilich in der Homerischen Zeit noch Löwen, aber später auch dort kaum mehr. Und so ist Schwartz geneigt, die Wanderung des Gleichnisses vom Osten ausgehn zu lassen, woher ja auch die äsopischen Fabeln zu den Griechen gekommen sind, so unsicher deren specielle Heimat ist. Es kämen dann wohl nur weiter östlich liegende Gegenden in Betracht, denen im Altertum der Löwe aus dem Leben recht bekannt war und zum Teil noch ist. Die Vermittlung hätten, denkt Schwartz, ionische *λόγοι* gegeben. Das lässt sich wohl hören. Ob dabei die Tierparke der Perser in Betracht kämen, ist mir nicht so wahrscheinlich wie ihm.

Leider fehlen uns alle Mittelglieder. Hätten wir von Sammlungen aramäischer Sprichwörter und Fabeln mehr noch als einige dürftige Reste, so fänden wir darin vielleicht etwas, das uns über diese Frage Licht gewähren könnte[3].

و کسبِ دست نبْود هیچ عاری

"und Erwerb der Hand (durch Handarbeit) ist durchaus keine Schande" (*ZDMG*, xxxiv, 670). Beiläufig bemerkt, haben nachher die höher gebildeten griechischen Städter, die auf den *βάναυσος* tief herabsahen, diesen Worten des alten Bauernpoeten schwerlich beigestimmt.

[1] Jener ist Aesop 9 (Halm), dieser ist eb. 5 wiedergegeben.

[2] Die Künstler, die das Löwentor in Mycenae erbauten, werden allerdings noch Löwen in ihrer Heimat gesehen haben, aber wie viel älter ist deren Zeit als die der griechischen Poesie, und wie wenig Verbindungen dürfen wir zwischen der mycenischen und der griechischen Cultur annehmen!

[3] In den *Paroemiographi graeci*, ii, p. 503 wird zum Sprichwort *λέων τὴν τρίχα, ὄνος τὸν βίον* erzählt, die Karthager hätten einen Löwensäugling gefangen, gezähmt, und durch für Löwen ungewöhnliche Nahrung so weit gebracht, dass er als Lasttier wie ein Esel durch die Stadt gehen musste; dann hätten sie ihn aber wegen der Unnatürlichkeit (*παρανομία*) getötet, da er ja von Haus aus ein *τύραννος* und nur durch Unglück ein *ἰδιώτης* wäre. Ob in diese alberne Geschichte, die noch dazu gar nicht zu dem Sprich-

Wir haben aber noch ein ähnliches Gleichniss, worin an der Stelle des Löwen der Wolf steht. Junge Wölfe sind ja wirklich zähmbar[1], doch mag es vorkommen, dass ein solcher "Hauswolf" unter Umständen trotzdem ein Schaf zerreisst und frisst. Hier scheint also eine Umbildung des alten *αἶνος* vorzuliegen. Das Epigramm, *Anthol. Pal.* IX, 42, leider ein *ἀδέσποτον*, lässt das Schaf, durch dessen Milch der kleine Wolf aufgefüttert wird, selbst reden:

τὸν λύκον ἐξ ἰδίων μαζῶν τρέφω οὐκ ἐθέλουσα,
ἀλλά μ' ἀναγκάζει ποιμένος ἀφροσύνη.
αὐξηθεὶς δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ πάλι θηρίον ἔσται·
ἡ χάρις ἀλλάξαι τὴν φύσιν οὐ δύναται.

Von den entsprechenden arabischen Versen kenne ich drei Texte: den in den المحاسن والمساوى von Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammed al-Baihaqī, geschrieben zwischen 908 und 932 (ed. Schwally) 132; den in den etwas älteren, fälschlich dem Ǧāḥiẓ († 869) zugeschriebenen المحاسن والاضداد (ed. van Vloten) 40; und den von Damīrī in seinem 1371 geschriebenen Tierbuch s.v. ذئب (in der Ausg. Būlaq 1284) i, 488, den شعب الايمان des Aḥmed ibn Ḥusain al-Baihaqī entnommenen. Der letztere, den wir den jüngeren Baihaqī[2] nennen wollen, beruft sich für die Verse auf den berühmten alten Philologen Aṣmaʿī († 831), der sie aus Arabien mitgebracht habe. Dabei ist etwas verdächtig, dass er das in ihnen erzählte Ereigniss wirklich erlebt
die Verse von Arabern gehört habe, ist damit nicht ausgeschlossen. Wir kommen bald auf Aehnliches zurück. Und dieser für uns spätest bezeugte Text, der bei Damīrī, ist im Ganzen der beste, und es wird genügen, dass ich ihn ohne die für den Gesammtsinn meist gleichgültigen Varianten gebe[3].

wort passt, durch irgend welche Vermittelungen die Aufziehung des jungen Löwen aus dem Gleichniss des Aeschylus geraten sei, mag dahin stehen. Die wirkliche Bedeutung des Sprichworts kann doch wohl nur sein: "ein Mensch der sich im Aeusseren als ein Löwe, im Leben aber als ein Esel zeigt."

[1] Brehm, *Tierleben*³, ii, 28 ff.

[2] Die beiden Baihaqī brauchen nicht zu einer Familie zu gehören; der Name besagt nur, dass sie aus der Stadt Baihaq sind.

[3] Zwei dieser Verse in Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, i, 4 (ed. Sprenger, p. 29) kommen hier nicht in Betracht. Ich würde mich übrigens nicht wundern, wenn sich die Verse auch noch in andern uns erhaltenen arabischen Werken fänden.

بَقَرْتَ شُوَيْهتى وفجعتَ قلبى * وأنت لشاتنا ولدٌ ربيبُ
غُذيتَ بِدَرِّها ورُبِيتَ فينا * فمَن أَنْباك أنّ اباك ذيبُ
اذا كان الطِباعُ طباعَ سَوْءٍ * فليس بنافعٍ فيها الأَديبُ

Du hast mein Schäfchen zerrissen[1] und mein Herz betrübt, während du doch ein Pflegling unsers Schafes warst.
Mit seiner Milch wurdest du ernährt und unter uns aufgezogen: wer hat dir denn mitgeteilt, dass dein Vater ein Wolf war?
Wenn die Natur schlecht ist, so hilft dabei nichts der Wohlgesittete.

Man beachte das *fabula docet* am Schluss der griechischen wie der arabischen Verse. In welchem litterarischen Zusammenhange die einen mit den andern stehn, möchte ich nicht entscheiden, aber dass sie nicht ganz selbständig sind ist doch so gut wie sicher, und es ist auch durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass wir in ihnen eine Umbildung des Löwengleichnisses haben. Für dessen Heimat wird damit allerdings nichts bestimmtes erreicht, denn der griechische Epigrammatiker kann die Geschichte vom Wolf ebenso gut in Europa wie in Aegypten, Syrien, Mesopotamien oder Babylonien kennen gelernt haben. Und seine Zeit ist ganz unsicher. Die arabische Verse sind wohl aus dem 8ten Jahrhundert, da schon ihre Nachbildung (von der Hyäne) aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in dieses gehört (s. unten S. 379).

Jünger als alle diese Texte ist aber, wenn nicht alles trügt, der hebräische im *Jalqūt Shim'ōnī* (13 Jahrhundert), cap. 523, aus dem אלה הדברים זוטא aufgenommen. Denn die höchste Autorität auf diesem Gebiet, Zunz[2], hält dies Werk, aus dem nur noch Fragmente, eben im *Jalqūt*, erhalten sind, für später als das אלה הדברים רבא, dessen Abfassung er etwa ums Jahr 900 ansetzt. Dieser Text lautet nach der ed. princeps:

משל לרועה שהיה רועה צאנו ביער מצא גור אחד של זאב
וחמל עליו והיה מניקו מן העזים בא בעל מלאכתו וראה אותו א'
ל' הרוג אותו לא תחוס עליו שלא יהא תקלה לצאן ולא שמע

[1] Eigentlich, "ihm den Bauch aufgerissen."
[2] *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*², 265.

אליו כיון שגדל היה רואה כבש והורגו גדי' ואוכלו א' ל' לא אמרתי לך אל תחום[2]

Ein Gleichniss von einem Hirten, der sein Vieh in einem Walde weidete. Der fand ein Wolfjunges, erbarmte sich seiner und säugte es mit Ziegenmilch. Da kam sein Camerad[3], sah ihn und sprach zu ihm: "töte es; du sollst kein Mitleid mit ihm haben, sonst möchte es dem Vieh Schaden zufügen." Allein er hörte nicht auf ihn. Als der Wolf aber gross geworden war, sah er da ein Lamm, so tötete er es, (sah er) einen Bock, so frass er ihn. Da sprach jener: "hab' ich dir nicht gesagt: habe kein Mitleid?"

Der oben genannte jüngere Baihaqī giebt nach Damīrī s.v. ضبع (Ausg. Būlāq 1284) ii, 90 an, dass Abū 'Obaida († gegen 825) dem Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb († 778) auf die Frage nach dem Ursprung der sprichwörtlichen Redensart كَمُجِيرِ أُمِّ عامر, "wie der, welcher der Umm 'Āmir (d. i. der Hyäne)[4] seinen Schutz gewährt," eine Geschichte erzählt habe, die sich also, gleich der auf Aṣma'ī zurückgeführten, auf zwei hochberühmte Philologen stützen soll. Ihr Inhalt ist folgender: Eine von einer Jagdgesellschaft verfolgte Hyäne floh ins Zelt eines Beduinen, und dieser nahm sie als seinen Gast in seinen Schutz und drohte den Verfolgern mit Waffengewalt, wenn sie den nicht anerkännten. Als sich diese daher zurückgezogen hatten, gab er der Hyäne zur Erholung sowohl Kameelmilch wie Wasser[5]. Als er aber einschlief, sprang sie auf ihn los, riss ihm den Leib auf, trank sein Blut,

[1] So: ob der Text ganz in Ordnung, ist mir nicht recht sicher.

[2] Dr Ginsburger erklärte mir richtig das לֹא תחום aus dessen mehrfachen Vorkommen in den Stellen des Deuteronomiums, auf welche das Gleichniss bezogen wird. אַל תחום am Schlusse zeigt den üblichen Prohibitivausdruck.—Ich verdanke die Kenntniss dieser Stelle meinem Freunde S. Landauer, der mir schrieb, dass Dr Horovitz in Breslau sie sich einmal bei der Lectüre des *Gulistān* (s. oben S. 377) notiert habe. Dr Ginsburger hatte die Güte, mich die mir von Landauer angegebene Stelle in dem der Strassburger Bibliothek gehörenden Exemplar der ed. princeps des *Jalqut* einsehen zu lassen.

[3] Das ist doch wohl die Bedeutung. Vrgl. das im Syrischen ganz gewöhnliche ܒܥܠ ܫܡܗ "sein Namensgenosse." Oder ist es "der Herr seines Geschäftes," d. h. der Besitzer der Herde?

[4] Im Arabischen haben manche Tiere neben ihren eigentlichen Namen auch solche mit *Abū*, "Vater," oder *Umm*, "Mutter," zusammengesetzte Namen, wie das bei den Menschen Sitte war und ist (s.g. *Kunya*).

[5] Wasser ist in den Wüstenländern ein kostbares Getränk!

verschlang seine Eingeweide und lief dann fort. Aber ein Vetter des Umgebrachten, der bald darauf ins Zelt trat und seinen Zustand sowie dessen Ursache erkannte, verfolgte die Hyäne, tötete sie und machte die unten folgenden Verse.—Es ist nun wohl denkbar, dass die beiden Philologen diese *Verse* wirklich gekannt haben, zumal wir keinen genügenden Grund haben, die Angabe zu bezweifeln, dass der Chalif Ma'mūn (813–833) den ersten derselben einmal citiert habe (Baihaqī, ed. Schwally, 180), aber die *Erzählung* darf man ihnen eben so wenig zutrauen wie dem Aṣma'ī die Wolfsgeschichte. Passen doch die Verse schon durchaus nicht in den Mund des Rächers. Von diesem und von der Rache überhaupt sagt denn der als Quelle von Ps. Ǧāḥiẓ 40 und dem älteren Baihaqī 132[1] angeführte Sufyān (ibn 'Uyaina †814) auch gar nichts. Er giebt sonst dieselbe Geschichte, jedoch mit einigen Abänderungen. So ist der törichte Gastgeber ein alter Mann (den wir uns vielleicht wegen seiner Altersschwäche eher als Angriffsziel der Hyäne denken sollten). Er ernährt das magere Tier längere Zeit, bis dieses, dadurch zur Vollkraft gelangt, den Schlafenden anfällt und umbringt. Die Verse werden da einfach einem Anonymus "dem Dichter" zugeschrieben. Aber auf jeden Fall ist die Erzählung, wie so oft, auch hier erst aus den Versen entstanden, und sie sind wieder erst zur Erklärung der sprichwörtlichen Redensart gemacht worden, und zwar so unpassend, wie das bei der Deutung von Sprichwörtern nicht selten geschieht. Kein Beduine würde je eine Hyäne in sein Zelt oder überhaupt in seinen Schutz aufnehmen, noch würde eine Hyäne in ein Zelt fliehen. Die Redensart bedeutet: "wenn jemand einem unzuverlässigen Menschen vollständigen Schutz gewährt, so dass er ihn gegen jede gewaltsame Antastung sicher stellen oder schlimmstenfalls wie seine nächsten Blutsgenossen rächen muss, dann ist er so unverständig wie einer, der eine Hyäne aufnähme." Vielleicht geht das sogar ursprünglich nur auf die Verächtlichkeit des feigen Raubtiers und des mit ihm verglichenen Menschen, nicht auf deren Gefährlichkeit. Der Fall ist als rein hypothetisch, in Wirklichkeit undenkbar aufgefasst. Die Verse nehmen das aber schon anders. Die Erzählung

[1] Bei ihm kommt der erste Vers auch 180 vor.

ist das Letzte in dieser Reihe. Auch von jenen habe ich je einen Text aus den oben genannten drei Werken vor mir, halte aber wieder für unnötig, die Varianten anzuführen bis auf eine, welche den *Sinn* betrifft. Ich gebe auch hier den Text Damīrī's:

وَمَن يَصْنَعِ المعروفَ مَعْ غير أَهْله * يُلاقِ[1] الّذى لاقَى مُجيرُ أمِّ عامِرِ

أَدامَ لها حينَ استجارتْ بقُربه[2] * قِراها مِنَ ألبان اللِّقاح الغَزائِرِ

وأَشْبَعَها حتّى اذا ما تملّأتْ * فَرَتْه بأنْيابٍ لها وأظافرِ[3]

فقُلْ لذَوي المعروفِ هذا جزاءُ مَن * غَدا يَصْنَعُ المعروف معْ غير شاكِرِ

Und wer Unwürdigen Wohltaten erweist, dem geht's wie dem, welcher der Umm 'Āmir Schutz gewährte.

Er bewirtete sie, als sie seine Nähe als Schützling aufgesucht hatte[4], lange mit der reichlichen Milch seiner Milchkameele

Und sättigte sie; aber als sie ganz voll geworden war, zerriss sie ihn mit Zähnen und Krallen.

Sag' also den Wohltätern: "das ist der Lohn dessen, der einem Unwürdigen andauernd wohltut."

Diese Verse, die ja auch mit einem *fabula docet* enden, sind doch gewiss denen über den Wolf nachgebildet, wie sie denn auch bei Ps. Ǧāḥiẓ und dem älteren Baihaqī zusammenstehn. So hätten wir auch hier eine schwache Verbindung mit dem im Chorlied des Aeschylus ausgeführten Gleichniss vom Löwen.

[1] So besser als das von den Handschriften gegebene يلاقى.

[2] Ps. Ǧāḥiẓ اناخت ببابه.

[3] Vrgl. Chănsa (Beirut 1888) 35, 7 vom Löwen يَفْرى الرجالَ بأنيّاب وأظْفار.

[4] Also nach dem besseren Text kommt die Hyäne wenigstens nicht in die Wohnung, sondern begnügt sich mit der Nähe des Menschen. Die Lesart des Ps. Ǧāḥiẓ hat dagegen: "als sie sich in seinem Tor gelagert hatte."

TH. NÖLDEKE.

STRASSBURG, *Februar* 1920.

NACHTRAG.

Freund Landauer machte mich noch aufmerksam auf eine Stelle des *Wayiqra Rabba*, 19 (gegen Ende), die, wie ich darauf gefunden habe, auch in Levy's *Wörterbuch* s.v. גור angeführt wird:

גור טב מכלב ביש לא תרבי גור ביש מכלב ביש על אחת כמה וכמה

"Ein gutes Junges von einem schlechten Hunde zieh nicht auf; wie viel weniger ein schlechtes Junges von einem schlechten Hunde." Landauer möchte in der ersten Hälfte dieser Stelle einen Ausläufer des alten Gleichnisses sehen, in der zweiten die Anwendung auf einen besonderen Fall.

THE ṢĀBIANS

In his learned work, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (1856), Chwolson has collected most of what Arab sources offer us in illustration of this kind of religion, and with great lucidity elicited the principal lines of its development as read by him. His work has been more than fundamental and his points of view are still upon the whole accepted by students of the subject. His results may be stated briefly in the following items:

(1) According to the *Refutation of Heresies*, which was thought in Chwolson's time to derive from Origenes, but which is now ascribed to Hippolytus (ob. 235), a man named Ἠλχασαι came from Parthia with a book that had been revealed by an angel, and gave it to a man named Σοβιαι. This name implies the sect of the Ṣābians who are identical with the Mandaeans (Chwolson has Mendaïten).

(2) About this sect the *Fihrist* says: "In the swampy regions about Wāsiṭ and Baṣra is found a sect المغتسلة, 'those who wash themselves,' whose founder was called الحسيح, i.e. el Ḥasaiḥ (Elḥasaiḥ)."

(3) These Ṣābians (= Mandaeans = Elchasaeans) are identical with الصابئون mentioned Sur. 2, 59, 5, 73, 22, 17. As Norberg and Michaelis have surmised, this name derives from the Aramaic צבע: to dip, baptize.

(4) Out of their circle arose the Manichaeans, Māni's father Futtaq (Chwolson: Fonnaq) having settled among them while his wife was pregnant.

(5) According to the *Fihrist* the Ḥarrānians adopted the name "Ṣābians" in the year 830 under Ma'mūn in order to be acknowledged as one of the recognized religious communities of Islam. As the stars played a very great part in their religion, "Ṣābians" came to be a name for star-worshippers, and later on for heathens generally.

The first two items depend on the passage in the *Fihrist*. It runs thus: "*Al-muġtasila.* These people live in great numbers in the regions of the swamps; they are the Ṣābians of the swamps. They profess that people are to wash themselves, and everything they eat. Their head is called الحسيح,

and it is he who founded their religion. He maintains that the two principles of existence are the male and the female, and that the herbs belong to the male principle, whilst the mistletoe belongs to the female, the trees being its roots. They have some detestable axioms that can only be called nonsense. He (الحسيح) had a disciple named Sham'ūn. They (the *muġtasila*) agreed with the Manichaeans with regard to the two principles, but otherwise their religions differ. Among them are some who worship the stars up to the present day" (*Fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, p. ٣٤٠).

Further the *Fihrist* says about the *muġtasila*: "Mānī's father Futtaq visited a heathen temple. A voice told him to abstain from meat, wine, and marriage, and this was repeated several times. And when Futtaq had learnt this, he joined some people who lived in the regions of Dastumīsān, and who are called *al-muġtasila*; and in those regions and the swampy districts the remnant of them live up to our days. And they embraced the creed (مذهب) that Futtaq was ordered to adopt" (p. ٣٢٨). Dastumīsān is just the region about Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, and Ahwāz (Yāqūt II, ٥٧٤). Thus the *muġtasila* were ascetics like the Manichaeans. Characteristic of them was the prohibition against marriage and the use of meat and wine; washings of themselves and their food; worship of the celestial bodies; and speculations about the male and female principles. But of the Mandaeans, who are known from their own literature, we know that they set marriage high, and that they ate meat, whereas we know nothing at all about the above-mentioned speculations. Thus they have only the washings in common with the *muġtasila*, but this is a practice found with many gnostic sects. The identification of the Mandaeans and the *muġtasila* must therefore be given up, as has been already shown by Nöldeke (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1869, I, 484 ff.; cf. Brandt, *Elchasai*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 141–144).

But the same is true of the identification with the Elchasaeans. The Elchasaeans cannot be Mandaeans. As shown by Pallis in his Danish work on the Mandaeans (1920), these worshipped the fire, which is an evil element with the Elchasaeans. And they cannot be identical with the *muġtasila*, as they do not prohibit marriage. In his work on Elchasai Brandt has in fact given up this identification,

but he still maintains that the *muġtasila* bear the name of the Elchasaeans, which they are then supposed to have assumed later on in history. Even this link must be broken. The name Elchasaeans is written in different ways; the various forms are quoted by Brandt. Hippolytus writes 'Ηλχάσαι, Epiphanius 'Ηλξαι; the adherents he calls 'Ελκεσαιοι; according to Eusebius, Origenes calls them 'Ελκεσαïται. None of these forms, no more than the Semitic form found with Theodor bar Khuni, 'Elkasā or 'Elkesā (Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khonabir* (1898), pp. 122, 3), can give the Arabic form الحسيح, or as it is also written الحسح. Brandt sees the difficulty of the identification (*op. laud.* p. 8), and yet he insists on it (p. 146), although he is also aware that the two sects have really nothing in common. Such has been the influence of Chwolson's hypothesis. It is stated as a fact in most works touching these questions.

The Mandaeans and the *muġtasila* are thus two different sects, and the Elchasaeans are identical with neither of them. Concerning the *muġtasila* we learn from the *Fihrist* that the Manichaeans rose out of their ranks, and agreed with them in the fundamental principles. The few characteristics stated about them seem also to connect them closely with the Manichaeans. Now we are told in other sources that Māni got his doctrines from the Daiṣānites, and differed only little from them (Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, ١٩٥ seq., transl. Haarbrücker, I, 296). This statement is supplemented by the *Fihrist's* telling us that the Daiṣānites lived in the swampy districts, which have been referred to as the home of the *muġtasila*. It is therefore probable that *al-muġtasila* were a sect closely related to the Daiṣānites. This is the more probable, as, according to the *Fihrist* (p. ٣٣٨ seq.) the Daiṣānites were divided into several sects.

Of Bar Daiṣān we do not know much positively, but his adherents seem to have had a certain importance. They are mentioned together with the Marcionites and the Manichaeans as heretics, and Ephraim the Syrian wrote against them. The above-mentioned Theodor bar Khuni tells us that Bardaiṣān like Valentinos professes that there are 300 male and female worlds begotten by the father of all (*op. laud.* pp. 116, 169). This agrees with the speculations of the *muġtasila*. Like the Christians, the Muslim historians mention

Bardaiṣān together with the Marcionites and the Manichaeans. Al-Bīrūnī says, "Ibn Daiṣān and Marqiūn belonged to those who believed in and listened to the words of 'Īsā, and they took part of this, and part of what they heard from Zarādusht, and from both these creeds they each invented a religion (مذهب), which embraced the profession of the eternity of the two fundamental principles; and each of them issued a gospel ascribed to the Messiah, and declared everything else to be false. And Ibn Daiṣān believed that the light of God had come to live in his heart. Yet the difference is not so great as to remove them and their followers from the Christian community, and their gospels are not in all respects different from that of the Christians; but in both are found additions and omissions; only God knows" (*Chronol. orient. Völker*, ed. Sachau, p. ٢٠٧, 7–12). In another place he also says something like this about Marcion, Ibn Daiṣān, and Mānī (p. ٢٣; 9–12).

Thus these sects point out the Messiah as their founder. Would it be a too daring hypothesis on these grounds to read the difficult name in the *Fihrist* المسيح? While Bīrūnī says that Daiṣānites, Marcionites and Manichaeans founded their creeds upon the Messiah, thereby giving another picture of him than the Christians, the *Fihrist* would then say that this sect gives its founder the name of Messiah. His disciple Sham'ūn might then be Simon Magus. These suggestions are however of less importance here. The main point is that matters are much more complicated than supposed by Chwolson. The Mandaeans are only one of the many sects that flourished in Mesopotamia at that time, and they are not even among the gnostics mentioned in the *Fihrist*.

But in this way the whole basis for the identification of the Ṣābians of the Ḳorān with the Mandaeans crumbles away; for nothing suggests that this sect was of any special importance in Western Arabia. الصابئون are mentioned in the Ḳorān together with Jews and Christians (2, 59, 5, 73) and Magians (22, 17), as people who believe in God. Before the time of Mohammed the word must have had a meaning that connects it closely with his doctrines—otherwise he would not be able to use it in this way. The Prophet himself is called a Ṣābian, and صبأ is used about those who go over

to Islam (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, ٢٢٩, 9, 14, 19; Buḫārī, ed. Krehl, I, ١٦, 9, 20; ١٧, 5; II, ٢١٦, 17; ٣٨٧, 19; ٣٨٨, I, etc., see also Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.*, 2 ed. pp. 236 seq.).

Sprenger identified the Ṣābians with the Ḥanīfs, and everything seems to show that he was right. They too are people who believe in God, neither Jews nor Christians; the nearest model for the believers, as Abraham himself was *ḥanīf* (Sur. **2**, 129, **3**, 60, 89, **10**, 105, **30**, 29, etc.; cf. Ibn Hishām, ١٩٥, 11; Buḫārī, I, ١٩, 61). A so strongly emphasized religious community could not fail to be mentioned in the three places where صابئون are mentioned.

The etymology of صبأ is dubious. The explanation of the Arab philologists, "to go over from one religion to another," is founded on the Koran and tells us nothing. Since the appearance of Chwolson's work the European philologists generally derive it from the Aramaic צבע; this we have in صبغ in the meaning, "to dye"; but صبأ is supposed to derive from the meaning, "to dip, baptize," which would correspond to the Aramaic usage. But in that case we should expect a form derived from the reflexive, as صبأ is always intransitive, "become a Ṣābian." Ṣābi'ūn is derived from the verbal form; it cannot be derived from *ṣebī'ayyā*, which is, by the way, never found. Possibly it might be related to the Syrian *ṣᵉbā*, "to want, to be glad or grateful, *assensit*." But we shall not get far along these lines. For the present we must bear in mind that *ṣābi'ūn* and *ḥanīf* are used about a creed related to Jews and Christians, and yet different from them.

As we have seen, the author of the *Fihrist* used the word "Ṣābians" about a gnostic community, which he called "the Ṣābians of the Swamps." This implies that there are also other Ṣābians. Especially he dwells upon the Ḥarrānians, but several others are mentioned by the Islamic authors. Chwolson has collected these records with great diligence, but he arranges them chronologically according to their authorities, and in this way he gives a false idea of the age of the sources;—it was before the days of ḥadīṯ criticism. All the sources date from the 10th century A.D.

One of the oldest is Mas'ūdī. He mentions the following kinds of Ṣābians in the **Tanbīh** (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, VIII):

(1) The kings of Rūm belonged to الحنفاء and الصابئون

before they became Christians (٦, 4; ١٢٢, 17). Qaiṣar Filippos (Arabs) went over to Christianity, and left the creeds of the Ṣābians, which he had hitherto embraced (١٢٣, 5 seq.). Julianus was secretly a Ṣābian. When he became emperor, he apostatized from Christianity, destroyed the churches, re-erected the statues which the Ṣābians put up as images of the highest substances and the celestial bodies, and he punished with death those who did not come back to الحنيفيّة. And those who came back to الحنيفيّة began to throw incense (لبان = λίβανος) on the fire and to eat of the sacrificial victims of الحنفاء and the like (١٤٠, 9–15).

(2) The Ṣābians of the Egyptians, who honour Hermes and Agathodaimon as their prophets, and whose remnants in this time are the Ṣābians of the Ḥarrānians (١٠٩, 20; ١١٦, 16).

(3) The followers of Zarādusht formerly embraced the creed of the Ḥanīfs, i.e. the Ṣābians, which was preached by Būḏāsp to Ṭahmūrat (٩٠, 15 sqq.).

(4) In one place Mas'ūdī speaks about the different views of the intelligible world, and here he mentions the Indians and the ancient astrologers and the adherents of the two principles, and the corresponding allegorists of our days, and the Ḥanīfs and Chaldaeans, i.e. Babylonians, whose remnants at the present day live in the swampy districts between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra in some villages there, and who turn to the North pole and the polar star in prayer; and الشمنيّة, i.e. the Ṣābians of China and others, who follow the doctrines of Būḏāsp; and the common Greeks, who turn to the East in prayer; and the Ṣābians of the Egyptians, whose remnants in our days are the Ṣābians of the Ḥarrānians, and who turn to the South in prayer;—it is their *qibla*, and they turn their backs to the North, and they abstain from much food which the Ṣābians of the Greeks ate (p. ١٦١).

This statement harmonizes with that given by Mas'ūdī in his Murūǵ al-ḏahab (ed. Barbier de Meynard, I, 73; II, 111; III, 348; IV, 44 seq.). The other authors of the 10th century quoted by Chwolson agree with this. Amongst these we shall only mention Iṣṭaḫrī, who says that the Ṣābians had built the great mosque of Damascus (*Bibl. geogr.* I, ٦٠, 3), a statement which is also found in other authors (see Chwolson, I, 489). To the sources quoted by Chwolson may be added al-Bīrūnī.

Like Masū'dī he mentions Ṣābians from Central Asia, influenced by Būḏāsp and the Ḥarrānians (Sachau's ed. pp. ٢٠٤–٢٠٧). But the real Ṣābians are "those who were left of the captives in Babylon, who were carried there from Jerusalem by Buḫtunuṣṣar. When they had stayed for some time in the country and grown accustomed to the land of Babylon, they did not want to go back to Syria, but preferred staying in Babylon, and they did not adhere to their religion, but listened to the doctrines of the Magians and adopted (صَبَوْا الى) some of them. Their religion became a mixture of that of the Magians and Judaism, as was the case with some of those who were carried from Babylon to Syria, namely those who are called Samaritans. Most of these are found in the district of 'Irāq, and they are the real Ṣābians. They live scattered, not in a body, and they are not found in countries to which they specially belong, as opposed to other countries. To this may be added that they do not agree upon any single confession (حال), inasmuch as (*read* لأنّهم) their religion is not based upon a firm pillar, either revelation or inspiration, or the like. They derive their origin from Enosh b. Shīt b. Ādam. The name is also used about the Ḥarrānians, who are the remains of people belonging to the ancient western religion, having parted from it when the Greek Romans had become Christians. And they derive their origin from Agathodaimon and Hermes and Wālis and Mābā and Siwār, and they profess their prophethood, and the prophethood of similar men among the wise. This name is better known as a designation for them than for others, though they were not called so until the reign of the 'Abbāsides in the year 228/830, in order that they might be included among the community of those from whom the name was taken, and to whom protection (الذمّة) was given. Formerly they were called Ḥanīfs, and idolaters, and Ḥarrānians" (p. ٣١٨, cf. ٢٠٦). In another place Bīrūnī says about the Manichaeans that in his days they live in great numbers outside the area of Islam, among the Turks, in China, and in India, but in Islam only scattered, except in Samarqand, where they are called Ṣābians (p. ٢٠٩).

None of these authors uses "Ṣābians" as a special name of a single, definite sect. It is a common name of a number

of sects that are scattered about the countries. Even the Mesopotamian Ṣābians, who are supposed to be the original ones, do not form a single sect, but a number of sects—"Ṣābian" is a word for *gnostic*. When Bīrūnī believes that they owe their origin to a mixture of Judaism and the religion of the Magians, this is certainly an imperfect, but still a quite intelligible view of the origin of gnosticism. Gnosticism is a collective designation of those forms of religion into which the religions of antiquity developed. A characteristic feature of it is dualism, the craving for the release of the soul from this evil world to a higher world, to which it belongs. What is said about the Greek emperors is quite consistent with history. Julian was a gnostic, namely a Neoplatonist, and it is quite intelligible that Buddhism with its ascetic tendency and craving for release may be reckoned in this category. When the Ḥarrānians are thought to be connected with Egypt, this is also correct, as shown by the Hermes literature. The word "Ṣābians" comprises all forms of gnosticism, both the one that had quite given up the old worship, and the one that like Julian's embraced most of the old forms. Therefore the word is synonymous with the designation حنيف.

Ḥanīf cannot very well be anything but the Syrian **ḥanfā,** heathen. This word is used to translate Ἕλληνες, John vii. 35; Acts xviii. 4, 17, etc. (vid. Payne Smith, s.v.). In the same way the Arabic حنيف is used about heathens, e.g. about the Philistines against whom Saul and David fought (Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, I, ٥١, 4 *infra*; ٥٢, 8, 3 *infra*; cf. Buhl, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.). But in the days of Islam the old paganism had disappeared, and was only found in some form or other as gnosticism—in the widest meaning of this word[1]. The words *ḥanīf* and *Ṣābian* stand thus in the same relation as "Hellenistic" and "gnostic" in our usage. We have seen that Mas'ūdī uses the two words quite synonymously.

Can this be owing to the fact that the Ḥarrānians had fraudulently usurped the name of Ṣābians, as Chwolson believed? Chwolson's view assumes that "Ṣābians" originally designates a single community, the Mandaeans, but we have

[1] Ya'qūbī also tells us that the Philistines were حنفاء and worshippers of the celestial bodies—like all Hellenistic heathens.

seen that we do not find it in this sense, but only as a more comprehensive term for gnostic sects, to which of course the Mandaeans also belonged. Thus the Ḥarrānians' adoption of the name is not a forgery. They were fully entitled to adopt a name that was used about kindred communitios, as when a community that had formerly been called Hellenistic would call itself gnostic.

If we suppose that this was already the meaning of "Ṣābian" and "Ḥanīf" in the time of Mohammed, the various statements of the Ḳorān become intelligible. That Mohammed was under gnostic influence appears, among other things, from his docetic view of Christ (Sur. 4, 156). It is an all but obvious conclusion that the Ḥanīfs whom he sets up as a model, and who are also called صابئون, were the representatives of some kind of gnosticism, which maintains that man is to seek الآخرة and not الدنيا, a form of religion that differs from Judaism and Christianity, but yet is closely allied to both. At any rate it must have been strictly monotheistic, and most likely it has supplied the Prophet with the subjects of many Prophetic legends.

JOHS. PEDERSEN.

THE GENEALOGIES OF FAKHR-UD-DÍN, MUBÁRAK SHÁH

In the year 1912 Mr A. G. Ellis[1] purchased from Messrs Quaritch in London a Persian MS in large octavo size and comprising 125 folios in elegant *nesta'líq* writing on thick yellowish paper. The MS dates from about the fifteenth century, and was presumably bound at about the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century for a European who stamped on the back the title "*Buhr Unsab*." On a flyleaf probably contemporary with the present binding of the MS there is a note written by a Persian which, while it contains much that is true, is at the same time misleading. The following is a translation of this note:

"The *Kitáb-i Bahr-i Ansáb* was compiled in twelve years at Ghaznín by Mubárak Sháh[2] Ṣiddiqí, known as Fakhr-Mudir, who desired to lay it before Sultan Shiháb-ud-Dín Ghúrí in Lahore: but owing to the departure of the Sultan for Ghaznín (which he had made his Capital), and to the murder of the Sultan on the way thither at a place called Damyak, this could not be done. As soon as Sultan Quṭb-ud-Dín Aï-Beg heard of the news of the Sultan's murder he marched from Delhi to Lahore, and by the intermediary of the famous general Asad-ud-Dawlah, Sayyid ar-Rijál Ulugh Dád Beg 'Alí Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḥasan, the work was laid before Sultan Quṭb-ud-Dín, who duly commended it, and ordered his scribe to prepare a very fine and rare copy in *nesta'líq* on Waṣlí paper.

Now it would seem from the style of writing of the Kátib that this [MS] is the selfsame copy which was written by the command of Sultan Quṭb-ud-Dín for the Royal Library: and God knows best whether this is correct."

The writer of the Persian note displays his ignorance when he says the copy made for Quṭb-ud-Dín's Royal Library was written in *nesta'líq*, for in 1206 A.D. this form of writing had not yet been invented: and, seeing that Mr Ellis' MS is written in an elegant *nesta'líq*, it cannot be the copy referred to.

[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to Mr Ellis for lending me this MS and giving me an opportunity of studying its contents.

[2] The author of the *Arabic History of Gujarát* tells us that *Mubárak Sháh* was a title conferred on the Head Farrash. A Farrash with this title is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* (see Raverty's Trans. p. 659).

Now with regard to the identity of this work and its author, the references I found in other histories were not quite convincing, and it seemed at first as if it were a question of mere coincidence.

Let me quote these two references:

(1) Ibn-ul-Athír mentions among the various occurrences of the year A.H. 602 that "in this year in the month of Shawwál died Fakhr-ud-Dín Mubárak Sháh ibn Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Marv-ur-Rúdhí, who wrote good poetry in Persian and Arabic. He was held in great esteem by Ghiyás-ud-Dín the Great, lord of Ghazna, Herát and other towns. He owned a guest-house in which there were books and chess boards. There the learned perused the books and the ignorant played chess."

(2) Minháj Siráj Júzajání in the sixteenth "Ṭabaqa" of his *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* makes several allusions to a certain Fakhr-ud-Dín Mubárak Sháh of Marv-ur-rúdh (obviously the man referred to by Ibn-ul-Athír) and tells us that in A.H. 602 he saw in the Library of a royal princess a copy of the genealogical work composed by this Fakhr-ud-Dín. There are three references to the work[1] and on each occasion an expression[2] is used which might lead one to suppose that the genealogies were in verse, and this was the interpretation put on it by Raverty.

I am now convinced that Raverty was wrong, and that Mr Ellis' MS contains a copy of the work seen by Júzajání in A.H. 602. It did not at first occur to me that it is almost if not quite inconceivable that an accurate genealogy could be written in verse; and secondly the expression of the original quoted above though used technically for "composing" verses could be applied equally well to the "arrangement" of genealogical tables.

There is a second passage in Ibn ul-Athír (Tornberg, vol. XII, p. 101—Cairo XII, p. 64) which evidently refers to our author:

"In the year A.H. 595 Ghiyás-ud-Dín abandoned the Karrámí heresy, and became a Sháfi'ite: and this was due to the presence at his court of a certain individual known as Fakhr Mubárak Sháh, who wrote verses in Persian and was learned in many sciences. This man introduced to Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Shaykh Waḥíd-ud-Dín Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmúd al-Marv-ur-rúdhí, the Sháfi'ite lawyer, who expounded to the king the Sháfi'ite tenets, and explained to him the error of the Karrámí sect. And thus the king became a Sháfi'ite and built Sháfi'ite schools, and in Ghazna he built them a mosque and provided for their welfare. In consequence of this the Karrámís did their best to injure Waḥíd-ud-Dín, but God did not permit their machinations to succeed."

[1] See Text, Bibliotheca Indica, pp. ۲۸ and ۲۹.

[2] نظم.

The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* (see Raverty's Trans. p. 384) gives a totally different story of the king's conversion, and does not mention that Fakhr Mubárak Sháh played any part in the matter.

The same Mubárak Sháh is probably referred to in the following passage in the *Ḥabíb us-Siyar* (Bombay edition, vol. II, p. 155):

"Among the poets was Mubárak Sháh Ghúrí who is the learned author of *al-Madkhal-al-Manẓúm fí Baḥr-in-Nujúm*, a work on Astronomy. He was a contemporary of Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín and wrote elegant verses in his praise."

This extract from the *Ḥabíb us-Siyar* refers to the year A.H. 599.

The identity of the book being thus established there remains only the discrepancy regarding the author's father, for Ibn-ul-Athír calls him the son of Abul-Ḥasan; and in the full genealogy which he gives of himself Fakhr-ud-Dín calls his father Manṣúr, and there is no Abul-Ḥasan in the whole tree. Allowing Ibn-ul-Athír or his text to be in error, the identity of the author is otherwise established. Júzajání says the copy he saw was dedicated to Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín (Raverty says some MSS read here Mu'izz-ud-Dín, which is of course the correct reading, though he has himself adopted the reading Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín), whereas the present copy was dedicated to Quṭb-ud-Dín. We know from the author that he intended to present his book in 602 to Mu'izz-ud-Dín—who was murdered before he had a chance of doing so—and consequently presented it to his successor Quṭb-ud-Dín. The Ellis MS represents a copy of the special copy made for Quṭb-ud-Dín's Library. Fakhr-ud-Dín makes no reference to 'Alá'-ud-Dín Ḥusayn Jahánsúz, in whose name according to Júzajání the work was originally composed. The title of the work is nowhere given. The author speaks of it as the *Shajara* or the *Shajara-i Ansáb*. The title on the cover and in the Persian flyleaf *Baḥr-i Ansáb* seems to be a later invention. There is a tantalising note in Raverty, p. 301, which says: "One historian quotes a portion of Fakhr-ud-Dín's work, but it is too long for insertion here." I have been unable to trace the historian in question.

There is an *'unwán* on folio 1 b which contained a superscription in blue ink; this has been erased, but judging by

the vowel points which are partly preserved it was merely the "Bismillah" in decorative *naskh*.

I hope ultimately to be able to publish the complete translation of this work with notes. The transcript is far from perfect and in connection with the names of places and peoples much study is required before a correct reading can be established. My object in presenting this summary account of the Ellis MS is to call attention to this interesting work which has now been rescued from oblivion. Although this little history has become so rare, copies of it must have existed in India in the sixteenth century as it is quoted as an authority by Ferishta.

The principal details into which enquiry remains to be made are :

(i) The long list of Turkish tribes, p. xxiv.

(ii) The Indian peoples or places mentioned in connection with the Gukars, p. xi, and the Indian contingent, p. xii.

(iii) The Genealogical tables.

CONTENTS OF THE MS

1 b–38 b.	Introduction.
39 a.	Blank page originally intended to contain a map of China, Turkestan, and Máwará-un-Nahr.
39 b–48 a.	Díbácha.
48 b–49 a.	Genealogy of the Prophet not set out in tabular form.
49 b.	Blank—Perhaps left blank out of deference to the Prophet.
50 a.	Beginning of the Genealogical Trees of the famous people of the World in tabular form, from Adam to Seth, followed by five folios of prose narrative, which ends abruptly on folio 55 b in the middle of the story of 'Új and his destruction by Moses and the Israelites. Some folios of the original are probably missing here.
56 a–124 b.	Sixty-eight genealogies ending with the Mulúk-i-Jibál or Ghúrids.

The opening words on fol. 1 b are as follows :

سپاس و ستایش آن قادری‌را که اثار قدرت او بر صفحات دهور وایام چون
آفتاب روشن تابان و ظاهرست و حمد و ثنا آن قاهری‌را که برهان حکمت
او بر درجات شهور و اعوام چون ماه درفشان باهر اصناف صنایع شواهد
سلطانیت اوست و انواع بدایع دلایل وحدانیت او آن اوّلی که اولیت
اورا بدایت نیست آن آخری که آخریت اورا نهایت نی—بخشندهٔ جوهر

و عرض اوست و بخشاینده بی منت و غرض او هستی هر موجودی دلیل وحدانیت اوست و وجود هر معبودی دلیل عزت او عرش عظیم بر فرق سما ازعصمت او تمکین یافت و صخرهٔ صما در تحت اشیا از قدرت او تشکین پذیرفت .

CONTENTS OF INTRODUCTION

fol. 3 a. Beginning of definitions of the Seven Climes.

fol. 5 a. A digression containing many quotations from the *Qor'án* written in red ink, each of which is carefully translated into Persian, regarding the establishment of Islam in the world.

fol. 12 b. Contains the first reference to the reigning dynasty and points out how in the seventh century of the Hijra, Mu'izz-ud-Dín overthrew the malignant Ghuzz who had got the upper hand in the kingdom of Ghazna.

The following is an abridged translation of the succeeding folios, in which only immaterial details and pious vows after personal names have been omitted.

In the seventh century the world was in a state of disorder, and a tribe called the Ghuzz, who were robbers, destroyers and rebels, had gained the upper hand over the kingdom of Ghaznín, so that the real inhabitants of the country, in order to escape from their tyranny, fled, leaving behind them their goods and chattels and homes. In that century there appeared a king of an ancient stock, a lord of the happy conjunction, the blessed Martyr Mu'izz-ud-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám, the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful,—may God cover him with his mercy and give him a dwelling in the midst of Paradise,—who overthrew those evildoers, and (13 a) captured the Capital Ghaznín where he established himself. It is because the Capital Ghaznín is the finest in the world, and had been the seat of great and just kings that he selected it ; and from the banks of the Jaiḥún at Tirmidh up to the shores of the Muḥíṭ ocean came under his sway.

He embellished the world with Justice, and made it flourish by his goodness, and smoothed the Government and Administration by means of wise enactments. He engaged, as prescribed by the Sunna, in Holy Wars, and overthrew the Infidels, the Carmathians, the Evil Doers, and the Assassins. And through him the world enjoyed Peace; dangerous and impassable roads became safe, and by day

and by night traders and merchants began to arrive continuously bringing much money and merchandise from distant parts. And they used to import precious wares and rare clothes, the like of which no one had ever seen. Under the shadow of the justice, protection and encouragement bestowed (13 b) by that just monarch, any persons who had not had among their antecedents or relations a scamp of a Hindu or a fool (long-eared one), might become the possessor of troops of slaves of all kinds, stables and herds of horses, strings of camels. And some became cavalry leaders and generals and had their own drums and banners and tents and governorships. And no one dared to take in anger or by force so much as a bunch of herbage or a blade of grass or a silver dirham: nor to quarter himself on a peasant. The door was closed to tyranny and opened to justice and security.

In addition to all these blessings God further bestowed on that just king a fortunate and successful slave in the person of Quṭb-ud-Dín, who, with his liberality and generosity and openhandedness (14 a) made slaves of a thousand free men. And no king ever had such a slave, nor has any one seen the like. And the first of the blessings which God bestowed on this slave was that in his youth, before they brought him from Turkestan to the Capital of Islam, he fell in Níshápúr into the hands of the learned Imám, deeply versed in science, exceedingly pious, gifted and religious, a descendant of the learned Imám Abú Ḥanífa. Indeed he was a second Abú Ḥanífa of his own age. His name was Qáẓí Fakhr-ud-Dín Kúfí. Quṭb-ud-Dín studied the *Qor'án* in the house of the Imám, and under the blessing of his guidance became a *Qor'án*-reader and made a name for himself in religious matters.

The Turks were noted for their skill in games, and running and playing draughts and chess, while he became famous for reading the *Qor'án*; and by the blessing of his Qor'anic studies, fortune and wealth and friendship (14 b) turned a favourable eye on him, and thus he passed from the house of that honoured learned Imám into the service of the Great Just Monarch. And the King of Islam regarded his service as blessed (*mubárak*), and every day his influence in the state increased. And since the victorious Sultan (may God illumine his proof) observed with his kingly perspicacity the qualities of good fortune and the signs of good luck on

his forehead, he cherished him like a beloved son and took immense pains to train him. He made him Commander in Chief of Kuhrám, and the first beginning of his good fortune was from Kuhrám. And this was a very good omen. And the Prophet (on whom be peace) was fond of omens (*fál*), and when he asked a man his name or any other question, if the name was a good one or the reply he heard was good, he used to say: "We have taken your *fál*—from your mouth is the explanation of the *fál*." *Fáls* are from God and auguries (*ṭíra*) are from Satan.

(15 a) As the beginning of his fortunes was from Kuh-rám it signified that "All the mountains (*Kuh*) of gold and silver and 'favour' of Hindustan, which are the treasuries of the Kings and Rais of India, have become obedient (*Rám*) to your desires. Profit well by it as you please and spend it." And indeed it was so. And this good luck happened to him in 588, and in that same year he defeated the army of Kolah and captured the Rai of Ajmír, 14 elephants fell into his hands, he conquered the forts of Delhi and Rantambhur, he carried off four golden melons weighing 300 maunds. He sent all four golden melons to the Sultan (Mu'izz-ud-Dín) and the Sultan of Islam sent one of them to Sultan Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín. Sultan Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín gave orders for it to be taken to Herát, and to make out of it a Mosque (*Ádhína*) and (15 b) a dome and a *Maqṣúra* (holy of holies), so that whoever should pray in that Mosque or recite the *Qor'án*, or study, or contemplate, whatever reward that person should earn, so much reward should go to the treasury of that King.

In the year 590 was the victory over Rai Jit Chandra (see Raverty, p. 470) and the capture of 100 elephants. So much spoil was taken that it passes mortal comprehension.

In the year 591 was the capture of Ajmír. In the year 592 the King of Islam went to Gwalior and in his service Quṭb-ud-Dín conquered Thankiri. In 593 he conquered Nahrawala, and the army of Islam brought away spoils chiefly in red gold and cash. And he distributed all the spoil among the soldiers. He brought away 32 incomparable elephants, and sent them to the Sultan. In 594 he captured the fort of Budá'ún, and destroyed the idol temples of Benares. (See Raverty, p. 521.)

(16 a) In 595 he seized Antarwal (عنتروال) and conquered

Kanauj and took the province of Siroh. In 596 he captured Malwa and the surrounding country. In 597 he captured Gwalior, and took much booty. In 598 he presented himself before the Sultan of Islam and requested that just as he had brought Hindustan under the submission to the Sultan of Islam, he might also bring Khorásán into subjection to the lofty banner of the King of Islam. But the King of Islam fully realised that the affairs of Hindustan would not prosper without the presence of the hero of Hind, and that on account of his absence troubles would arise, as the distance would be great between them, and he ordered him to turn back.

In 599 he conquered Kalinjar and took countless booty. (16 b) In 600 he conquered Budúr, and in 601 he waited on the Sultan of Islam at Barshúr, where the Sultan had returned safely from Khwárazm and Andkhúi after receiving a wound in his eye. He had the honour of waiting on him, and after receiving marks of favour returned to his headquarters Delhi, where he devoted all his attention to the government of the province, the raising of an army and the ordering of the troops. And from the day when his fortunes began up to the time of writing he has given such evidences of bravery and good leadership, that they have become proverbial. And although all the victories which God caused him to win are clearer than the sun, and well known to all the world: nevertheless it must not be forgotten how much was due to the care and assistance of the General Ḥusám-ud-Dín Aḥmed 'Alí Sháh, who was the slave and officer of the King of Islam, and was never absent from his stirrup, and was present at these victories and battles. Indeed all the generals of this Court were gifted, brave and noble, and each was distinguished for his courage, and received an ample share of the fortune and prosperity of the King of Islam, who by his patronage and favour made each and all famous. To some (17 a) he gave high commands, body guards, pavilions, drums, standards and districts, and each performed fine acts of service, and was duly praised: so that by the help of God and under the encouraging glances of the Emperor the Kingdoms of Hindustan were conquered and the whole country subdued up to the shores of the ocean and up to the rising sun.

(17 b) And powerful Infidels and mighty Rais with their

numerous elephants and armies were overthrown, and some were taken captive and converted to Islam, so that Infidel towns became Muḥammadan, and in the place of idols, God was established; temples became Mosques and Schools and Monasteries, and every year so many idolatrous men and women were brought within the fold of Islam, and acknowledged the Unity of God and practised Muḥammadanism and became worthy of Paradise...and every child born of them sings the praises of God and obeys Him, and reads the *Qor'án* and studies science....

And in 602 the King came to Hindustan and assembled the armies of that country and proclaimed a Holy War against the Gukars, the Siyahs[1], and the people of Mt. Júd, who had for a long time been preparing for war. (18 a) And on account of the masses of warriors and strong places, and the quantities of arms and armour, the armies of Islam caused them no anxiety and carried no weight; and they boldly practised highway robbery and killed Musulmans, and behaved in an unseemly way, so that owing to their evil deeds the country was on the verge of ruin, and the inhabitants were fleeing from their houses and hearths. And most of the highways were blocked with the traffic, and the Moslems were in despair. However, God most high vouchsafed (18 b) victory and conquest to a King and an Army of Islam, which made an enduring mark on the history of the world, and overthrew 200,000 evil infidel Moslem-killing highwaymen. They carried captive their wives and children and countless booty fell into their hands, (19 a) such as had never been taken during 200 years, consisting of fabulous quantities of gold and silver and cash, and goods and cloths, and horses, camels, cattle and goats, etc.

This world-conquering warrior of Hind received the title of Malik, and was nominated heir apparent to Hindustan, and from the Gates of Marshuk to the limits of Hind was given to him and he was made supreme ruler. He (Mu'izz-ud-Dín) left him (Quṭb-ud-Dín) his lieutenant in the Capital of Hindustan, and sent him back to Delhi, as all the world knows, whilst he himself returned to Ghaznín. And when he

[1] I have left untranslated the following names in the MS: سیهان, حمسان, هرهران, نهونان, اندهان and رامسالان. See Raverty, *op. cit.* pp. 481 seq. note.

arrived at Damyak he fell a martyr, as had been decreed from all Eternity, and joined his God. May God most high show mercy on him, and cause the great and just Malik to be the heir to his prosperity.

(19 b) By this terrible catastrophe the world was left without a protector and shepherd and was thrown into a state of confusion and disorder....

When the news reached the great Malik in Delhi, he was absent from the town but he immediately returned to the Capital and lamented as was fitting on the death of such a ruler, and did not go out for several days, nor hold any court nor transact any business, neglecting everything (20 a) on account of this calamity which affected all the world equally.

When the inspiration of God most high, Who is the Instructor of the lords of fortune, directed that the Kingdoms of Hindustan should mourn and that he (Quṭb-ud-Dín) should set about administering the affairs of all the people—especially the people of Lahore[1], the centre of Islam in Hind and the second capital of Ghazna, towards whom the late Emperor had shown special favour—he having cast a good day and hour by the horoscope set out from Delhi to Lahore in the hot season, and the troops on account of the heat, and the horses and camels from the want of water and grass, suffered greatly on the road. However, since his object was the protection of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants, he made light of the heat and discomfort: and on Tuesday the 11th of Dhi'l-Qa'da 602 A.H. (20 b) the high banner arrived in the village of Dádyamúh outside Lahore, and there the King encamped. All the people of that country, Qáẓís, Imáms, Sayyids, nobles, officers, agents, soldiers, merchants, strong and weak, rich and poor, came out to receive him, and made (21 a) rejoicing, giving thanks to God that although a bright Sun had been eclipsed, a brilliant new moon had arisen; and though a large tree had fallen in the garden of Conquest, a strong new fruit-bearing Sapling had sprung up in its place (and so forth). (21 b) In short they welcomed Quṭb as undisputed successor to the throne of Mu'izz, and on Tuesday the 17th of the same month at an auspicious hour Quṭb-ud-Dín Aï-Beg entered the Royal Palace.

[1] Lahore is always written Luhaur in the MS.

He ruled so well that one might (22 a) have thought he had always been a king. And in spite of the large number of troops collected round his banners—consisting of Turks, Ghúrís, Khurásánís, Khaljis and the Hindustan contingent...[1] no one dared to take by force a blade of grass or a morsel of bread, a goat from the desert or a bird from the sown, or to billet himself on a peasant. The King put into practice all the excellent customs established by his master and protector, the late Sovereign.

And the first gracious act he performed for the people of that town was to secure all Musulman property to its owners, and to see that all taxes other than those ordained by the Holy Law should be abolished, namely one fifth (22 b). And according to the *Sharí'at* in some cases it was one tenth and in others half a tenth, and he gave orders for *tawqí's* to be drawn up, and saw that every one had a copy. And he had them taken to the outlying districts and villages. Thus the Musulmans were made happy and contented and offered up prayers for the stability and endurance of this rule. The King furthermore did away with a great illegal practice (*muḥdaṣ*): for the Prophet said, "The best of arrangements is the middle way and the worst are innovations." An innovation is a custom which is instituted according to the pleasure of some individual but is outside the *Sharí'at* and has never been practised before....

(23 a) And he secured the continuance of other salaries and endowments to which the learned, the lawyers, the natives, the saints and pious persons were entitled. He gave large sums from his private purse for these objects, and made charitable bequests to widows and orphans, which please God may long remain established.

Now all the Turks in spite of their good demeanour and good fortune have been endowed with these same laudable qualities, (23 b) and all Turkestan has by virtue of this circumstance become great and prosperous. And there is no race among the masses of unbelievers who have been converted to Islam which do not hanker after their homes and mothers and relations—indeed they are slow to accept Muḥammadanism in their hearts, and many turn renegade and revert to un-

[1] I have left untranslated the following passage:

از راتکان و تکران و باسعیدان و تفاریق

belief. Except only the Turks who when they are converted (24 a) become such staunch Moslems that they forget hearth and home and relations: and no one has ever seen a Turk who turned renegade from Islam.

Our Author next poses the following problem. If any one should ask "What is the cause of the honour and fortune that fall to the lot of the Turks?" the answer is: It is common knowledge that all races and classes, while they remain among their own people and in their own country, are honoured and respected; but when they go abroad they become miserable and abject. The Turks on the contrary, while they remain among their own people and in their own country, are merely a tribe among other tribes, and enjoy no particular power or status. But when they leave their own country and come to a Muḥammadan country—(the more remote they are from their own homes and relatives the more highly are they valued and appreciated)—they become Amírs and Generalissimos.

Now from the days of Adam down to the present day, no slave bought at a price has ever become a king except among the Turks; and among the sayings of Afrásiyáb, who was a King of the Turks, and was extraordinarily wise and learned, was his dictum that the Turk is like a pearl in its shell at the bottom of the sea, which becomes valuable when it leaves the sea, and adorns the diadems of kings and the ears of brides.

(24 b) And if the Turks have no rank, nobility or position of their own, this is also a source of pride, for the King of Islam (Quṭb-ud-Dín)—may God glorify his victories—is a Turk....

Turkestan is the most extensive country on the face of the earth; on the East is China, on the West Rúm, on the North the Wall of Yájúj and Májúj, on the South the Mountains of Hindustan where the snow falls.

He next proceeds to enumerate the rare and precious products of Turkestan.

(1) Tartar musk.
(2) Tibetan musk.
(3) Khotan musk.
(4) Rich cloths from China, etc.
(5) Qunduz (beaver).
(6) Rúbáh (fox).

(7) Yilghari ?
(8) Bartás (fur).
(9) Samúr (grey sable).
(10) Saghur (? Saghri—horse leather):
(11) Qáqum (ermine).
(12) Sinjáb (grey squirrel).
(13) Ghajgau (Tibetan ox).
(14) Khadang (poplar tree).
(15) Túz (a tree).
(16) Khutú (horn).
(17) Sagag ?
(18) Báz (falcon).
(19) Shámin ?
(20) Yashm (agate).
(21) Fine horses.
(22) Bisrak camels.
(23) Bukhtí camels.
(24) Wild camels.

And in the country of the Toghuzghuz which is the original home of the Turks, there is a king, on the roof of whose palace there is a golden furnace (*tannúr*) [i.e. a stupa] of great height and covered with various precious stones. This stupa is visible from a distance of five miles. A tribe of that country worships this stupa and all the kings in China reverence it—for China is regarded as a part of Turkestan.

In one part of Turkestan there is a forest called the forest of *Lura*; its inhabitants are wild men and do not mix with other men, and the traders, who take cotton and other goods there, place them in a desert spot which has from time immemorial been the place of buying and selling, and then withdraw to a distance. The wild men, on their part, bring their own goods and place them near the goods of the merchants. If the bargain seems suitable they leave their own goods and take away those left by the traders. But if it does not seem suitable, they leave some of their own goods, and pick up the goods of the traders and place them at a distance from their own, and withdraw. When a merchant sees this from a distance he goes up and adds something to his stock and again withdraws. Then the wild man comes back, and if he is satisfied he takes the trader's goods and

leaves his own: and then both parties go away, without their exchanging a single word.

Our Author next describes another forest also containing wild men with strange habits.

He goes on to speak briefly of the Slavs and the Russians, as do all the early geographers. He further tells us that besides the Musulmans there are four (MS says "three") classes in Turkestan—the Jews, the Christians and the Zoroastrians and the Buddhists, and most of them recognise the Creator. And they know about the Prophets and those matters in which one ought to believe although they do not believe in them themselves. And if they did not know about them they would not have names for them in their language.

Thus Khudá = *Tängri* [God].
Khudáwand = *Idi* or *Ulugh Tängri* [Lord].
Rasúl = *Yalavach* [the Prophet].
Paighamber = *Saghchi* [Prophets].
Ín Jahán = *bu ajun* [this world].
Án Jahán = *ol ajun* [the next world].
Rúz-i Qiyámat = *ulugh gün* [the Day of Judgment].
Bihisht = *Uchmaq* or *Uchmakh* [Paradise].
Dúzakh = *Chamukh* or *Tamukh* [Hell].
Hasht Bihisht = *Sekiz Uchmakh* [the 8 Paradises].
Haft Dúzakh = *Yeti Tamukh* [the 7 Hells].
Ḥisáb = *Saqísh* [calculation, reckoning].

There are other things by reason of which the Turks hold pre-eminence over other peoples. One is, that after the Persian language none is finer and more dignified than Turkish. And now-a-days the Turkish language is more popular than it ever was before. This is due to the fact that the majority of Amírs and Commanders are Turks. And it is the Turks who are most successful and most wealthy; and so all have need of that language. And the highest nobles are in the service of the Turks under whom they enjoy peace, prosperity and honour....

And again the Turks have got books and an alphabet—and they know magic and astrology. They teach their children writing.

And their scripts are of two kinds, namely Soghdian

and Toghuzghuz (29 a). Now Soghdian has 25 letters, and there are three letters which do not occur in their alphabet, namely *ṣád, ẓá* and *ghayn.* It is written from right to left and most of the letters do not join one another and their form is as shown below.

[This page is given in photographic reproduction in the *Journal Asiatique,* Mai-Juin 1913, L'alphabet Sogdien d'après un témoignage du XIII^e siècle.]

The Toghuzghuz alphabet has 28 letters, and is written from right to left. (29 b) The letters do not join with one another.

Here follows a list of the letters—and a specimen of the way in which they write: *Bismilláhi'r-Raḥmáni'r-Raḥím,* which in the present copy is valueless.

The Turks also compose verses, both *qaṣídas* and *rubá'ís.* The following *rubá'í* is quoted in order to show that their poetry scans and has sense, with interlinear Persian rendering (30 a):

وعده بيروسن نوا جون كلملس سن
چون وعده كنى چرا نيائى بر يار
سوز يلغانى نى مانينك جيلا قويماس سن
كفتار دروغ پيش من پيش ميار
يوزونك كون و ساچ تون قرا كورماس سن
رويت روزست و موئى همچون شب تار
عشقكدا قرارسيز اى عجب بيلماس سن
در عشق توام بروز و شب نيست قرار

The Khazars also have an alphabet, which is derived from that of the Russians—and a branch of the people of Rúm who live near them employ this writing, and they call Rúm Rús. It is written from left to right. The letters do not join one another. They have only 22 letters. Here follows a third table, the letters represented being

a, b, j, d, h, w, z, ḥ, ṭ, y, k, l, m, n, s, gh, f, q, r, sh, t, th.

Most of these Khazars who use this writing are Jews (30 b). Now the Turks consist of many tribes, most of whom live in the plains, and have pasture grounds, but they do not remain in one spot for their flocks except in winter when snow covers the ground.

If any one should wish to learn about all the Turkish tribes, it would be impossible, but the following list gives the names of some of the best known sub-divisions[1].

Names of the various Turkish tribes :

1.	ترك	Turk
2.	يمك	Yimäk
3.	قيرقيز	Qyrghyz
4.	قرلخ	Kharluq
5.	جكل	Chigil
6.	أنْمَر	? Imir
7.	خرلخ	Kharluq
8.	قنق	Qynaq
9.	ياغى	Yaghy
10.	سالوك	? Salur
11.	خَلج	Khalach
12.	أغز	Oghuz
13.	خطا	Khytä
14.	غاى	see No. 16
15.	اورس	Urus (Rus)
16.	قَى	Qáy
17.	اوران	Oran
18.	تخسى	? Tokhsin
19.	تبت	Tübät
20.	قَراتبت	Qara Tübät
21.	صَقلابى	? Ṣaqlab
22.	كمجى	Kämichi
23.	كيماك	Kimäk
24.	خَزَر	Khazar
25.	قراخَزَر	Qara Khazar
26.	خفجاق	Qipchaq
27.	التى	? Altay (? *alti* numeral "six")
28.	كجات	? Gügät
29.	بجنك	Bichänäk
30.	اغول	? Oghul
31.	سَتق	?Satyq(?proper name)
32.	سوتق	? Sutuq (? same as No. 31)
33.	تَتار	Tatar
34.	قراتتار	Qara Tatar
35.	قنقلى	Qangly
36.	بارغو	? Barghu (? Mongolian Barghut)
37.	غز	Ghuz
38.	قراغور	? Qara Ghuz
39.	تغزغز	Taghuzghuz
40.	يَغما	Yaghma
41.	أراكن	? Örägir
42.	قَيْق	? Qayq
43.	صلغر	Ṣalghar
44.	يزغر	? Yazar

[1] I have thought it worth while to give this list as it stands—reserving for a future occasion a detailed examination, giving in this place only some of the more obvious identifications.

45.	زوكر	? Dükür	55.	افشار	Afshár
46.	بَايَنْدُر	Bayundur	56.	بكرز	? Bäkriz
47.	الايندنيق	Ala Yuntlyq	57.	بُكْدَلي	Bäkdäli
48.	اُغور	? Uïghur or Oghuz	58.	اقبآ	
49.	تُغرَق	? Tughraq	59.	اَتَتُوق	
50.	بيات	Bayat	60.	بغرنرا	
51.	تُوتُرغَا	Tuturgha	61.	اُرل	
52.	دَوجيرَان		62.	لَرْتلك	
53.	سُويق		63.	باسميل	Basmil
54.	يَباغو	*sic* for Yabghu[1]?	64.	آل برسخان	Barskhán

"Now I have described all the peculiarities and wonders of Turkestan, in order that all may realise the superiority of the Turks, and I have enumerated the various tribes of the Turks, because if all these tribes were to know of the noble virtues and laudable qualities of our great and just King (Quṭb-ud-Dín), they would immediately set out for his mighty court which is the Qibla of the destitute, and enjoy the privilege and happiness of kissing his hand, and their eyes would shine on beholding his imperial glory: for it is as if the Sun of happiness shone forth from his blessed forehead.

For it is fitting that all the Chiefs of Turkestan should come and do honour to him at his court, and make the threshold of his imperial palace their pillow, and become by his favour the foremost chiefs in the world. They would, moreover, convince themselves that his valour and bravery are such that if Rustem were alive, he would have been his chamberlain." And so forth for several pages in regard to Quṭb-ud-Dín's valour.

He next praises his generosity—which won for him the nickname of Lakh-Bakhsh (or the bestower of millions). In proof of the King's leniency and justice he tells us that since the King came to the throne no Musulman had received death by his command. He would not tolerate the shedding of Musulman blood—even if a man committed a serious crime.

[1] Cf. بياغو in *Khazá'in ul-'ulúm*, quoted by Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. I, p. 12.

Our Author proceeds to discuss the quality of mercy; this and similar reflections occupy many pages till we suddenly come up to a blank page which in the original contained a map of Turkestan. It is a matter of great regret that the (fol. 39 a) copyist did not take the trouble to reproduce this map, which must have proved of considerable interest.

The rest of the MS is occupied by the Díbácha, foll. 39 b to 48 a, summarized below, and by the genealogical trees, foll. 48 b to 124 b. The Author's own tree occurs on fol. 110 a.

THE DÍBÁCHA.

(39 b) The least of suppliants and the meanest of servants, the weakling Muḥammad ibn Manṣúr ibn Sa'íd ibn Abi'l-Faraj ibn al-Jalíl ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Naṣr ibn Khalaf ibn Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb ibn Ṭalḥa ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmán ibn Abi Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddíq at-Taymí al-Qurashí entitled Mubárak Sháh and commonly known as Fakhr-Mudír, who is the author and producer of these trees and genealogies, says that his reason for extracting and collecting these genealogies was as follows:

From the time of the irruption of the Ghuzz down to the capture of Khurram Malik and the conquest of Lahore, Fakhr-Mudír had been in constant attendance on Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín. During this time he had lost sight of his own genealogical tree: but on the conquest of Lahore (in A.H. 580, A.D. 1184) the documents connected with the properties and *waqfs* of his ancestors were sent for, and his genealogy again came to light, and as he claimed descent from the family of the Prophet, he resolved to draw up complete trees of his ancestors, beginning with those of the Prophet of Islam and of the ten Companions, for whom places in Paradise had been guaranteed. He speaks feelingly of the days and nights of strenuous labour which this cost him; but in the process he seems to have caught the genealogical fever and imposed upon himself the task of working out the trees of all the various famous men and dynasties of Islam. He tells us he spent twelve years in collecting these materials and another year in deciding how he should arrange his tables, and in copying them out. When he had revised his draft three

times, he first showed his work to his father, who was one of the learned men of his day. His father was delighted with his son's performance and declared that for thirty years he had himself contemplated undertaking a similar work, but had never had the courage to set about it. He said to his son: "Now you have performed a wonderful feat, but to what purpose? For there is no one to-day who can appreciate it or realise the trouble it has cost you. Some will say: 'What is this you have done?' while envious men will say: 'What is the good of this?' However, pay no attention to such jealous fools, for had they been alive all the great savants of Ghazna who were my teachers would have been warm in their praises. I refer to such men as Qáẓí 'l-Quẓát 'Izz-ud-Dín 'Omar, Khwája Imám Bákirji, Khwája Imám Mu'ayyad, Khwája Imám لحرائی (?), Sayyid Imám Muḥammad Abul-Futúḥ, Khwája Imám 'Alí Shádán, Khwája 'Alí Mukhaffaf, Khwája Imám Zará'ifí, Qáẓí Imám Aḥmad Yúsuf Isrá'íl, Khwája Imám Qásim Muḥammad Níshápúri, Qáẓí Maḥmúd Istawfí and Khwája Imám Muḥammad Ilyás. Take care now of what you have done and see that it does not fall into the hands of unworthy persons: for during the six hundred years of the existence of Islam no one had done anything of the kind. The race of benevolent princes, generous ministers and noble-minded commanders has not however quite died out, and haply your great work may meet with the encouragement it deserves from such a one."

It was not until the autumn of 602 (A.H.) when the late king Mu'izz-ud-Dín arrived in Lahore that some of the nobles and chamberlains saw this book and mentioned it to the Sultan saying: "A certain person (45 b) has drawn up some rare and wonderful genealogies, the like of which has never been seen." "The Sultan thereupon sent for the author and said: "Bring me the genealogies you have drawn up that I may examine them."

Fakhr-Mudír replied that he could not show his book to the Sultan except with the permission of the famous vezír Mu'ayyid-ul-Mulk. Here follows (46 a) a page of narrative which, thanks no doubt to faulty copying, is hardly intelligible. The purport of it all, however, seems to be that Fakhr-Mudír went to obtain this permission from the vezír, and that the vezír, being at the time very busy with the affairs

of state and in a bad temper, came near to punishing Fakhr-Mudír for his importunity, and Fakhr-Mudír, being a cautious man, did not try again. Shortly after this the Sultan set out for his capital (Ghazna) and on the way thither fell a victim to the assassin's hand at a place called Damyak.

When Quṭb-ud-Dín soon after this calamity entered Lahore in victorious state and took up his residence in the imperial palace, and when his generals and nobles had quartered themselves in various parts of the town, (46 b) Fakhr-Mudír became acquainted with certain leading men, and one of them informed Mubáriz-ud-Dawlah Ulugh Dád Beg Toghrul Tegín 'Alí Ḥasan of this genealogical work, who expressed a desire to see it. When he had examined it he was highly pleased and said that such a work had never been seen or heard of. He said the King must certainly see it and was convinced that when His Majesty had done so, he would reward the author suitably, and would probably order a special copy to be made for the Royal Library.

(47 a) In the meantime the book had also been seen by Ḥusám-ud-Dawlah Zayn-al-Umará Aḥmad 'Alí Sháh, and these two great men—may they long continue to ornament the King's court!—agreed upon the following plan for bringing the book to the King's notice.

On Fridays the King was wont to go out to the hunting box of Asad-ud-Dawlah Ulugh Dád Beg 'Alí Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḥasan, and it was agreed that on Friday when he alighted at that place, and from thence went to pray, they should present the author and show the King the genealogies.

Thus Fakhr-Mudír had the honour of becoming acquainted with His Majesty and of doing homage. The King made the author sit down and all the trees from the genealogies of the Prophet, and the Khalifs down to those who came after them were read aloud to the King. The King expressed great pleasure at seeing the work and ordered a special copy to be prepared for the Royal Library.

Fakhr-Mudír concludes this Díbácha with the following remarks:

"The King's wishes have been carried out and the new copy has been presented to him. I trust that when his august eye falls on it, the work may be honoured by his kingly glances, and that I may myself be the recipient of favourable

patronage and gracious rewards, and thus be glorified above my contemporaries and equals. So may God grant it!"

In conclusion I wish to call attention to two important dates which have been the subject of much discussion among historians and are now in my view finally settled by this little MS, namely:

(1) The capture of Delhi by Quṭb-ud-Dín in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192).

(2) The entry of Quṭb-ud-Dín into Lahore and his assumption of the throne of the Muslim Empire in India, which extended over nearly the whole of Hindustan proper, Sind and Bengal in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1206).

With regard to the date of the capture of Delhi, there is under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Quṭb Mosque an inscription saying: Quṭb-ud-Dín Āï-Beg conquered this fort, and built this mosque in the course of the year A.H. 587 (or 9) [A.D. 1191 (or 93)]. The reading of the unit has been much debated, the written numerals in Arabic for seven and nine being very similar. General Cunningham was for reading nine, while Sir Syed Ahmad and Mr Thomas wished to read seven: and a number of Indian historians have given 587 as the date of the capture of Delhi by Quṭb-ud-Dín. The author of this little manuscript gives 588 (see p. 398) as the date of the capture, and I think his authority as a contemporary in the service of Quṭb-ud-Dín equal at least to that of any other. [The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* and the *Arabic History of Gujarát*[1], which is most accurate, also give 588.] My opinion is that the date on the Mosque should be read 589 A.H. and that it has reference only to the building of the Mosque, though the capture of the fort is mentioned in the first place.

The second date is not so important, but at any rate it should dispose of a doubt which has hitherto existed owing to conflicting statements of other historians (see *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, Raverty's Trans. p. 481). In 602 there was a formidable rising of the Gukars, and Mu'izz-ud-Dín, who had been absent on a somewhat disastrous expedition in Khorásán, called up Quṭb-ud-Dín with his Hindustan army, and it appears from various accounts that until the arrival of

[1] *An Arabic History of Gujarát*, ed. by E. Denison Ross, John Murray (Indian Texts Series), vol. II, p. ١٨٤, line 20.

Quṭb-ud-Dín's army the fate of the day had been in the balance. The best account of these events is given in a compilation known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Alfí*. Great doubt has always existed as to the occasion on which Quṭb-ud-Dín received the title of Malik and was made heir to the throne of Hindustan, and also as to the movements of Quṭb-ud-Dín between this victory over the Gukars and his accession in Lahore after the assassination of Mu'izz-ud-Dín (see note in Raverty, p. 534). The *Arabic History of Gujarát*[1] says: "After the death of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Quṭb-ud-Dín wrote to the late Sultan's nephew Maḥmúd begging him to occupy the throne at Ghazna, and when he replied that he would be content with what he possessed of his father's kingdom, Quṭb-ud-Dín begged that he might be his viceroy in India. To this Mahmúd agreed and conferred on him the title Sulṭan Quṭb-ud-Dín—and up to that date he had been known as *Aï-Beg Shal*, and he sent him a royal canopy." We now know from the circumstantial account given by Fakhr-Mudír, that Quṭb-ud-Dín returned to Delhi in the interval, and that he reached Lahore from Delhi on the 11th of Dhi'l-Qa'da, 602, and ascended the throne six days later, Tuesday, the 17th Dhi'l-Qa'da. Major Raverty, after weighing all the evidence, decides for 603 as the date of Quṭb-ud-Dín's accession (p. 525). There is further discrepancy regarding the day of the month and of the week. I think here again Fakhr-Mudír's words may be taken as final, for he was in all probability himself present on the occasion.

[1] Vol. II, p. ٦٨٠, line 3 seq.

E. DENISON ROSS.

DIE NAMEN DER 2 BISTÜMER (DEPENDENZEN DER PERSIS): سيران SÎRÂN UND مرمديت MRʾMDÎT, VERDERBT AUS سندان SENDÂN UND سرنديب SERENDÎB

Sachau's gehaltvolle Abhandlung *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (Berliner Akademie, 1919, 80 S.), könnte des näheren als Übersicht über die nestorianischen Kirchenprovinzen (Metropolitien, Hyparchien) und Bistümer des Ostens nach syrischen und arabischen Quellen bezeichnet werden. S. 58 werden die 7 Bistümer der Persis (پارس Pârs, فارس Fâr(i)s, Fârsistân) aufgeführt: (1) Rêw ʿArdašir, arab. Rêšahr, die exzentrische Metropolis ganz im Westen der Persis, an der Grenze gegen die Kirchenprovinz Susḯana (خوزستان Ḫûzistân). (2) Iṣṭaḫr-Persepolis im Zentrum. (3) Dârâbgird im Südosten. (4) Ardašîrḫurra = Gôr (جور) = Fîrûzâbâd (südlich von Šîrâz). (5) Bih-šâpûr, arab. Sâbûr, "gegenwartig bezeichnet durch ein Trünimerfeld im Nordwesten der Stadt Kâzerûn": die neueren Karten, z. B. Andrée u. a. bezeichnen es als Ort, nicht als Ruine, Schahpur. (6) Maškenâ dhe Kurdû, Kurdensiedlung (nicht näher zu bestimmen). (7) Die Insel Kîš, der Südküste Persiens vorgelagert.

Dazu setzt Sachau S. 59, 1–3 noch die Notiz: "Elias Ǧauharî [der nestorianische Metropolit von Damascus in seiner um 893 D. verfassten arab. *Collectio canonum*] erwähnt als Bistümer der Persis ausser den hier aufgeführten Nrn. 2, 3, und 5 noch Schirâz (l. Šîrâz), Karmân, سيران, مرمديت, und die Insel Socotra."

Da es ein irgend entsprechendes سيران und مرمديت nicht giebt, sind wir auf Konjekturen angewiesen.—Wollten wir zunächst in der Nähe des gerade vorher genannten, offenbar als Dependenz der Persis gedachten Kermân bleiben, so möchte man für سيران und مرمديت an Verderbnis aus den alten Stapelplätzen شيرجان Šîreǧân, arab. sanft السيرجان al Siraǧân und بَرْدَسير Bardasîr, südwestlich der Hauptstadt Kermân der östlich von Fârsistân liegenden Provinz Kermân (Caramania) denken; vgl. dazu Guy le Strange,

The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 300--303. Etwas ferner lägen schon die 2 südöstlichern Etappen: Ĝîruft جيرفت und Narmâŝîr نرماسير. Am persischen Golf dagegen könnte man an die etwa passenden Handelsemporien der Persis und Kermâns denken: Sîráf سيراف und Hórmuz هرمز (هرموز). Am allerbesten aber stimmen graphisch und sachlich, wenn wir zwischen Kermân und Socotra سُقُطْرَى in weitem Bogen nach Indien ausgreifen zu den syrischen Thomaschristen der Küste von Malabar (arab. مَليبار), die Konjekturen سيران = سندان Sendân nördlich von Bombay und مرمديت = سَرَنديب Serendîb = Ceylon (سيلان). Zu Sendân und Serendîb-Ceylon vgl. *Merveilles de l'Inde* (Leide, 1883), Index und Excürse.

C. F. Seybold.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SANCTUARIES OF ISLÁM BY IBN 'ABD RABBIHI (†940)

The author. His life.

One of the most brilliant figures in the literary history of the Umaiyad Spain is that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbihi, with the *kunya* of Abú 'Umar[1]. He was born in A.H. 246/860 in Cordova and died in the same city at the advanced age of about 82 (lunar) years[2] in A.H. 328/940[3] of paralysis, which attacked him several years before his death[4]. He was descended from a client of Amír Hishám b. 'Abd al-Raḥmán (r. 172/788–180/796). He probably lived the early years of his life in poverty and obscurity, but rose by dint of his learning and character to a position of great eminence[5]. He was not only a poet but a scholar well-versed in religious and secular sciences[6]. He had studied theology as Ibn al-Faraḍí tells us with such learned doctors as Baqí b. Makhlad[7] († 276), Ibn Waḍḍáḥ[8] († 286) and al-Khushaní[9] († 286), and like most of his countrymen was of the Máliki persuasion. It seems, however, that what attracted him most was poetry and not theology[10].

[1] So in Ḥumaidí (Bodleian MS Hunt 464) and most of the printed sources. In a note prefixed to a British Museum MS of *'Iqd*, Add. 18,502, he is called ابو عمرو, as also in *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, Cairo edition of A.H. 1325, p. 58[1] seq., but the form ابو عُمَر occurs in a verse of a contemporary (Maqqarí, Leiden ed. II, 200[4]). Only once in the *'Iqd* (I, 220[3]) have I found him called ابو عبد الله. So also in Ibn Khaldún, *Muqaddima* (Cairo edition of 1327, p. 690[4]).

[2] Cf. *Maṭmaḥ*, 60[18] (= Yáqút, *Irshád*, II, 69[15]).

[3] Ḥumaidí, fol. 43. Yáqút (*Irshád*, VI, 2, 67[16]) gives 348 as the date of his death, but that seems to be an error of the scribe or misprint, and the same applies to Ibn al-Faraḍí (I, 37, No. 118) where 382 is given instead of 328. Cf. *Bughyat al-Wu'át*, 161[18].

[4] Ibn al-Faraḍí, *l.c.*; Ibn Khallikán, Cairo edition, I, 33.

[5] Yáqút, *l.c.*

[6] He is often called 'al-Faqíh' in *'Iqd*. Cf. also *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, p. 58.

[7] For him see Yáqút, *o.c.* p. 368.

[8] Ḥumaidí, 40b[2]; Ibn Farḥún's *al-Díbáj*, Cairo, 1329, p. 239.

[9] For him see *Bughyat al-Wu'át*, 67[13].

[10] Yáqút, *l.c.*

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi as a poet.

He was the laureate of the Umaiyad kings of Spain and he wrote panegyrics in praise of every one of the four during whose reigns he lived, from Amír Muhammad (r. 238–273) to 'Abd al-Rahmán III (r. 300–350)[1]. These poems of his probably represented the hostile attitude which the Umaiyads in general had towards 'Alí, for al-Maqqarí (Leiden ed. I, 808) refers to a *rajaz* poem of his in which the early Caliphs were mentioned and in which he counted Mu'áwiya as the fourth orthodox Caliph and entirely omitted 'Alí. Another poem of his in praise of al-Mundhir b. Muhammad (r. 273–275) is said to have greatly offended the Fáṭimid al-Mu'izz li-dín Allah and called forth a reply from his court-poet Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Muhammad[2].

He must have been a prolific poet, for al-Humaidí had seen a collection of his verse in more than twenty parts, and this not necessarily complete. His Díwán[3] is lost but over 1350 of his verses are preserved in *al-'Iqd*[4], including one long poem in *rajaz* (345 verses) celebrating the martial deeds of 'Abd al-Rahmán during the first 22 years of his reign (end of Vol. II)[5]. Such a large number of his own verses

[1] Ibn al-Faraḍí. One long and several small poems of his in praise of 'Abd al-Rahman III are preserved in the *'Iqd*. See for example edition of 1321, I, 35, II, 307 seq. (= I, 33, II, 286 in ed. of 1305 called B and I, 42, II, 362 in ed. of 1293 called C in the following pages).

[2] Ibn Khallikán. His attacks on the 'Abbásids are referred to by Ibn Sharaf of Qairuwán (d. A.H. 460). See *Rasá'il al-Bulaghá*, p. 251. Cf. Hájí Khalífa (ed. Flügel), IV, 232.

[3] It presumably existed in the time of Ibn Khallikán, *v.* his article on our author.

[4] Some 93 more are to be found in other sources. *Maṭmaḥ* has 27 (pp. 58[16 seq.], 60[18]; repeated by Yáqút, Ibn Khallikán and Maqqarí). *Ṭabaqát al-Umam* of Ibn Ṣá'id has 14 (pp. 64[17], 79[1]) and Ibn Khallikán (p. 33[14]) 2. The *Yatímat al-Dahr* contains about 60 verses not quoted in the *'Iqd*, viz. all the citations in *Yatíma*, I, 360, 361 (except ll. 12–13), 363, and also 434[2] and two half-verses on 425. Tha'álibí had perhaps not seen the *'Iqd*, for he notices the author twice, once as احمد بن عبد ربه (I, 360) and again as احمد بن محمد بن عبد ربه (I, 412) as if they were two persons!

[5] This is an important poem. Even apart from its historical value, it is interesting for the student of Arabic poetry, as it is one of the few narrative poems in the language. The chronicle of events given in the poem is valuable as coming from a contemporary who was living at the court. It differs in several instances from that adopted by Ibn Khaldún and others and supplements the narrative given by the historians (including Dozy).

he introduced into the book in order to show "that the Maghrib too, in spite of its remoteness and though cut off from the centres of Arabic learning, was gifted with poetry as with prose" ('*Iqd*, Introduction to Vol. 1), and he occasionally stops to compare his own verses with those of the best poets of Arabic in the East, sometimes writing in the same metre and rhyme.

He seems to have handled all the usual themes of Arabic poetry, viz. panegyric, elegy, asceticism, love, descriptions, etc., etc.[1] He had also written folk-songs of the type called *muwashshaḥ* (cf. M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht, das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar, 1897, p. 23), after learning the art of writing them from the inventor of the type; Muqaddam b. Mu'áfá al-Faríri or al-Qabrí (Hartmann, *o.c.* p. 71), a poet of the court of the Umaiyad Amír 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad (r. 275-300), but none of these poems of the master and the pupil reached the later generations[2]. Towards the end of his life he wrote certain poems of an ascetic and moral nature which he called *al-Mumaḥḥiṣát* ("the nullifying ones"). By these he sought to nullify the effect of the love poems in the same metre and rhyme, which he had written in his earlier days. For a specimen see *Maṭmaḥ*, 61⁵ (= Yáqút, *Irshád*, 2, 68⁷; cf. 72⁴).

It is said that al-Mutanabbí as a young man[3] heard some verses of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi recited, and exclaimed: "Assuredly 'Iráq will come to thee crawling!" Ibn Khallikán also praises the beauty of his ideas and says that his verses are "well-written" (جيّد)[4].

Judging from the specimens of his verse which have come down to us, he must no doubt have possessed a great deal of technical skill in his art. His verse has a remarkable flow and natural grace, its various parts are well-balanced, his similes are pretty, his rhymes clever. His imitations

[1] Specimens of all these are found in the '*Iqd*.

[2] Cf. Ibn Khaldún, *Muqaddima*, 690.

[3] Al-Mutanabbí died in A.C. 965 and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in 940. The anecdote and the poem are found in *Maṭmaḥ*, 59, Yáqút, 71 and Maqqarí, II, 382. The poem (found in '*Iqd*, III, 147⁷) is ascribed in *Yatíma*, I, 364 to 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'íd al-Murádí. It is possibly placed wrongly through a scribal error.

[4] See also Ibn Sharaf's remarks on Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi as a poet in *Rasá'il al-Bulaghá*, p. 251.

often surpass the originals in beauty of form and in scope. Nor is he devoid of a certain type of humour. But in the range of his ideas he does not on the whole differ very much from his predecessors or contemporaries of the East: his observations are more or less of the same type and exhibit the same characteristics. Any striking originality of ideas is, as a rule, not met with in his pages. In fairness to him, however, it must be said that what we have is only a small fraction of his work and that too, in general, of a fragmentary character.

It was not only as a poet but also as a prose-writer that his countrymen looked upon him as one of their best representatives, if not the best[1]. His title to fame will rest on his great prose compilation, the *'Iqd al-Faríd*[2].

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi as an 'Adíb. *The* 'Iqd.

This work, as is well known, consists of 25 books, each subdivided into two parts, and covers more than a thousand large pages in the printed edition of A.H. 1321 (generally 35 lines to the page). It deals with the whole range of topics with which the student of *'adab* was expected to be acquainted. It is a work of encyclopaedic nature dealing with the Arabian conception of government, war, deputations, proverbs, elegies, genealogies, speeches, geography, history, including the battle-days of the Arabs, music, medicine, witticisms, etc., etc. Each of these topics is subdivided into a large number of headings, under which the author arranges his stores of information. But for the introductory remarks at the beginning of each chapter and occasional observations, the author as a rule has little to say himself. All his energy is concentrated on the selection, sorting and arrangement of the vast materials available to him[3]. These selections[4] were often made from anthologies

[1] Cf. Ibn al-Faradí, *l.c.*; Ibn Hazm quoted by al-Maqqarí, II, 130.

[2] According to Hájí Khalífa, V, 302, no. 11065 he had written another prose work called اللباب فى معرفة العلم و الآداب.

[3] Cf. *'Iqd*, I, 3[2]: و انّما لى فيه تاليف اختيار...وما سواه ماخوذ من افواه العلماء ومأثور عن الحكماء والادباء.

[4] Varying in length from, say, a quarter of a line to several pages.

already existing[1], but, as the author explains, he found that they had grown too numerous, and taken individually were too imperfect, to satisfy the student[2]. Hence he set himself the stupendous task of compiling a book of selections, prose and poetical, which would be truly comprehensive and which would include "most of the ideas used by the scholar and the man of the street, the prince and the plebeian[3]." He laid under tribute the whole mass of Arabic literature, including translations from Greek, Persian, and Sanskrit, and not omitting even the Christian and Jewish writings[4]. In doing this he sometimes transferred to his own pages, with or without alteration, whole chapters and even whole books of other writers usually without acknowledgement[5]. He omitted the 'chain of authorities,' he explains[6], for the sake of brevity and because the utility of what he wanted to communicate did not depend on the authorities who had handed it down.

Whether we accept or reject his explanation, the fact remains that through him have been preserved, wholly or in part, a number of books that are otherwise lost, e.g. Abú Ubaida's book on the Battle-days of the Arabs, which, as al-Qalqashandí (*Ṣubḥ al-'a'shá*, 1, 393) tells us, has for the most part been incorporated in the *'Iqd*; also the *Book of Proverbs* by Abú 'Ubaid. The same is true of certain works of al-'Aṣma'í, Ibn al-Kalbí, Ibn Qutaiba, etc., etc., and

[1] One of these undoubtedly was the *'Uyún al-'Akhbár* of Ibn Qutaiba, as Brockelmann has pointed out, and possibly our author was referring to it when he spoke in his Introd. (1, 3) of the anthology which he found "was not comprehensive" enough. It is also a fact that the plan of the *'Iqd* was suggested by the *'Uyún*, 7 out of its 25 books having the same titles as in the *'Uyún*. But the actual quotations from the *'Uyún* form only a small fraction of the books that are common to both. The first 20 pages of the *'Iqd*, *Kitáb al-Sulṭán*, when compared with the corresponding book of the *'Uyún*, give only about 16°/₀ of matter borrowed from that book.

[2] *'Iqd*, Introd. to Vol. 1. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] There are 4 quotations from the New and 9 from the Old Testament in Vol. 1 alone. On 1, 238 (=B 222, C 292) he quotes an Aramaic sentence in the original.

[5] E.g. the whole of the باب الازارقة, *'Iqd*, 1, 65–67 (=B 61–63, C 80–83) is taken almost *verbatim* from the *Kámil* of al-Mubarrad, pp. 578, 585, 649, 681 and 688. Only in some 40 cases in Vol. 1 does the author name the book which he is quoting. But the name of the author or chief narrator is in many cases appended to the citation.

[6] *'Iqd*, Introd. to Vol. 1.

particularly of the writers quoted in the historical portions of Vols. II and III such as al-Madá'iní, al-'Utbí, al-Riyáshí, al-Zubair b. Bakkár, Ibn Abí Shaiba and others, our author frequently quoting original documents *in extenso.*

Curiously enough the book contains very little from the Spanish authors and poets. The story of the disappointment of the Ṣáḥib Ibn 'Abbád on seeing the book is well known[1]. Similarly al-Tamímí in a letter to Ibn Ḥazm (Maqqarí, I, 109) blames the author for not giving in his book any information about his own native town.

The latest date mentioned in the book, as far as I have noticed, is A.H. 363 (*'Iqd*, III, 49; cf. also II, 169) in connection with the abdication[2] of the 'Abbásid Caliph al-Muṭí', but that must have been the work of a later writer who wished to make this section up-to-date. I think it is significant that the author brings his poem on the wars of 'Abd al-Raḥmán III (end of Vol. II) to a close with the events of 322. In any case, if we accept the usual date of the author's death, viz. 328—which there is nothing serious to challenge—we find that the *'Iqd* was compiled by the author in the later part of his life; at least he was adding to it in his old age. There is a reference to 'Abd al-Raḥmán III as ناصر دين الله in *'Iqd*, I, 35[26] and to his title of امير المؤمنين in II, 308[7]. These titles the prince assumed in A.H. 317 = A.D. 929 (cf. *Spanish Islam*, the tr. by F. G. Stokes of Dozy's famous *Histoire*, p. 423). If further proof were necessary, it is afforded by the author's ripe scholarship and amazingly extensive reading, to which every page of the book bears testimony.

The book was twice abridged in later times, first by Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím b. 'Abd al-Raḥmán al-Wádiyáshí(?) al-Qaisí († A.H. 570) and again by the author of the *Lisán al-'Arab* († A.H. 711)[3]. These abridged editions seem to have been lost. In modern times an abridged edition of the book has been published in Egypt to serve as a school text.

[1] See Yáqút, *o.c.* p. 67.
[2] The date of his death has dropped out from the text.
[3] See *Bughya* 182, 106.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's description of the Ḥaramain.

It is out of the geographical section[1] of the *'Iqd*—a section which is otherwise rather unusually scrappy, brief, and unsystematic—that I have selected the following description of the Ḥaramain or the Two Sanctuaries of Islám. The description is very detailed and full—the fullest available for those centuries, with the exception of Azraqí's. But the special interest of the passage lies in the fact that the author is writing from personal knowledge. There is an incidental reference[2] to an observation of his own relating to the pigeons of the Ḥaram, which shows that he had actually visited[3] the places he was describing. There are also several references in it to places in Cordova which further support this conclusion. We have thus in him a predecessor and a compatriot of Ibn Jubair giving us like him one of the best descriptions of the sacred mosques.

The date of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's pilgrimage must be placed earlier than A.H. 317/929, the year in which the Carmathians removed the Black Stone (they returned it after more than 20 years), for the author describes that stone as if he had seen it. A more definite date it is not possible to fix, but as in 317 the author was about 71, perhaps we should not be far wrong in placing the date in the last quarter of the third century of the Hegira era.

The language used by the author in this description is of considerable philological interest, as it gives us several instances of the usages of words peculiar to the Maghrib. I have therefore added a Vocabulary, mainly to draw attention to the references, for in several instances the dictionaries

[1] According to Yáqút, *o.c.* p. 67 this section came at the end of the book. In the printed edition it forms part of the third book from the end. This is the only instance in which the present arrangement of the book differs from that of the days of Yáqút.

[2] There is very little autobiographical material in the *'Iqd.* On II, 11 seq. he mourns the loss of a highly educated son whose name seems to be Abú Bekr Yaḥyá. There are a number of other minor incidents related, e.g. on I, 82[4].

[3] It is strange that al-Maqqarí does not include him in the 5th chapter of his Introd. in the list of the Spanish-Arabian scholars who had travelled in the East, although he mentions on I, 538 the name of a grandson of our author among them. For the reference in question see *'Iqd*, III, 298[25], B about 281, C 364.

are of no help and the meaning can only be guessed from the context[1]. I have also added a few brief notes, for whatever they are worth[2].

Following these descriptions in the original is a section devoted to the mosque in Jerusalem. Being pressed for space I have omitted that section: moreover Le Strange has already utilized it fully in his *Palestine under the Muslims*.

It need hardly be added that a good plan of the sanctuaries as is given in *Riḥlat al-Ḥijáziyya* of al-Batnúní (often quoted in the following pages as *al-Batnúní*) would be helpful in following the description.

A. *Description of the Sacred Mosque* (of Mecca).

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *'Iqd al-Faríd*, III, 297, 1[3].

The court of the Mosque is big and broad. In length it measures from the *Banú Jumaḥ Gate* to the *Banú Háshim Gate*[4], which latter is opposite to the house of Al-'Abbás b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[5], 404 cubits, and in breadth from the *Ṣafá Gate* to the *Dáru'l-Nadwa*[6] (the Council Chamber), measured along the eastern front of the Ka'ba 304 cubits[7].

[1] In some instances the explanation given is merely tentative.

[2] *Dozy* in the notes stands for his *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*.

[3] Edition of A.H. 1321 = p. 362 of the edition of A.H. 1293 and p. 280 of the edition of 1305.

[4] I.e. from the north-east to south-west (roughly speaking). The name Bábu Baní Jumaḥ seems to have been given up at an early date, e.g. Náṣir Khusrau does not mention it. The quarter of Mecca occupied by the Banú Jumaḥ was the lower and southern part of the valley of Mecca, called al-Masfala (Bekrí, 155[15]). Considerable changes were made in this Gate in A.H. 306-7 (Azraqí, 327 seq.). The Banú Háshim Gate is also called Bábu 'Alí according to Batnúní, p. 98, but it appears from Náṣir Khusrau's *Sefer Nameh* (Paris, 1881, p. 70, bottom) that Bábu 'Alí corresponds with the present Bábu 'l-'Abbás; cf. Azraqí, 324, bottom.

[5] The house of al-'Abbás is located by Azraqí (446) between al-Ṣafá and al-Marwa close to the pillar of al-Mas'á.

[6] Apparently the Bábu 'l-Nadwa is meant and not Dáru 'l-Nadwa, cf. Ibnu 'l-Faqíh (a contemporary author), p. 21[13], and Náṣir, 70[3]. The Dáru 'l-Nadwa is said to have been built by Quṣaiy b. Kiláb and used as a council-chamber by Quraish. Later, it was sold to Mu'áwiya, who converted it into a Government House (Baládhurí, 52). It was in the north-west of the Ka'ba and was demolished in A.H. 281 and changed into a mosque. The site corresponds to the Muṣalla 'l-Ḥanafí to-day (Batnúní, 95).

[7] The area of the mosque is given by Ibn Khurdádhbih (p. 132) as 370 by 315 cubits.

It has three covered galleries surrounding it on all sides (*sic*), opening into each other. They are included in the measurement given above[1]. Their ceiling is gilded and they are supported on columns (297, 5) of white marble numbering 50 counted from east to west along the court, in its length, and 30 in its breadth. The distance between every two columns is about 10 cubits. The total number of columns in the Mosque is 434[2], each column is 10 cubits long and 3 cubits in circumference[3]. Of these, 320 columns have gilded capitals. The whole of the enclosing wall of the Mosque is ornamented with mosaics on the inside[4], and its gates are supported on marble columns varying in number between four, three and two. The number of gates is 23[5]. They have no doors[6] (?). Ascent to them is by means of a number of steps.

Description of the Ka'ba.

(297, 10) The Holy House of God is in the middle of the Mosque. Its height in the time of Abraham (on whom be peace) is said to have been—and God knows best—9 cubits, its length at the base 30 and its breadth 22 cubits, and it had 3 roofs. Then Quraish built it in the Jáhiliyya (pagan times) and though they restricted themselves to the foundations laid by Abraham they raised its height to 18 cubits and diminished its length at the base by 6 cubits and a span[7], which space they excluded towards the Hijr. When Ibnu 'l-Zubair demolished the Ka'ba he restored it to the foundations of Abraham and raised it to the height of 27 cubits. He also opened in it two doors, one to the east for entrance and one to the west for exit. It remained so until

[1] فوقها if referring to سماوتها seems to be redundant; if it goes with ذكرت, the pronoun can only refer to بلاطات.

[2] A contemporary of the author (Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 21[15]) gives the number of columns as 465.

[3] Cf. Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 21[15]; Azraqí, 320[2].

[4] Probably the same mosaics as were brought by Ibnu 'l-Zubair from Ṣan'á, *Murúj*, v, 192.

[5] Cf. Azraqí, 323[18], where the total is given as 23, but his actual total should be 24, as in Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 21[17].

[6] The exact sense of *Ghalaq* is not clear; see Vocabulary. Cf. Gl. Ibn Jubair s.v. Náṣir (p. 70[14]), who visited Mecca more than a century later, found that the Gates, which then numbered 18, had no doors. But the other meaning suggested in the Vocabulary is also possible.

[7] Cf. Azraqí, 104 seq., 115[3,19]; Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 20; *Ma'árif*, 278[1].

he was killed (**297**, 15). When Al-Ḥajjáj gained mastery over Mecca he applied to ʻAbdu ʼl-Malik b. Marwán for permission to demolish that portion which Ibnu ʼl-Zubair had added to the Kaʻba from the Ḥijr. This permission the Caliph granted. So Al-Ḥajjáj restored the building to the foundations of Quraish[1], and closed up the western door, though he did not diminish anything from the height of the building[2].

The measurement of its *southern* side to-day, from the *Aswad corner* to the *Yemenite* is 20 cubits; of its *northern*[3] (*read* الجوفي) side from the *ʻIráq corner* to the *Syrian*—and this is the side which is adjacent to the Ḥijr—21 cubits; of its *eastern* side from the *ʻIráq corner* to the one in which is set the Black Stone, 25 cubits; of its *western* side from the *Yemenite corner* to the *Syrian corner* 25 cubits[4].

(**297**, 20) Running around the whole of the House with the exception of the *Aswad corner* is a plastered structure[5], in height about the length of the forearm[6], and nearly as much broad. It is intended to protect the House from torrents of rain water.

The *door* of the House is to the east and is a man's height from the ground. Its length is 6 cubits and 10 fingers; its breadth 3 cubits and 18 fingers. It is made of teak wood, the thickness of each leaf being 3 fingers[7]. On the outside it is plated with gold[8], on the inside with silver[9]. Each leaf has six cross-pieces and they have two hooks or staples into

[1] Cf. Azraqí, 138 seq.; Ibnu ʼl-Faqíh, 20, middle; Baládhurí, 46 seq.

[2] I.e. the height continued to be 27 cubits; cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih, 133².

[3] Read الجَوْفِيّ for الجنوبي, cf. Ibn Jubair, 190⁴ and note *c*. For this use of الْجَوْف cf. *ʻIqd*, 297³⁴, 298³⁰, 299¹¹. On 300⁷·¹¹ too الْجَوْفِيّة has to be read for الجَنُوبِية, and الجَوف for الجنوب.

[4] Cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih, 132⁴; Ibnu ʼl-Faqíh, 20¹⁶. *Maʻárif* (278⁴) gives the area of the Kaʻba as 490 square cubits.

[5] See Azraqí, 217¹¹; Batnúní, 105³.

[6] More exactly "the bone of the forearm."

[7] Cf. Azraqí, 216. The doors in his time were those that الحجّاج had supplied, *ibid.* 140⁴.

[8] The doors were first plated with gold during the reign of Walíd I, and again during the reign of Muḥammad b. al-Rashíd, Azraqí, 146 seq.

[9] According to Azraqi, p. 144¹¹, before Ibnu ʼl-Zubair's time the Kaʻba had a door of one leaf. He made it of two leaves.

which a golden lock is fixed[1]. Its *hájibs* (?) are all cased with gold plates with the exception of the right one, for the rebel 'Alid[2] removed its gold when he obtained mastery over Mecca, and it has since been left in that condition.

(297, 25) Under the upper lintel is another one covered with gold plate, and the two leaves are behind it, and the lower lintel is covered over with silk brocade down to the ground. The space between the *Aswad corner* and the door is 5 cubits[3] or thereabouts. This is the *Multazam* as is stated on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás.

The *Black Stone* is placed at the height of two blocks of stones from the ground. These stones have been scooped out to insert the Stone, and the third one projects above the other two by two fingers. The Stone is smooth, of banded onyx-like structure, and there is on it an intensely black spot of the size of the bent hand. Its sides are held fast by silver nails[4]. It has cracks and on a part of it is a silver plate which one would take to be a splinter split off from and used for repairing it (297, 30). The blocks of stone of which the Aswad column is made are slightly coarser and bigger than our stones[5].

The House has two *roofs*[6], one above the other, which are pierced with 4 apertures[7], one opposite the other for light. The lower roof is supported on 3 rafters of teak wood[8] ornamented and covered with gold plate. Inside the House, and set in the western wall opposite to the gate at the height of 6 cubits from the floor, is the onyx stone, with black and

[1] Cf. Náṣir, 72, middle.

[2] This is perhaps Ḥusain b. Ḥasan al-Ṭálibí, mentioned by Azraqí on 147, bottom. He obtained mastery over Mecca in A.H. 200. Cf. Ibn Khaldún, *Muqaddima*, p. 309.

[3] Náṣir (72[4]) says it is 4 cubits.

[4] This must relate to the condition of the stone before A.H. 317, the year in which the Carmathians carried it away. The stone was cracked in a fire which had burnt the Ka'ba during the time of Ibnu 'l-Zubair; cf. Azraqí, 140[8].

[5] The significance of 'our stones' is not clear to me.

[6] According to Ibnu 'l-Faqíh (24[21]) the Mosque of Medina too was معتّق, i.e. had a double roof. It appears from the remarks of Burton (I, 207, note 2) that the roof of the Ka'ba is still double as of old.

[7] Cf. Azraqí, 205. Náṣir, 72[22], found them covered with glass.

[8] Cf. Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 20[20]; Náṣir, 72[22]. Cf. Batnúní, 106, bottom, who gives us to understand that the columns which are now to be seen in the Ka'ba are the same old ones.

white bands on it. It is 12 fingers by 12 in size and is encircled by a ring of gold 3 fingers in thickness. It is related that the Prophet (may God bless and save him) kept it in a line with his left eye-brow, when he prayed inside the House[1].

The *Hijr* is to the north of the House and is enclosed from the *'Iráqian* to the *Syrian corner* by a low curved wall of which the extremities are about 2 cubits apart from the adjacent corners (of the Ka'ba), the openings being meant for entrance (**298**, 1) and exit. The distance between the middle of the Ḥijr on the curved wall and the House is about the same as between the two corners (of the Ka'ba)[2]. The height of this wall is half the height of a man. It is cased all over with marble and the interstices are filled with lead. The floor of the Ḥijr is paved with marble and the rain-spout discharges itself into it, the *qibla* of the area being in the direction of the spout.

The *rain-spout* is placed on the wall of the Ka'ba in the middle of it, and projects from it about 4 cubits. Its breadth as well as the height[3] of its sides is 8 fingers and it is covered all over with plates of gold[4]. The plates are fixed (**298**, 5) with nails having golden heads.

The whole of the House is covered (with curtains) with the exception of the Aswad corner, for the *curtain* leaves an opening there up to the height of a man and half as much again. When the annual Pilgrimage approaches, the Ka'ba is covered with the Qabáṭí cloth which is a kind of white silk brocade of Khurásán. That covering is kept on it as long as the people are in a state of *'iḥrám*, but when they quit that state, namely on the Day of Sacrifice, the House quits that state too and (a curtain of) red silk brocade of Khurásán is then put on it. This curtain has circles, wherein are inscribed (formulae in) praise and magnification of God and referring to His Might and Majesty. It remains so covered until the next year; then the covering is removed as I have described. When the coverings become too many and therefore dangerous for the House on account of their weight, some of them are

[1] Cf. Azraqí, 206, top.

[2] I.e. 21 cubits, cf. 297[17]. Ibn Khurdádh. (133[1]) gives the circumference of the Ḥijr as 50 cubits.

[3] في before سعته seems to be an error for و.

[4] Cf. Náṣir, 73[u].

removed and appropriated by the ministers of the House, viz. the Banú Shaiba[1].

(298, 10) An Egyptian has related that he was present when the House was exposed in the year 65 A.H.; he noticed that its cement consisted of saffron and of frankincense, and a narrative has also been related on the authority of a Meccan, who traced it up to the learned doctors of that city through an uninterrupted chain of transmitters, to the effect that they examined the Black Stone at the time when Ibnu 'l-Zubair pulled down the House and extended it. They measured its length and found it to be 3 cubits[2]. They also found it of an intensely white colour[3] except on the external side. Its blackness is said to have been due—and God knows best—to the touches and kisses it has received from the Pagan Arabs and to (their) smearing of it with blood[4].

The *Maqám*[5] is to the east of the House at 27 cubits from it, and the face of him who prays behind it, turning towards the House, is directed to the west and the *‘Iráq* corner is to his right and the door (of the Ka‘ba) (298, 15) and the Black Stone are to his left. According to the report of one who has seen it, it is a stone of irregular shape about a cubit in length and nearly as much in breadth. It has the impression of the foot of Abraham (on whom be peace) of the length of a fore-arm. The Stone is placed on a raised platform lest a torrent of rain-water wash it away[6]. At the annual Pilgrimage it is covered with a perforated iron case[7] to keep the hands off it.

All round the House are (?)[8] large iron pillars of a rect-angular shape. The shafts as well as the capitals of these pillars are gilded, and on them light is made at night for

[1] See Batnúní, 135, middle.

[2] Cf. *Ma‘árif*, 278[2]. The stone is there said to be of the same length as the breadth of the wall of the Ka‘ba, which can be calculated as 3½ cubits in the following manner. The length of the western wall according to our author is 25 cubits from the outside, from the inside it is 18 cubits (Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 20[18]). The breadth of the two adjacent walls is therefore 7 cubits. For other traditions as to the length of the stone, see Azraqí, 151[20] (= Náṣir, 72[2]), 144[10]; Mas‘údí (*al-Tanbíh*), 386[5].

[3] Cf. *Mishkát*, Bk II, ch. IV, pt 2; Azraqí, 151[3].

[4] Azraqí, 153[4], gives a different reason.

[5] Cf. Náṣir, 74[13].

[6] Cf. Azraqí, 275.

[7] Azraqí, 279[7], speaks of a teak-wood case.

[8] Cf. Náṣir, 75[3]. The word after سوار seems to me to be corrupt.

the benefit of those performing the *Ṭawáf* or walk round the Ka'ba. The distance between each column and the House is nearly the same as between the *Maqám* and the House (i.e. 27 cubits).

Zemzem is to the east of the *Aswad* corner at the distance of about 30 cubits from it. It is a wide well, its sides being of stone and (298, 20) the top having a ring of wood. Its roof, which is arched and ornamented with mosaic-work[1], rests on four angles; every one of which is supported on two marble columns under it contiguous to each other. The space between every two angles is closed with wooden balustrades of red wood up to the door which is on the eastern side. Running round the whole of the arched roof is a veranda-like structure (for shade). To the east of Zemzem is a big room, the roof of which is also arched and ornamented with mosaic-work. It is kept locked. Further east is another big room, square (or rectangular) in shape with three vaults, and having a door on each side[2].

The *pigeons* of the Mosque are numerous and so tame that one nearly treads on them. They are of the colour of our domestic pigeons, but stronger. Not one of them sits (298, 25) on the House, or flies over it[3]. Indeed this struck me as strange (and I watched them) and observed that in ascending in their flight just when they were about to fly over the House they dived downwards and reached a point lower than the House, then proceeded on to its right or left[4]. Their dung (*read* ذرقها) is visible on the building in the Mosque with the exception of the Holy House of God, for that is clean, having no trace (of it) in or upon it. And Glory is to Him Who has magnified it (the House) and made it clean and holy, and He is exalted with supreme exaltation.

Between the *Ṣafá Gate*, which is to the south of the House and the Ṣafá, is the thoroughfare which is situated in the bed of the water-course. Beyond the thoroughfare is a wide space occupied by petty merchants. Then one reaches Al-Ṣafá at the foot of the Abú Qubais mountain. It is surrounded by buildings on all sides except the one from which

[1] The mosaics were set in A.H. 220, Azraqí, 301[8].

[2] Cf. Náṣir, 74, bottom.

[3] Cf. Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 19[7]; Batnúní, 146[14] seq.; Burton, II, 175.

[4] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 99[8].

you ascend upon it. The ascent is by means of 3 (**298**, 30) stone steps[1]. Standing on Al-Ṣafá and turning to the north, one sees the House through the Ṣafá Gate. Al-Marwa is towards the east of the Mosque, between east and west[2] (i.e. north) of Ṣafá. This also is surrounded by buildings except in the direction from which one ascends upon it; also excepting part of the upper Al-Quṣúr. Between it (Al-Marwa) and the Holy Mosque is the "Narrow Lane." If one stands on the Marwa and turns to the House opposite to the gap, one sees the water-spout and the adjacent portions of the House.

The distance[3] between Al-Ṣafá and Al-Marwa is the distance between *Bábu 'l-Ṣaná'a*[4] and the *Congregational Mosque*[4] (of Cordova). He who courses between the two (hills) goes on descending from Al-Ṣafá and proceeding towards Al-Marwa at a walking pace through the street, which is the bed of the water-course, with Al-Quṣúr (?) to his right and the Mosque to his left. Then the bed of a water-course (*sic*) comes in front of him; when he descends in it he trots until he comes out of it at the other end.

The street has two green boundary pillars on the two sides of the water-course (**299**, 1), one, which is the first, behind the Ṣafá Gate contiguous to the enclosing wall (of the Ḥaram), the other in front of it, and at a distance from the wall[5]. These pillars have been put up in order that the limit

[1] Cf. Azraqí, 350[11].

[2] With this curious expression cf. *ibid.* 296[22]: و بلاد السند من آخر خراسان ما بين المغرب والمشرق من جهة القبلة.

[3] Azraqí (350[8]) gives this distance as 766½ cubits, and Batnúní (p. 175, note 1) as 420 metres.

[4] One of the gates of the palace at Cordova: see Maqqarí, I, 245[5]. For the Jámi' of Cordova see *ibid.* (Index).

[5] Rather vague. It seems that not very much earlier than the time of our author the first pillar of the *Mas'á* was situated within the minaret at the S.E. corner of the Mosque and the second, "the Green pillar," at the 'Abbás Gate of the Mosque. Opposite each of these, on the other side of the depression, were two more pillars (cf. Azraqí, 394 seq., and Burton, II, 288). Batnúní, 174 (bottom), speaks of two *'alams* 70 metres apart. Apparently the limits of the *Mas'á* have varied at times: cf. *Ma'árif*, 278[3] [where دار (ابن) عبّاد is to be taken as situated opposite to the S.E. minaret (Azraqí, 350[12]) and بئر ابن مطعم as the site later occupied by Dáru 'l-Qawárír (Baldháurí, 50), i.e. between the Bábu 'l-Salám and Bábu 'l-Nabí (Azraqí, 324[7])]. The present limits of the *Mas'á* are Bábu 'l-Baghla to a place near Bábu 'Alí (Batnúní, *l.c.*), that is, much less extensive.

of the valley in which one has to go at a trotting pace may be understood thereby.

Miná is a village in the east of Mecca slightly inclined to the south, outside the Ḥaram (holy) territory, about a league from it. In it there are edifices and watering places. The first thing which one meets on going out of Mecca to it after the Day of Sacrifice in the days of Tashríq is *Jamrat al-'Aqaba*. In Miná there is a mosque bigger than the Congregational Mosque of Cordova. It is called the *Mosque of Khaif*. It has four covered galleries about the *Miḥráb* (the prayer niche) extending breadthwise (299, 5). Its roof is of palm branches and its columns plastered over with gypsum. The pulpit is on the left of the *Miḥráb* and the door from which the Imám goes out is to its right. In the middle of the court of the Mosque is a minaret[1], with a porch running all round it.

Al-Muzdalifa, also called *Al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarám*, is situated between Miná and 'Arafa. It is about two leagues from Miná. Its mosque is plastered over with gypsum, with no structure in it except the surrounding wall, which contains the *Miḥráb*. The door from which the Imám goes out is to the right (i.e. of the *Miḥráb*) and the middle of the court of the Mosque[2]. ... No one dwells in it.

'Arafa is to the east of Miná at two leagues from it. No one lives there (either), nor is in it any edifice except the watering places and the subterranean conduits in which water flows. In its mosque there is no building (299, 10) except the enclosing wall containing the *Miḥráb*. The halting-place of the people on the Day of 'Arafa is at 'Arafa on the mountain and at its foot in its vicinity. The mountain is situated to the north-east of the Mosque, and at the halting-place of the Imám in it flowing water is to be found. The prayer niches of Miná, 'Arafa and Al-Muzdalifa are directed towards the east.

B. *Description of the Mosque of the Prophet* (may God bless him and save him).

Its galleries are in the south running from east to west. Every row of its colonnades has seventeen columns, the space

[1] Cf. Azraqí, 408[6].
[2] There seems to be a gap after المسجد

between each pair being large and wide. The columns in the southern galleries are white, being covered with plaster and very lofty. The remaining columns are of marble. The plastered columns have (299, 15) large square bases and gilt capitals with decorated gilt cornices (?) on which rests the roof. The roof also is decorated and gilded. In the front of the *Miḥráb* and in the middle of the galleries is a gallery which is gilt all over. The galleries from the side of the court are crossed in order to reach the one at the *Miḥráb*, but this gallery cannot be crossed further (to somewhere else). In the gallery adjacent to the *Miḥráb* a great deal of gilding has been done. In the middle of it is the roof of the shape of a huge shield (but) concave like a mother-of-pearl shell. The southern wall of the Mosque has a marble wainscotting on the inside from its base up to a man's height. Joined to this is a convoluted ornamental cordon of marble of the thickness of a finger. Above this is another wainscotting narrower than the first (299, 20), painted with a bright red unguent called *khalúq*; then another like the first one, and containing fourteen gilt and decorated windows running in a line from east to west, of the size of the windows in the Cathedral Mosque of Cordova. Above this is another wainscotting also of marble, containing an azure space (?) on which are inscribed five lines in gold, in thick letters as big as a finger, out of the chapters of the Qur'án called Qiṣár-al-Mufaṣṣal. Above this is another wainscotting like the first, i.e. the lowest, in which there are shields of gold, with decorations. Between each pair is a column from which branch out branches of gold. Above this is another narrow wainscotting of marble, with ornaments. In breadth it is of about the length of the forearm. It has branches and leaves of gold in bold relief: in the middle is a square (or rectangular) (299, 25) mirror said to have been once the property of 'Áyesha'[1] (may God be pleased with her).

The Vault of the Miḥráb. It is of a very large size, and has bands, some gilt, others dark brown and black. Under the vault is a niche (?) of gold, with decorations, under which are octagonal gold plates in which is a piece of onyx stone nailed to the wall, of the size of a baby's head. Lower down, reaching to the ground, is a wainscotting of marble, painted

[1] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 194[10].

with *khalúq*. In it is the peg on which the Prophet (may God bless and save him) supported himself while rising from his prostrations, in the first *Miḥráb*. Such is the tradition—and God knows best. To the right of the *Miḥráb* is a door for the Imám to come in or go out. To the left is another small door in shape like a grating and (299, 30) made firm with cross-pieces of iron. Between these doors is a fine level walk.

The Balustrade (*al-Maqṣúra*)[1]. It extends from the western wall adjoining the Gate to the vestibule (*al-Faṣl*) adjoining the eastern wall. From this vestibule one can ascend to the roof of the Mosque. The balustrade is an ancient structure simply constructed. It is crenellated and has four doors. Outside it, but not far from it and to the right of the *Miḥráb*, is an underground passage[2] to which the descent is by steps which lead to the house of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb (may God be pleased with him).

The Pulpit. It is to the right of the *Miḥráb* at the beginning of the third gallery from the *Miḥráb* within a *Rawḍa* (?) of which the floor is of marble, and which has an enclosure of the same material. It has steps and at its top a board has been nailed so that no one may occupy the place which the Apostle of God (may God bless him, etc.) used to occupy[3] on it. (300, 1) It is simply constructed, without ornament or fineness of workmanship such as is found in the pulpits of these our times. And the palm-tree trunk[4] is in front of the pulpit. To the east of the pulpit is a case with which the seat of the Prophet (may God bless him, etc.) is covered.

The grave of the Prophet (*may God bless him, etc.*). It is to the east of the Mosque at the end of its roofed portion in the south, adjacent to the court. Between it and the eastern wall is a distance of about 10 cubits[5]. It is surrounded by a wall which is nearly 3 cubits lower than the roof. It has six corners and is cased in a wainscot of marble, up to more than a man's (300, 5) height. The surface above this height is plastered with *khalúq*.

[1] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 193[10]; Burton, I, 314, note 1. See also Vocabulary s.v.
[2] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 193[17].
[3] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 192[16].
[4] Cf. *Wafá al-Wafá* of Samhúdí, I, 274 seqq.
[5] The distance in Burton's plan (facing I, 308) is 20 ft.

The Apostle of God (may God bless him, etc.) has said: "Between my grave and my pulpit is a meadow of the meadows of Paradise and my pulpit is at the Gate of the gates of Paradise." At the roof of the Mosque, opposite to the grave, is a portion which is walled in so that nobody may tread over it.

The northern (*read* الجوفية) and western galleries are four in number, opening into each other, some being higher than the others. In their length along the court, from south to north there are eighteen columns. The arches of the Mosque above the courtyard are covered on all sides up to the tops of the columns with carved pieces of wood. The Mosque has three minarets[1], two in the south and one in the east. The walls of the Mosque are all decorated on the inside (**300,** 10) from end to end with marble and gold and mosaic-work. It has eighteen gates[2], of which the lintels are gilded. They are big gates without doors (?); four on the north[3] (*read* الجوف), seven on the east, and seven on the west.

The floor of the court of the Mosque is gravelled[4] and has no mats. The enclosing wall of the Mosque is decorated on the outside with tufa and so are the pointed ornaments with which the walls are surmounted.

It behoves him who enters the Mosque to come first to the *Rawda* (lit. Meadow), about which the Prophet has said that it is a meadow of the meadows of Paradise. He should there perform the prayers of two prostrations, then go to the grave of the Prophet (may God bless him, etc.) from the front (**300,** 15), turn his back to the south (the *Qibla*) and face the grave. He should then bless the Prophet (may God bless, etc.) and Abú Bakr and 'Umar (may God be pleased with them both). He should not cling to the grave[5], for that indeed is an act of the ignorant and is looked upon with disapproval. After doing this he should turn to the south (the *Qibla*) and pray to God as he may, after blessing the Prophet (may God bless him, etc., and make us know him and grant us his intercession with His grace).

[1] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 195[14].

[2] Ibn Jubair, 195[4], makes them 19 gates, as he includes the southern one, which our author has excluded. In the days of Ibn Jubair only 4 doors were left open.

[3] Cf. Ibn Jubair, 195[12].

[4] According to Ibnu 'l-Faqih (24[18]), 'Umar I was the first person to gravel the Mosque.

[5] Cf. Burton, I, 305, bottom.

VOCABULARY

اخذ أُخِذَ *was covered* with (ب), said of the surface of a wall cased with marble, 299[18].

ازر إِزار *wainscot*, 299[18] *seq.*

برج الأَبْرِجة *pigeon-turrets*, 298[24]. حَمام الأَبْرِجة *domestic turtle-doves*, *ibid.* Cf. حَمام بَرّاجي in Dozy s.v. برج.

برطل البُرْطُلة. In the context (298[22]) applied to a structure surrounding the arched roof of a building. Cf. *Lisán*, XIII, 54[4], البُرْطُلة مظَلّة صيفيّة نبطيّة وقد استعملت فى لفظ العربيّة. Cf. Jawáliqí 29[9], with note.

بلط بَلاط *a gallery or portico, a covered nave in a mosque* (Gl. Ibn Jubair), 299[16] *seq.* Called رواق by Náṣir Khusrau. Pl. بلاطات, 297[3] *et passim.*

بيع الباعة (pl. of البائع or البيّع) *hucksters, petty merchants* (Dozy), 298[28].

تبت تابوتٌ *a case* for the protection of a relic, 300[2], 298[17] (in this instance a perforated iron one). Cf. Dozy s.v.

ترس تَرَسةٌ (pl. of تُرْس) ornamental *shields* on a wall, 299[23].

ثخن ثَخين *written in bold characters* (inscription) = غليظ, 299[22].

جهل الجاهليّة coll. *the pagan Arabs*. See Lane s.v.

جوز جوائز apparently *columns* and not *beams* are referred to, though this sense is unsupported, 297[31]. Or possibly the word is a corruption of سَوارٍ, cf. Ibnu 'l-Faqíh, 20[20].

جوف الجَوْف *the north*, 298[30], 299[11], 300[8]. Also جَوْفيّ, 297[31].

حجب حاجِبٌ *piece of wood over the lintel of a door-frame* (Lane). The author speaks of the حواجب of a single door and distinguishes الحاجب الايمن by implication from الحاجب الايسر, 297[24].

حجر حِجْرٌ *an enclosed space, access to which is prohibited to the public* (حِجْرٌ مَحْجور), 300[6].

الحِجْر *an enclosed space to the north of the Ka'ba and included in it*, 297[31] *seq.*

التَّحْجير *a curved wall*, 298[1] *bis.*

حنى حَنايا (*sic leg.*) pl. of حَنيّة, *arches*, 300[6]. See Dozy s.v.

حور المَحار *the mother-of-pearl shell*, 299[18].

خصر مُخْتَصَر *simple, without ornament* (Dozy), 300[1]. Also مختصرة العمل, 299[32].

خلق خَلُوق *an unguent red and yellow in colour* (here used for painting walls of rooms), 299[20,27], 300[5].

مُخَلَّق *painted with khalúq, ibid.*

خمر خَمْرِيّة *brown, dark-brown* (in Maghrib), 299[26]. See Dozy s.v.

درج دَرَجة applied to the *shádhruwán* around the Ka'ba, 297[30]; also to the seat on a pulpit, 299[35].

دقق دِقّة *delicacy* (of workmanship), 300[1].

دور داراتٌ *circles, or spaces surrounded by circular lines*, 298[7], 299[35].

رأس رُؤُس *capitals* of columns, 297[7], 298[18], 299[15].

مَرْؤُسة *having a head* (of nails), 298[5].

ربع مربوع *cut, hewn* of stone (?), 298[15].

رخم رُخامة *a block of marble*, 298[2].

رزن رَوازِنُ (pl. of رَوْزَنٌ or رَوْزَنَةٌ) *holes* or *apertures in the roof*, 297[30].

روض رَوْضةٌ (?), 299[34].

سرب سَرَبٌ *an underground passage*, 299[33]. See Dozy s.v.

سمو سَماءٌ *roof*, 299[17]; pl. سماوات, 299[15].

سَماوةٌ *roof*, 297[4]. See Lane s.v.

سَماويّة *azure, sapphire-blue* (Dozy), 299[21].

شرجب شرجب (*sic leg.*) *balustrade*, 298[21] (Gl. Ibn Jubair).

شطرج مُشَطْرَج *made like a chess-board* (from شِطْرَنْج), i.e. in the form of a grating, 299[20].

شطط شاطّة *tall and beautiful* of columns, 299[11].

شظي شَظِيّة *a splinter* of stone, 297[29]. Cf. Azraqí, 144[8].

صفف صُفّة (?), 299[20,26].

طوق طَوْقٌ a convoluted *cordon* (of marble in the context), 299[19].

ظهر ظَهْرٌ *roof*, 299[31]. Cf. Dozy s.v.

عتب العَتَبة *the upper or lower piece of wood in a doorway*, 297[25].

عرض عوارض the *cross-pieces* of a door, 297[23], 299[30].

مُعَرّضة *lying breadthwise*, 299[4,12].

عرو عُرْوةٌ *the staple* (of a door) *in which the lock is fastened*, 297[23]. Not found in the dictionaries in this sense.

عمد عَمُودٌ *a bar* of lead filling the interstices between two stones in a building, 298^{2}. Cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih, 162^{11} where اعمدة الحديد are spoken of. See also Lane s.v.

غلظ غليظ = ثخين (*q.v.*), of bold letters in an inscription.

غلق غَلَقٌ *a great door* (?), as in Lane s.v., or perhaps, as in Azraqí 216^{pu}, a *fastening* for the door, 297^{9}, 300^{11}. Cf. Gl. Ibn Jubair s.v.

فجو فَجْوَةٌ *space* (here between columns), 299^{13}.

فرج الفُرْجة *gap between houses*, 298^{32}.

فصل الفَصْل *vestibule, ante-chamber*, 299^{31} *bis*. The ordinary word for it is الفصيل, see Dozy s.v. and Násir Khusrau, 8, bottom.

قبط القباطىّ explained by the author as ديباج ابيض خراسانىّ, 298^{6}, though ordinarily applied to fine white linen.

قبل القبلة *South*, $299^{3,12}$, $300^{7,15}$.

القبلى *southern*, 298^{3}, 299^{18}, 300^{3}. هو بقبلى البيت, 298^{28}. See Dozy s.v., and for the development of this meaning of the word, Batnúní, p. 259.

قُبالة *in front*, 299^{16}.

قبو قَبْوٌ *an arched roof*, 298^{21}, 299^{25} *seq.*; pl. أَقْباء, 298^{23}; *of an arched shape*, $298^{20,22}$.

قتر قُتُور (pl. of قُتْرٌ ?) the *sides* of a well, 298^{19}. Cf. *Lisán*, VI, 380^{4}.

قدر مُقَدَّر *grand* (Dozy), 298^{23}, 299^{25}.

قصر المَقْصُورة the *balustrade* in the mosque of Medina, 299^{30} *seq.* Cf. Dozy s.v. and see also p. 433, note 1.

قِصار المُفَصَّل certain *short chapters* of the *Qur'án* (viz. ch. 99 or 93 to the end), 299^{22}.

قعد قَواعد *bases* of columns, 299^{14}.

قوع قاعٌ *ground floor*, 297^{32}, 298^{2}; the *level open court* of a mosque, 300^{11}.

كذن الكَذّان *tufa* (Dozy), 300^{12}. Cf. Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'árif*, 279.

كوي كُوًى (pl. of كُوّة) *windows*, 299^{20}.

لبس لُبِّسَ *was covered, cased* (with marble), said of a wall, 300^{4}.

مُلَبَّس *covered* (with stone, gold plates), said of a wall and a spout, $298^{2,4}$.

لبن لُوبان = لُبان *frankincense, olibanum*, 298^{10}. See Dozy s.v.

لزم لُزِّمَنَ *were held together* (of the sides of a broken stone), 297^{28}.

لفف لَفَّ *was turned* (with على), said of a convoluted cordon at the top of a wainscot, 299[19].

مثل مِثْل *about, nearly*, 298[3], 300[3] *et passim*; *something like*, 298[22].

ملط مِلاطٌ *cement, material with which stones are held together*, 298[10]. Cf. Ibn Khurdádhbih, 162[11].

نبر مِنْبَرٌ *a raised platform for supporting a sacred stone*, 298[16].

نجف نُجُفٌ *cornices* (?), 299[15].

نظم مُنْتَظِم of galleries opening into each other, 297[4], 300[7]. Cf. انتظمه بسهم in *Asás* and Ibn Jubair, 90[7].

نكب مَناكِب *those parts* (of columns) *on which arches rest*, 300[7].

هدم هدم (?), 298[31]. Is it هَدْم *houses, walls, trees thrown down*?

همم هَمَّ (it) *caused* (some one) *anxiety*; *struck* (some one) *as strange* and made him observe it carefully, 298[25].

وسط مُوَسَّط *middle*, 298[1].

مُواسطة *in the middle*, 299[16].

MUHAMMAD SHAFÍ'.

QATÂDAH'S POLICY OF SPLENDID ISOLATION OF THE ḤIJÂZ.

The declaration, issued by Sherîf al-Ḥuseyn ibn 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-al-Mu'în (June 1916), of his independence from his Turkish sovereign, his assumption of the title of "King of the Ḥijâz" or "King of the lands of the Arabs," rumours current about his aspiration after the Khalîfate of Islam, the fact that councils said to represent the populations of Syria and of Mesopotamia elected the sons of al-Ḥuseyn, Fayṣal and 'Abdallah, as kings of those countries—all these circumstances roused an uncommon interest in the Holy Land of Arabia and the Sherifate of Meccah, generally objects of little attention and gross misconceptions in Europe, and even in many Muhammedan countries.

Al-Ḥuseyn is the 36th lineal descendant of the Prophet's daughter Fâṭimah, whose offspring is counted by hundreds of thousands. His 20th ancestor, Qatâdah, was the first member of this branch of the Holy Family who took possession of Meccah in one of the first years of the 13th century, whereas other branches of the 'Alid house had disputed with each other for authority over the Sacred Town (*i.e.* the monopoly of unscrupulous exploitation of its sanctuaries) down from the middle of the 10th century.

More than ninety "sons of Qatâdah" ruled Meccah and so much as variable fortune allowed them of the rest of Western Arabia between 1200 and 1920 A.D. Even Muhammedans, accustomed though they are to obey unjust governments, would not have acquiesced in the tyranny of these "lords of Meccah" but for the bigoted respect paid to the blood of the Prophet.

Al-Ḥuseyn, who endeavoured until 1914 to defend the Ottoman interests against rebels in Arabia, owed to the Great War an opportunity of shaking off the Turkish yoke. At once he became conscious of his duty to do away with the intolerable heresies of the Young-Turks, the men of "Union et Progrès," in whose hands the so-called Khalif of Islam

had become a mere tool since the year 1908. For himself al-Ḥuseyn claimed no higher title than that of "Deliverer (*munqiḏ*) of the Arabs," including the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia as well as those of the Arabian Peninsula, leaving it to the Arabs, and in general to the Muslims, to draw whatever consequences they might wish from the benefits which he bestowed upon them.

However this may be, al-Ḥuseyn widened the scope of the Sherîfate far beyond Meccah or even the Ḥijâz. For seven centuries the Benî Qatâdah spent their lives in a rarely interrupted mutual struggle for the lion's share of the sacred booty granted them, in their opinion, by Allah, without aiming at any influence on the course of events in the Muhammedan world at large. Nobody can predict whether the pan-arabic or pan-islamic policy of al-Ḥuseyn will prove a blessing or a disgrace to his family. The founder of the dynasty, Qatâdah himself, would hardly have approved of such experiments.

All Muslim historians agree in describing Qatâdah as a gallant warrior, a despotic ruler, who feared Allah a little and cared for no one else in heaven or on earth, and a poet of some merit. Some authors say expressly that he did not care for the Khalif, pretending to have by birth more serious claims to the Khalifate than the Abbasid an-Nâṣir, practically a powerless instrument in the hands of soldiers of inferior descent. But this was mainly an expression of proud contempt, not involving any political pretension. It had no more serious meaning than epithets like that of *amîr al-mu'minîn*, *sulṭân al-warâ*, *khalîfat al-islâm*, etc., liberally dispensed to ruling Sherîfs by their court-poets, who lived at their cost.

There is one poem of Qatâdah consisting of five verses, quoted partly or completely in a great number of annals and other works, in which he expressly professes his principle of political isolation. The fact that induced Qatâdah to make this poetical declaration is differently related. In any case it was his answer to an urgent invitation of the Khalîf to come and visit Bagdad, an invitation said to have had some connexion with rude acts of violence committed by the Sherîfs and their slave soldiers against the pilgrims of Irâq and their escort, commanded by a high-commissioner of the Khalîf.

The text of the poem given here is mainly that of the *Manâ'iḥ al-Karam*, a history of Meccah written 1684 A.D. by as-Sinjârî, of which I brought the first and, as far as I know, hitherto unique copy to Europe[1]. The copy is far from being correct, but as-Sinjârî represents the genuine Meccan tradition, and therefore his readings are preferable to those related by authors living outside Arabia, even when these may be deemed more elegant.

The same text as as-Sinjârî's occurs in the *Khulâṣat al-kalâm* = *Khul.* by Aḥmad Zênî Daḥlân (Cairo, 1305 H., p. 23) and, with slight variants, in the *'Umdat aṭ-ṭâlib* = *'Umd.* (2nd ed. Bombay, 1308 H., p. 121). In the footnotes I give some variants from the *Ta'rîkh* of Ibn Khaldûn = *I.Kh.* (Bûlâq, 1284 H., vol. IV, p. 105), from Ibn al-Athîr, ed. Tornberg = *I.A.* (vol. XII, p. 263) and from Abu'l-fidâ = *A.F.* (ed. Constantinople, 1286 H., vol. II, p. 137). These three historians quote the verses 2–5 only.

1 بلادى وإن جارت علىّ عزيزة   ولو أنّنى أعرى بها وأجوع
2 ولى كفّ ضرغام اذا ما بسطتها   بها أشترى يوم الوغى وأبيع
3 معوّدة لثمْ الملوك لظهرها   وفى بطنها للمجدبين ربيع
4 أأتركها تحت الرهان وأبتغى   بها بدلاً إنّى اذًا لرقيع
5 وما انا الّا المسك فى ارض غيركم   أضوع وأمّا عندكم فأضيع

Variants.

Vs. 1. '*Umd.* ولو جارت, but in marg. وإن. إننى so in '*Umd.* and *Khul.*; *Manâ'iḥ*: إنى.

Vs. 2. I.Kh. أذلّ بببسطها and وأشرى بها عز الورى;
I.A. أذلّ ببطشها ... وأشري بها بين الورى وأبيع;
A.F. أصول ببطشها and the rest as in I.A.

Vs. 3. I.Kh. تظلّ ملوك الارض تلثم ظهرها; I.A. the same with تظن and the 2nd hemistich: وفى وسطها للمجذبين ربيع.

Vs. 4. '*Umd.* لاتركها and لها مخرجًا instead of بها بدلاً I.A. and A.F. أأجعلها تحت الرحا ثم أبتغى خلاصا لها...; I.Kh. the same with الرجا instead of الرحا. I.Kh. لوضيع instead of لرقيع.

Vs. 5. Instead of فى ارض غيركم I.Kh. has فى كل بقعة, A.F. and I.A. فى كل بلدة.

[1] See my *Mekka*, Volume I, preface p. xv.

1. My own country is most dear to me, however ungrateful it may be, even if I should be left naked and hungry in it.

2. My hand, when I stretch it out, is like a lion's paw, with which I am doing my business on the day of battle;

3. „Kings are used to kissing its back, while the inside offers a spring [of benefaction] to people starving from famine.

4. Am I to leave it to chance and to try to get a substitute in its stead? I were a fool indeed, if I did!

5. I am like musk, able to spread its perfume outside your dominion only, but with you I should lose all my strength.

The author of the *Manâ'iḥ*, as-Sinjârî, points to the fact that these verses are not in the full sense a product of Qatâdah's genius, the Sherîf having imitated the model of an ancient poet, quoted in an anecdote occurring in Ibn al-Jauzî's *Kitâb al-Adkiyâ'* and running as follows: Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣîb summoned one of his managers of landed property, suspected of fraud, intending to put him into prison. The dishonest trustee was warned and fled, whereupon Ibn Khaṣîb tried to catch him by means of friendly letters, swearing to him that there was no need whatever of fear and inviting him urgently to come back. The suspected one sent him in answer three verses, quoted by him, if as-Sinjârî is right, from a poet of older times. This story is given indeed, almost in the same wording as the *Manâ'iḥ* has it, in the Cairo edition of the *Kitâb al-Adkiyâ'* (1304 H., p. 48). The verses follow here according to the text of the *Manâ'iḥ*, with a couple of variants from the Cairo edition (C.):

1 إنى لك عبد سامع ومطيع وإنى لما تهوى اليه سريع
2 ولكنّ لى كفّا اعيش بفضلها فما أشترى الّا بها وأبيع
3 أأجعلها تحت الرحا ثم ابتغى بها بدلا إنى اذا لرقيع

Variants.

Vs. 1. C. اليك instead of اليه. Vs. 3. C. خلاصا لها instead of بها بدلا.

As-Sinjârî relates two different statements as to what happened between the Khalîf an-Nâṣir and the Sherîf Qatâdah: one derived from a work called التحفة السنيّة and ascribed to السيد الميورقى, the other from 'Abd al-Qâdir aṭ-Ṭabarî's نشأة السلافة. The title of the latter is given elsewhere as نشوة السلافة من نشاة الخلافة, but I have found no copies of it mentioned as existing in libraries. Al-Mayûrqî and his Tuḥfah are not known to me even by name except from the *Manâ'iḥ*, which makes a frequent use of both these historical works.

According to as-Sayyid al-Mayûrqî, Qatâdah proceeded to Nejef on his way to Bagdad, but changed his mind when he saw, in the stately procession sent by the Khalîf to meet him, a lion in chains. "I do not want," he said, "to enter a country, where lions are kept in chains," and he returned to Meccah without delay, reciting the verses quoted afterwards by most writers who devote a couple of pages to his memory.

In 'Abd al-Qâdir aṭ-Ṭabarî's version Qatâdah never intended to comply with the invitation of the Khalîf. A year after the ill-treatment of the Irâq pilgrims' caravan by Qatâdah's troops, the amîr of the ḥajj (of 619 A.H.) brought rich presents in money and precious garments from the Khalîf to the Sherîf, pretending that the Khalîf felt no anger against him and ascribing the disorder of last year to irresponsible Sherîfs and slaves. At the same time he urgently enjoined Qatâdah to visit the Khalîf, the intimacy of their mutual relations requiring such politeness, and nothing adding so much to a man's glory in this world and in the other as kissing the threshold of the Lord of the Believers. Qatâdah asked for a short delay in order to consider what he should answer. He called his nearest relations together, explained to them the deceitful character of the amîr's speech and continued thus: "O you sons of the Glorious Lady (Fâṭimah)! Your glory until the world's end is in your being neighbours of this Building (the Ka'bah) and in your living together in its valley. Take a firm resolution from this day not to commit any mischief against those people, then they will pay respect to you from temporal and eternal motives without being able to seduce you by their wealth or their numbers[1], *for Allah has granted security to you and your country by its isolation and by making its access impossible save with the utmost exertion.*"

Let this speech be historical or fictitious, in any case it is a valuable complement to Qatâdah's poem. Both together

[1] The sentence "take...numbers" is an attempt at translation of an inaccurately related text, known to us through as-Sinjârî alone. If once we get a copy of aṭ-Ṭabarî's book, we may be able to reproduce the remarkable speech of Qatâdah more exactly. The dubious sentence as given in the *Manâ'iḥ* is:

واعتمدوا بعد اليوم ان تعاملوا هاولاء بالشر يرهبوكم من طريق الدنيا
والاخرة ولا يرغبونكم بالاموال والعدد

most clearly depict the attitude of the Sherîfate of Meccah towards the rest of the Muhammedan world from Qatâdah's time down to the 20th century.

Qatâdah's advice not to commit any more acts of violence against the pilgrims protected by plenipotentiaries of the Khalîf was continuously neglected, but the other part of his political testament, his warning against meddling with the world outside the Ḥijâz and his injunction to put full confidence in the protection of the power of his family in this country, rendered inhospitable by Heaven and by nature, was recognized by all his descendants as the leading principle of the politics of his house and was strictly observed by them until the day of the foundation of the "Hâshimite dynasty"—so the adherents of al-Ḥuseyn ibn 'Alî like to call it—the very name of which recalls the memory of the glorious beginning of the Abbasid Khalîfate, and which made its entrance into the international world by sending a deputy to the Peace Conference.

C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE.

LEIDEN, *July* 1920.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL JOTTINGS

This brief glossary is composed of a number of lexicographical notes which supplement in different ways the information available in the existing Arabic dictionaries. Naturally the explanations given are in some cases only tentative. In the absence of definite statements by lexicographers or others and in default of the help of analogy the meaning of a word can only be inferred from its context. If the word is known only from a single passage, it may be impossible to ascertain its precise signification, since more than one meaning may be appropriate. If several passages can be compared there is an increased probability, though of course no certainty, of reaching a definite conclusion.

With regard to the abbreviated titles of books, it will, I hope, be sufficient to state that *Adhkiyā'* = *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā'* by Ibn al-Jauzī (Cairo, 1304), *Bayān* = *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn* by al-Jāḥiẓ (Cairo, 1332), *Faraj* = *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* by al-Tanūkhī (Cairo, A.D. 1903–4), *Ḥayawān* = *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* by al-Jāḥiẓ (Cairo, 1325), Iyās = *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* by Ibn Iyās (Būlāq, 1311–14), *Muḥabbar* = *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb (British Museum MS), *Rasā'il* = *Majmū'at Rasā'il* by al-Jāḥiẓ (Cairo, 1324). *Tuḥfat al-majālis* is the work of al-Suyūṭī published at Cairo in 1326. *Mufīd al-'ulūm* is the work which was described by Brockelmann in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. 1, p. 499, and which was published at Cairo in 1323/1906.

إِذَا. Modern Arabic writers use this word in the sense of "whether" in indirect questions: e.g. *al-Bayān* (the Cairo periodical), December 1917, p. 17[18]:

فاجترأت على أن أسأله اذا كانتْ هىَ السلالم التى كان عليها النزاع من قبل فكان جواب الحفيظ اجل هى بعينها

Sirr al-najāḥ (Dr. Y. Ṣarrūf's translation of Smiles's *Self-Help*, pub. Beyrout, 1884), p. 210:

وهم يجهلون اذا كانت البلاد باقية فى حوزة دولتهم او تحررت

(in the English original "and not knowing whether India was lost or held"). The particle إِنْ is similarly used: cf. al-Batanūnī's *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāziyah* (2nd ed. Cairo, 1329), 106, 4 a. f.:

وقد ذكر انه كان بالكعبة قبل الاسلام ستة أعمدة ولا ادرى ان كانت من البناء او من الخشب

European influence (cf. French *si*, English *if*) may be responsible, at least in part, for the currency of this usage at the present day, but it is noteworthy that, as Dr R. A. Nicholson has pointed out, اذا appears to be used in this sense in the *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 225[18]:

سُيل الجنيد رحمه الله تعالى اذا ذهب اسم العبد وثبت حُكْم الله تعالى قال الخ

If the indirect question is governed by a preposition, the word ما is inserted between the preposition and إذا, e.g. *Sirr taqaddum al-Inkilīz al-Saksūnīyīn* (translation of *À quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* by Ed. Demolins, Cairo, 1329), p. 44:

الفصل الاوّل فيما اذا كان نظام التعليم بالمدارس الفرنساوية يربى رجالًا

الله. The expression اخ فى الله (cf. Ṭabari glossary s.v. فى) occurs in *Muwashshā* (Cairo, 1324), 12[1]:

اعيانى شيآن اخ فى الله ودرهم حلال

cf. *ibid.* 16[5]: واعلم ان خير الاخوان من كانت اخوته ومحبته فى الله ولم تكن خُلته ولا مؤاخاته لطمع قليل ولا لغرض عاجل

الى. إِلَى أَنْ "by the time that," "before," e.g. *Bayān*, I 58[4]:

قال لها كيف سمعت كلامى قالت ما احسنه لولا انك تكثر ترداده فقال اردده حتى يفهمه من لم يفهمه قالت الى ان يفهمه من لم يفهمه قد ملّه مَنْ فَهِمَه

Faraj, I 153[20]: A man who has spent a sum of money entrusted to him by a Khurāsānī about to start on a pilgrimage says:

اضمن هذا المال للخراسانى فالى ان يجىء ياتى الله بفرج من عنده

ibid. II 72[20]:

فاخذ بيده فصا من فصوص النرد فرفعه وقال الى ان يسقط هذا من يدى الى الارض تكون قد حدثت امور

Adab al-dunyā wa'l-dīn (Cairo, 1328), 146[11]:

وقالوا يعود الماء فى النهر بعد ما عفت منه آثار وجفت مشارعه فقلت الى ان يرجع الماء عائدا ويعشب شطاه تموت ضفادعه

برطخ. مُبَرْطِخ [spelt with *khā'* in the *Kitāb al-Ishārah*, vid. infra]. Von Kremer in his *Beiträge zur arabischen Lexikographie* mentions the word مُبَرْطِح [with *ḥa'* not *khā'*], which he translates "Betrüger, Schwindler," and gives a reference to *Mustaṭraf* (Cairo, 1268), II 56[13]. The procedure of a swindler of this type is described in the *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā maḥāsin al-tijārah*, p. 54, 6 a. f. (see Dr H. Ritter's translation in *Der Islām*, Bd. VII (1916), pp. 1–91).

بعض. V denom. from بَعوض, "to be troubled by mosquitoes," *Ḥayawān*, V 120[8].

بنى. بناء "masonry," "stonework," *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, 106, 4 a. f. (cited supra s.v. اذا), 105[3].

بَيْسَرىّ. The *Lisān al-'Arab* (V 124[16]) explains the word بيسرى as follows:

والبَيَاسِرَةُ قَوْمٌ بالسِّنْدِ وقيل جيلٌ من السند يؤاجرون انفسهم من اهل السفن لحرب عدوهم ورجل بَيْسَرِىٌّ

The explanation of the *Tāj al-'arūs* is practically the same. In *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*, II 129[15], we read as follows:

قال لى رجل من بعض بياسرة الهند والبيسر هو المولود على ملة الاسلام هناك ...

Finally we have a passage in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Vol. I, p. 71 penult.:—من [prob. a corruption of البيسرى] ورأينا اليسرى الناس وهو الذى يخلق من بين البيض والهند لا يخرج ذلك النتاج على مقدار ضخم الابوين وقوتهما ... وهم يسمون الماء اذا خالطته الملوحة يَسرا [? بيسرا read] قبليًّا على ذلك

Perhaps it may not be too hazardous to infer from these passages that the word was a term applied to the offspring of mixed marriages between Muhammadan sailors, settlers etc. and Indian women. There is a possibility that it may be connected with the Hindi word *bēsar*, "a mule."

ثبت. II "to train," *Ḥayawān*, V 66[8]:

وقد يدرب العصفور ويثبت فيستجيب من المكان البعيد ويثبت ويدجن فهو مما يثبت ويعايش الناس من تلقاء نفسه مرة وبالتثبيت مرة

جدر. قطع جادرته "to extirpate," Iyās, III 95 ult.:

وقيل هو الذى حسّن لابن عثمان ان يدخل مصر ويملكها ويقطع جادرة الچراكسة من"مصر, II 5[14], 28, 2 a.f.

In II 8, 4 a. f. we have وهو الذى مهد البلاد الشامية والحلبية وقطع جدر تلك النواب العصاة

جلل. V c. acc. pers. "to attack," "to overcome" (of fits of fainting, disease etc.) as also تجلّى, *Murūj al-dhahab*, I 220:

ثم اقتحمه فتجللته غشية

(cf. the parallel passage, *Aghānī*, XV 12[5]:

(ثم اكله فتجلته" غشية

Jamharat ash'ār al-'Arab (Cairo, 1330), 219[14]:

...كانما تجللها من نافض الورد افكل

(cf. *Muwashshā*, 20[9]:

(اذا غاب هذا ساعة عن خليله تجلاه يوما عند فرقته كرب

حجب. حُجوبية "the office of chamberlain" (حاجب), Iyās, II 60[10], 95[26], 190[22], III 73 penult. etc.

حجر. مَحْجرة, see s.v. حوزة.

حشو. حَشْوٌ. This word is applied to various things which are placed between two other things and fill up the whole or part of the intervening space. In *Hayawān*, V 122[19], it is used of the medial legs of a locust:

وكذلك قوائم الجرادة هى ست يدان ورجلان والحشوان وبهما تعتمد اذا تدب

حظظ. حظ نفس "ill-feeling," "grudge," Iyās, III 49[6]:

وكان اهل حلب بينهم وبين المماليك السلطانية حظ نفس من حين توجهوا...الى حلب...فنزلوا فى بيوت اهل حلب غصبا وفسقوا فى نسائهم واولادهم

ibid. 75[14], 79, 5 a. f., I 138[18], 205, 3 a. f., 228[9], II 37[12]. The plural حظوظ النفس occurs in Iyās, I 119[15].

حمس. Von Kremer (*Beiträge*, p. 44) gives

"حَمَاسَة, Fehde, Kampf. Aghâny, XVI, 49, Z. 9.

فقد كانت بينهم حماسات فى الجاهليّة"

In this passage, however, حماسات is probably a corruption of خُماشات (see Lane s.v. and compare Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-Waṣāyā* (Cambridge MS), fol. 79 a:

ولا يعلمنّ بمدفنى بكر بن وائل فانى كنت اغاورهم فى الجاهلية وكانت بينى وبينهم خُماشاتٌ

حوز. حَوْزَةً منه "aside, apart, at some distance, from him" (like ناحيةً منه and حَاْجِرَةً منه; cf. Lane and, for the latter, *Faraj*, II 185, 3 a. f., 188[3,11]), *Muḥabbar*, 79 a[4]:

فذبحها قرانٌ والنمرُ ينظر حوزةً منه

خبث. IV اخبث نفسه "he disheartened him," *Muḥāḍarat ul-abrār* (Cairo, 1324), II 230[5]:

كرهت انى اخبث انفسكم وافشلكم عن قتال عدوكم

خرج. خارجًا عن "apart from," "not to mention," Iyās, III 48[16]:

فاحتوى على وطاق خمسة عشر اميرا مقدمى الوف خارجا عن امراء الطبلخانات والعشروات

ibid. 50[15], 101[17] etc.

خلف. IV اخلف السيف. The tradition mentioned by Lane will be found in Ibn Hishām, 449[5]. Lane's translation should be deleted, since the context shows that اخلف السيف has the same meaning as اخلف بيده الى السيف.

خَليفتىّ. This irregularly formed *nisbah* occurs in *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, VII 126[13]:

الابواب الشريفة الخليفتية

Iyās, III 27[16]:

ولم يكن على رأسه صنجق خليفتى

دَرْبَنْد. (Persian) "a pass." *Abū 'l-Fidā'* (Cairo, 1325), IV 3, 5 a. f.:

وكان صاحب سيس اذذاك ... قد حصن الدربندات بالرجالة

دهر. V denom. from دَهْرِىّ, "to become an atheist," Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, 130[2].

ربب. رُبَّ. The statement that رُبَّ is always followed by a verb in the perfect (cf. Wright, II 214 B, Reckendorf, 144) needs modification, since sentences of the type رُبَّ عَجَلَةٍ تَهَبُ رَيْثًا are not very rare (several instances will be found in the section of Maidānī containing proverbs beginning with the letter *rā'*).

رسل. مُرْسَلٌ "simple," "not compound," *Ḥayawān*, V 33[1]:

وليس فى العالم جسم صرف غير ممزوج ومُرسل غير مركب

رقد. IV "to cause to lie down," like أنام, *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān*, 126[9]:

فنزل عن حماره واخذ بيده بعض ركبداريته وارقده وشق بطنه بيده واخرج امعاءه

ركب. خَلْقٌ مُرَكَّبٌ "a hybrid," *Ḥayawān*, I 65, 66, 105[3].

ركض. رَكّاض "a travelling merchant," *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā maḥāsin al-tijārah* (see supra s.v. مبرطخ), 40[4], 51[7].

روباس. Cf. Dozy s.v. روباص. *Kitāb al-Ishārah*, 8[6]:

فاما الفضة فان المحك الاعظم فيها سبك الروباس وهو الريح المعكوس

(See Dr H. Ritter's translation in *Der Islām*, Bd. VII (1916), p. 52.)

زجو. II c. acc. "to carry on," "continue," *Dalā'il al-i'jāz* (Cairo, 1331), 134[3]:

فاذا قلت زيد هو ذا ينطلق فقد زعمت ان الانطلاق يقع منه جزءا فجزءا وجعلته يزاوله ويزجيه

سكك. سكّة "the inscription on a coin," *Adhkiyā'*, 52[1]:

فاخذ القاضى الدراهم وقرأ سككها فاذا هى دراهم منها ما قد ضرب منذ سنتين

سلم. سلامة النية "simplicity," "ingenuousness," "guilelessness." Yaḥyā b. 'Adī in his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (Cairo, 1913), p. 27, gives the following definition:

ومنها سلامة النية وهو اعتقاد الخير من جميع الناس وتنكب الخبث والغيلة والمكر والخديعة

سلامة by itself is also used in this sense, e.g. *Ḥayawān*, I 48, 3 a.f.:

وكان لغلبة السلامة عليه يتوهم عليه الغفلة

ibid. 100[13]:

الا ترى ان فيه طبائع الفطنة والغباوة والسلامة والنكر

شىء. بَعْضَ الشىء "to some extent, somewhat," Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (ed. Quatremère), *Notices et Extraits*, XVII i 346[3]:

حتى اذا تقلص ظل الدولة الموحدية بعض الشىء

ibid. 334[13].

صبر. I This verb is frequently followed by ل in the same sense as على, e.g. Hishām, 17[12]: وامروهم بالصبر لها فصبروا لها, *Naqā'iḍ*, 666[2], *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrānīyah*, 173 penult., etc.

صبغ. صَبيغة "a red إزار," Buḥturī, *Dīwān* (Constantinople, 1300), I 109[2]:

والمنايا مواثل وانوشر وان يزجى الصفوف تحت الدرفس

فى اخضرار من اللباس على اصـــفر يختال فى صبيغة ورس

Faraj, II 89[9]:

فاخذت رأس السبع وحملته والرجل وحصلتهما فى صبيغة كانت علىّ والصبيغة ازار احمر يتشح به العرب فى تلك الناحية

صفح. v *Irshād al-arīb*, I 280[12]: ولى التصفح فى ديوان الرسائل i.e. the duty of examining and correcting the letters drafted by the كُتّاب, cf. *Ṣubḥ-al-a'shā*, I 113.

طاعويس in *Ḥayawān*, I 85[2], is a corruption of τίγρις, since it is the tiger that, according to Aristotle, is one of the parents of the Indian dog.

طشت is used of earthenware as well as of metal vessels, e.g. *Tuḥfat al-majālis*, 144[2]:

واحضر لى قدحا جديدا وفاكهة وانقالا مختلفة فى طشوت من فخار

عرض. دَعْوَى عَرِيضَةٌ "a wide, a far-reaching, claim," Iyās, III 83, 6 a. f.:

وفيه اشيع بين الناس ما فى مطالعة ابن عثمان من هذه الدعاوى العريضة

Dalā'il al-i'jāz, 106[10]:

ويكون الكلام فى الاول مع منْ هو اشد اعجابًا بنفسه واعرض دعوى فى انه يحسن

Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (ed. Quatremère), *Notices et Extraits*, XVI i 38[15]:

فان ادّعاء هذا النسب الكريم دعوى شرف عريضة (*sic lege*) على الامم والاجيال من اهل الآفاق

علو. عَلَى. Noteworthy is the use of this preposition in *al-Imāmah wa'l-siyāsah* (Cairo, 1325), II 168[15]:

قال له يا اخا همدان اخبرنى عن خليفة اسمه على عين قتل ثلاثة اسماؤهم على عين فقال الهمدانى نعم يا امير المؤمنين عبد الملك بن مروان قتل عمرو بن سعيد الاشدق اسمه على عين وعبد الله بن الزبير وعبد الرحمن بن محمد الاشعث

عيش. v "to enjoy oneself," "to lead a pleasant life," Ibn al-Muqaffa', *al-Adab al-kabīr* (Cairo, 1331), 23[7]:

لا عيب على الملك فى تعيشه وتنعمه ولعبه ولهوه

عين. The plural عيون is sometimes used of the eyes of a single person, e.g. Baihaqī, *Maḥāsin* (ed. Schwally), 645[13]:

دخل ابو دُلامة على المهدىّ فسلّم ثم قعد وارخى عيونه بالبكاء

Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa'l-naẓā'ir*, I 2[10]:

طال ما اسهرت فى تتبع شواردها عيونى

بعين فلان "in the presence of," *Muḥabbar*, 76 b ult.: وذلك بعين ثمامة, *Adhkiyā'*, 52[16]:

قال ما سلم الى شيئا فقال للطالب هل لك بينة قال لا قال ولا سلمتها اليه بعين احد قال لا لم يكن هناك الا الله عز وجل

غور. IV c. على "to plagiarise." *Yatīmat al-dahr*, I 92[10]:

وقال ابو الطيب وهو ايضا من قلائده

لبسن الوشى لا متجملات ولكن كى يصن به الجمالا

اغار عليه الصاحب لفظا ومعنى فقال

لبسن برود الوشى لا لتجمل ولكن لصون الحسن بين برود

Jumaḥī, *Tabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, 147[21], *Irshād al-arīb*, VI 474[1], Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, 231[12].

فضل. فَضْلٌ in the sense of فضل قوة (cf. *Faraj*, II 75, 8 a. f.), *Faraj*, II 134, 8 a. f.:

فقلت انا عليل كما ترى ولا فضل فىّ للسفر

ibid. 179[9].

فور. فَوْرًا "immediately," "at once" (like على الفور and فى الفور which Dozy mentions), *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* (ed. van den Berg), 318, *Kashf al-mukhabba'* (by Aḥmad Fāris, Constantinople ed.), 204.

قسم. I قسم الى "to divide into" (cf. Dozy) is common. قسم ب occurs in the same sense, *Nithār al-azhār* (Constantinople, 1298), 145[6]:

قدماء الفلاسفة قسمت الفلك الثامن ذا الكواكب الثابتة باثنى عشر قسما

ibid. 145[9].

قطع. قطعة = همزة, *Kitāb al-imlā'* (by Ḥusain Wālī, Cairo, 1322), 151 penult.:

ومنهم من كتبها [i.e. the word مائة] بألف فوقها القطعة مستغنيا عن الياء

ibid. 141[4], 239[9].

ك. Instances of the uncommon use of ك with the pronouns are كأنا, *Muwashshā* (Cairo), 124 ult., كأنتم, Ibn Hishām, 681[4], كهم *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā maḥāsin al-tijārah*, 65, 5 a. f.

كتب. I c. على pers. "to learn the art of writing from," *Irshād al-arīb*, III 156[14].

c. مع pers. "to send a letter by the hand of," Ya'qūbī, I 177[1], Bundārī, *Hist. of Saljūqs* (Cairo, 1318), 35 ult.

VIII "to enlist," *Ḥayawān*, I 94[11]:

وآخر يلهج بشهوة القتال حتى يكتتب مع الجند

كلل. كُلَّما. No grammarian or lexicographer, so far as I know, has recorded the use of كُلَّما to introduce sentences which in English would begin with "the more," "the less," etc. [Latin Quo...eo]. Dr Paul Schwarz in his pamphlet entitled *Zum Verständnis des Maḳrīzī* (Leipzig u. Berlin, 1913), pp 5–6, drew attention to this fairly common usage, and his remarks need only to be supplemented by references to a number of other, including some earlier, instances [cf. op. cit. 5[22]: "Nach einem wahrscheinlich jüngeren Sprachgebrauch, den ich erst für das vierte Jahrhundert d. H. belegen kann, entspricht كُلَّما unserem deutschen 'je mehr'..."]. These instances are as follows:—*Bayān*, I 7[12]: وكلما كان اللسان ابين كان احمد, *ibid.* I 42[19], I 50[12], I 166[15], *Ḥayawān*, III 128[3], IV 74 penult., 81, 4 a. f.: وكلما كبرت فى السن صغرت فى الجسم, *ibid.* IV 122[7], V 22[3], 39, 8 a. f., 5 a. f., 88[14], 129 penult., 144, 4 a. f., VI 6[13]: وكلما كان الخبر اغرب كانوا به اشد عجبا, 78 penult., *Bukhalā'*, 44[11]: وكلما دعوتهم اكثر كنت من الفقر اقرب, Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il* (Cairo, 1324), 13, 6 a. f., 64, 7 a. f., 162, 3 a. f. *Muwashshā* (Cairo), 116[2], *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 71[12], Ibn Hindū, *al-Kalim al-rūḥānīyah*, 117: لان الله تعالى غير محتاج الى شىء ابدا فكلما احتجتم اكثر كنتم منه ابعد, *Adab al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* (Cairo, 1328), 29[15], 196[12], *Mufīd al-'ulūm* (Cairo, 1323), 140[13]: وكلما كان فى النار اطول يكون لونه احسن, *al-Ishārah ilā maḥāsin al-tijārah*, 22[2], 24[16]: واما لمسه فكل ما كان الين واوطأ وارطب فهو افضل, *al-Itqān* (Cairo, 1317), I 137, 5 a. f., *Kashf al-mukhabbā'*, 177[2]. In *Kashkūl* (Cairo, 1316), p. 118[17], much the same sense is expressed by means of كُلُّ مَنْ:

وكل من كانت درجاته فى كمالات هاتين المرتبتين اعلى كانت درجات ولايته اكمل

cf. *Mufīd al-'ulūm*, 271[8]. Similarly كُلُّ ما in the nominative occurs in *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik* (Cairo, 1329), 17[7]:

فالقوة البهيمية اذا اغلب عليه وكل ما كان اغلب كانت الحاجة الى اخماده... اشد

Another method of expressing this idea is noted in Socin's *Arabische Grammatik* (7th ed. Berlin, 1913), p. 148: "Durch zwei im Genetiv von Elativen abhängende Sätze mit مَا wird

unser 'je—desto' ausgedrückt wie (*sic*) أَخْوَفُ مَا تَكُونُ ٱلْعَامَّةُ آمَنُ مَا تَكُونُ ٱلْوُزَرَاءُ 'je mehr das Volk in Furcht ist, desto sicherer sind die Wezīre'." Other instances of this construction are Ibn al-Muqaffa', *al-Adab al-saghīr* (Cairo, 1912), 42[4]:

فان اخوف ما يكون الانسان لحريق النار اقرب ما يكون منها

Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, 11 ult.:

أحسن ما تكون عنده حالا اقل ما يراك مالا واكثر ما تكون عيالا واعظم ما تكون ضلالا وافرح ما يكون بك اقرب ما تكون بالمصيبة عهدًا وابعد ما تكون من الناس حمدًا

Kitāb al-Luma', 65[4]:

وأَوْحَشُ ما يكون الناس آنَسُ ما يكونون.

Ibn Hindū, *al-Kalim al-rūḥānīyah* (Cairo, 1318/1900), 17[9]:

اقوى ما يُكون التصنع فى بدئه واقوى ما يكون الطبع فى آخره

Kashkūl, 102[23], *'Ain al-adab wa'l-siyāsah* (Cairo, 1318), 176[15]:

وكُن يا بنى احسن ما تكون فى الظاهر حالا اقل ما تكون فى الباطن مالا

كلم. v c. فى or على, like تحدّث فى (cf. Dozy) "to be in charge of," *Zubdat Kashf al-mamālik*, 134, Iyās, I 220[2], II 80[18], 141, 6 a. f., 201[7], III 4[3] etc.

كَنْكَلَة. The information given by Dozy and von Kremer can be supplemented from Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, 80[10]:

ولهم [i.e. the Indians] غناء معجب ولهم الكنكلة وهى وتر واحد يمر على قرعة فيقوم مقام اوتار العود والصنج

كيف. فكيف is frequently used in the sense "much more" or "much less" according to the context, e.g. Bīrūnī, *India*, 11[17]:

وفى طباعهم... الافراط فى الصيانة له عن غير اهله منهم فكيف عن غيرهم

Ḥamāsah (Būlāq, 1296), I 137, *Ḥayawān*, IV 30 ult., *Dalā'il al-i'jāz*, 196[11] etc., etc.

فما ظَنّك ب is used in a similar sense, e.g. *Bayān*, I 8[16], *Ḥayawān*, II 64[5], III 130 ult., IV 60[3], *Dalā'il al-i'jāz*, 215[4] etc., etc.

لبل. لبَل, nom. unit. لبلة (s.m.), "shell-fish," *Ḥayawān*, IV 15[16]:

واهل البحر ياكلون اللبل وهو اللحم الذى فى جوف الاصداف

ibid. IV 139[8].

نجس. نجاسة "excrement," *Mufīd al-ʿulūm* (Cairo, 1323), 98[1], 380[8]:

والضبع اذا مرض يأكل نجاسة الكلب فيبرأ

نزل. II "to suppose," "to assume hypothetically," Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿah (Cairo, 1299), I 6[19], 6[24], 7[6], 7[15].

نظم. غير منتظم "irregular," Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, 105, 5 a. f.:

وهو (الحجر الاسود i.e.) حجر صقيل بيضاوى غير منتظم

هل. If هل introduces an indirect question which is governed by a preposition, the word انه is inserted between the preposition and هل, e.g. *Mufīd al-ʿulūm*, 92[2]:

الباب الرابع فى انه هل يجوز لعنة الظالمين ام لا

Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa'l-naẓā'ir*, II 166[6]:

اختلف هل يتعلق الجار والمجرور والظرف بالفعل الناقص على قولين مبنيين على الخلاف فى انه هل يدل على الحدث ام لا

وجه. II c. acc. and الى, "to ascribe, to attribute a thing to," *Ḥayawān*, I 7[10]:

ولم اشك انك قد جعلت طول اعراضنا عنك مطية لك ووجهت حلمنا عنك الى الخوف منك

على وجه الدهر. Dozy gives two equivalents for this phrase: (1) autrefois, anciennement, dans les siècles passés, (2) depuis un temps immémorial.

Instances which may be translated on the lines of Dozy's first explanation are *Faraj*, II 41 ult.:

فسألته عن سبب غناه فقال كان قد اجتمعت معى دريهمات على وجه الدهر

Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il* (فى الحاسد والمحسود), 10[1]:

وقد قيل على وجه الدهر الحرة تجوع ولا تاكل بثدييها

Ḥayawān, V 142[4]:

وهذا الشعر رويته على وجه الدهر وزعم لى حسن بن الضحاك انه له

Bukhalā', 24[1].

In the following passages the sense seems to be "throughout the ages":

Ḥayawān, III 44[7]:

ثم البركة والشفاء الذى يجده من شرب من ماء زمزم على وجه الدهر

Bayān, II 21[2]:

والمثل السائر على وجه الدهر قولهم العلم بالتعلم

Ḥayawān, I 35[10]:

فيضعون الخط فى ابعد المواضع من الدثور وامنعها من الدروس واجدر [ها] ان يراها من مر بها ولا تنسى على وجه الدهر

Dalā'il al-i'jāz, 7[14]:

ذاك لانا لم نتعبد بتلاوته وحفظه...وحراسته من ان يغير ويبدل الا لتكون الحجة به قائمة على وجه الدهر تعرف فى كل زمان و يتوصل اليها فى كل اوان

In Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, 101 ult.:

ليس شىء مما يساكن الانسان فى منزله وربعه...الا والانسان يفضله فى طول العمر وفى البقاء على وجه الدهر

and *Ḥayawān*, IV 106[3]:

يستدل ببقاء تلك الكتب على وجه الدهر الى يومنا هذا ونسخ الرجال لها امة بعد امة...على الخ

we have two instances which show how the phrase can refer both to long and to short periods.

وضع. I وضعوا الحربَ. This phrase was not the invention of Freytag, as Dozy supposed. It occurs in Ibn Hishām, 836[11]:

فقبلت قريش ذلك ووضعوا الحرب

(cf. *ibid.* 679[10] and *Ḥamāsah* (Būlāq ed.), I 191[10]).

وقع. I c. على "to apply to, be applicable to, refer to," Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I 106[3]:

وكان ابو عبيدة يتأول قوله "وثمود فما ابقى" ان ذلك انما وقع على الاكثر وعلى الجمهور الاكبر

ibid. 113[22], *Rasā'il*, 173[7] etc.

So اوقعه على = "he applied it to," *Ḥayawān*, I 166[11], IV 28[16].

C. A. STOREY.

THREE DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN THE KORAN

I. "Raqīm" and Decius

18, 8–25

In the first part of the 18th Sūra Mohammed alludes, in a characteristically cryptic way, to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Christians who took refuge in a cave, at a time of severe persecution, and after being walled in by their pursuers slept there for about two hundred years, at the end of which time they were awakened and came forth.

It is plain that Mohammed has heard the story recently and been interested by it; that he has tried to tell it for the edification of his followers, but has been embarrassed by the questions of certain unbelievers, who very possibly knew the story better than he did. He accordingly produces a "revelation," in which he tiptoes around the story, incidentally giving his divine authority for refusing to answer foolish queries.

In verse 8 he introduces the subject with the question, "What think you of those associated with the cave *and with al-Raqīm*? Was not their experience a wonderful sign?" What the word *raqīm* means here has been an unsolved mystery. Some commentators explain it as the name of the mountain in which the cave was, others regard it as the name of the valley below. Others, starting from etymology, suppose it to designate a tablet or scroll, something *inscribed* (verb رقم), which may have been put up over the mouth of the cave in which they lay. But the popular explanation, approved by the majority of native commentators (always with express caution, however), is this, that الرقيم is the name of *the dog* that accompanied the sleepers, mentioned in verses 17 and 21. This explanation is intrinsically most unlikely. "Raqīm" is all but impossible as a name; moreover, Mohammed could hardly have chosen the form of words which he uses, if this had been his meaning. The dog him-

self was صاحب الكهف, or one of "those of the cave," and he plays no important part in the story in any of its forms. It is true that Mohammed shows some interest in this dog, and it is therefore no wonder that his oriental followers, with their love of the whimsical, and their own interest in domestic animals, should have given the preference to this explanation of the strange word. But very few scholars, either oriental or occidental, have expressed themselves as really persuaded.

The second of the passages in which the dog is mentioned is interesting as exhibiting Mohammed's somewhat anxious eagerness to show himself well acquainted with the legend. Verse 21: "They will say, Three, and the fourth was their dog; others will say, Five, and the sixth was their dog (guessing wildly [or, as the Arabic might be rendered, 'throwing stones in the dark']); still others will say, Seven; the eighth was their dog. Do *thou* say, My Lord knows best how many there were, and very few others know." It is plain that the Prophet felt "shaky" as to some details of the story; yet it is quite evident on the other hand that he had heard it in a complete version, and knew it well. There was indeed variation in the versions current at that time as to the number of the sleepers; for example, a Syriac manuscript of the 6th century gives the number as eight (Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, 1090).

There is, however, one important and constant feature of the legend, apparently omitted in the Koranic version, which is perhaps really present here in a curious disguise. In all the extant ancient versions of the tale, the tyrant who was the author of the persecution, before whom the seven youths appeared and from whom they fled to their cavern, is the emperor Decius. He is made very prominent in the story, and his name occurs many times. See for instance the texts published in Guidi's important monograph, *I Sette Dormienti di Efeso*, where the name Decius is found (repeatedly in each case) in two Coptic (Sahidic) versions pp. 5 ff., 13 f.; three Syriac versions, 18 ff., 24 ff., 36 ff.; two Ethiopic versions, 66 f., 87; and two Armenian versions, 91, 96 ff. In two Syriac manuscripts the name is miswritten as Dūqs, or Dūkus, and in still other ways, and in the Christian Arabic version printed by Guidi (51 ff.) the form is Deciānus (دقيانوس); but such occasional corruptions count for nothing.

The ordinary way of writing the name Decius in Aramaic would be דקיס, ܕܩܝܘܣ, and this is the orthography which occurs uniformly in the oldest and best Syriac texts, as in the version of this legend in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, III, 87, 6, 10; 90, 12; 91, 3; 93, 7, etc., and in the version published by Guidi, 36, 2 a f. It is therefore a tempting hypothesis, and to me at least it seems very probable, that when Mohammed's informant, who read or narrated to him this legend of the Seven Sleepers, saw in the text before him the name דקיס he read it רקים instead of דקיס. Not only the Hebrew characters, but also the Aramaic characters of that time and region, could very easily be ambiguous, as any extensive table of ancient Semitic alphabets will show[1], and the coincidence appears too striking to be accidental, in view of the supporting circumstances.

2. The Exception in Favour of "The Blind, the Cripple, and the Sick"

24, 60

A considerable part of Sūra 24 is taken up with prescriptions concerning decent behaviour. Mohammed and his immediate circle of followers have been greatly disturbed by the Ayesha scandal, and in dealing now with this most important matter the Prophet takes occasion also to lay down rules in regard to general considerations of chastity, modesty, and allied subjects. According to his mental habit, illustrated in a multitude of Koranic passages, he passes abruptly from one subject to another, and occasionally returns again suddenly to a theme which he had previously discussed and seemingly finished.

In verse 27 Mohammed introduces the subject of intruding on the privacy of men or women—but especially women—in

[1] For the Hebrew characters, see Euting's *Tabula Scripturae Hebraicae* (accompanying Chwolson's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*), cols. 67–83, 5th and 6th centuries A.D.; and for the Aramaic, Euting's *Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae*, 1890, cols. 41–53, and also 33–40. The ambiguity might have occurred in any one of several varieties of the West-Semitic script of about Mohammed's time; but it is perhaps most probable that the document in question was written in Hebrew characters.

their own houses or apartments. He then goes on to speak, in verse 31, of the duty of believing women to avoid uncovering themselves before those who are not members of their families. These are matters which lingered in his mind, for he returns to them in this Sūra and also treats them, in this same order, in Sūra 33. The translation (24, 27 ff.): "O ye who believe! enter not into other houses than your own, until ye have asked leave and have saluted its people. That is better for you; perhaps ye will be mindful. 28 And if ye find no one therein, enter not until permission is given you; if it is said to you, 'Go back,' then go back. That is more decent behaviour on your part; and God knows what ye do. 29 It is no trespass for you to enter uninhabited houses, if ye have need to do so; God knows what ye reveal and what ye conceal. 30 Say to the believers that they should restrain their eyes and guard their chastity. That is more decent behaviour for them; verily God knows what they do. 31 And say to the believing women that they should restrain their eyes and guard their chastity; they should not display their ornaments, except those which are outside; they should pull their veils over their bosoms and not show their ornaments, except to their husbands or fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or the male attendants who are incapable, or to children who do not notice women's nakedness."

In Sūra 33, 53 ff. he brings forward the same two closely related subjects, in a looser and less concise mode of presentation: "O ye who believe! enter not into the houses of the prophet, unless permission is given you, to partake of food, without awaiting his convenient time. When ye are bidden, then enter; and when ye have partaken, then disperse; without being familiar in conversation, for this would annoy the prophet and he would be ashamed for you; but God is not ashamed of the truth. And when ye ask them (the prophet's wives) for anything, ask it from behind a curtain; that is purer for your hearts and for theirs.... 54 Whether ye reveal a thing or conceal it, verily God knows all things. 55 It is no trespass for them (the wives of the prophet) to show themselves unveiled to their fathers,

or their sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves; but let them fear God, verily God is witness over all. 59 O thou prophet! say to thy wives and thy daughters, and to the wives of the believers, that they should let down their veils over them. That is more likely to make them understood aright and to protect them from annoyance; God is forgiving and merciful."

The way in which the one of these two passages parallels the other is very noticeable; presumably the passage in Sūra 33 is the older of the two. As has already been remarked, Mohammed returns again to these subjects farther on in Sūra 24, namely at verse 57: "O ye who believe! let your slaves and those of you who have not reached puberty ask permission of you (before coming into your presence) at three times in the day: before the prayer of dawn, and when ye put off your garments at mid-day, and after the evening prayer; three times of privacy for you. It is no trespass for you or for them, after these times, when you are going about from one to another. Thus God makes clear to you the signs, and he is knowing and wise. 58 But when your children arrive at puberty, then let them ask leave of you, as did those before them. Thus God makes clear to you his signs, and he is knowing and wise. 59 As for those women who are past childbearing and have no hope of marriage, it is no trespass for them if they put off their garments, but in such a way as not to display their ornaments; yet if they abstain from this, it is better for them; and God both hears and knows."

The next verse is commonly rendered, and the text seems to require that it be rendered, as follows: 60 "It is no sin for the blind, nor the cripple, nor the sick, nor for you yourselves, to eat in your own houses, or in those of your fathers, or your mothers, or your brothers, or your sisters, or your uncles on the father's side, or your aunts on the father's side, or your uncles on the mother's side, or your aunts on the mother's side, or in those houses of which ye possess the keys, or in the house of your friend; there is no trespass for you in eating either together or separately."

In spite of all attempted explanations of the first part of this verse, the fact remains that "the blind, the cripple, and

the sick" have nothing whatever to do with this prescription in regard to eating. Goldziher, in his *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 33 f., in expressing his conviction that some passages in the Koran have been misplaced with very disturbing result, points to this clause at the beginning of 24, 60 as the outstanding example. He proceeds (p. 34): "Jedoch bei näherer Betrachtung gewahren wir, dass der in diesem Zusammenhange fremdartige Passus aus einer anderen Gruppe von Verordnungen hierher verschlagen wurde. Er bezieht sich ursprünglich nicht auf Teilnahme an Mahlzeiten ausser dem eigenen Hause, sondern auf die an den kriegerischen Unternehmungen des jungen Islams." He then points out that these same words, "There is no compulsion for the blind, nor for the cripple, nor for the sick," are found also in 48, 17, where the Prophet, after threatening those who hold back from the warlike expeditions of the Muslims, makes this exception in favour of those who are effectually hindered by physical disability, and he draws the conclusion that the phrase has somehow been taken from 48, 17 and forced into this context in 24, 60 where it is now so disturbing: "Dieser Spruch ist nun als fremdes Element in jenen anderen Zusammenhang versprengt worden und hat augenscheinlich die Redaktion des Verses beeinflusst, dessen ursprünglicher Anfang nicht in sicherer Weise rekonstruiert werden kann."

Goldziher is certainly right in holding that the clause, as it has traditionally been understood both by Arab commentators and by occidental scholars, is out of place and inexplicable, but it cannot be said that he has accounted for its presence in Sūra 24. It is hardly conceivable that either Mohammed or any one of his followers should have introduced here purposely the exception as to participants in the holy war, for it is not merely isolated from every context dealing with that subject, but as it stands it quite plainly means something else. On the other hand, no theory of the accidental transfer of the clause to this place could be made to seem plausible. But we are not reduced to any such desperate straits as Goldziher's suggestion would imply. Is not the solution of the difficulty rather this, that the troublesome clause is to be connected with the preceding context, and that the dispensation in favour of "the blind, the lame, and the sick" refers to the regulations regarding modesty with

which the Prophet has been so variously busied? We have seen how, in each place where he treats of these matters, he makes some provision for the natural exceptions, those members of the family to whom the freedom of the house must of necessity be given, or who cannot be held under the same restriction as others in regard to privacy and the exposure of their persons in clothing and unclothing themselves; not making the same exceptions in each case, but giving utterance to them as they happen to occur to him. In 33, 55 he excepts (of course) the nearest members of the family, and adds, that the women of whom he is speaking have no need to be careful about unveiling or unclothing themselves before other women or before their own slaves. In 24, 31 he makes similar exceptions (but in considerably different terms, showing that he had not formulated the matter carefully for himself), and adds to the list eunuchs and children. And finally, in the passage under discussion, 24, 57 ff., he mentions as exceptions the slaves and children, and then adds, that the restrictions do not apply in their stringency to women who have passed the age of marriage. To this he further adds as an afterthought (if I am right), that a similar liberty is to be allowed to the members of a household who are under serious physical disability. The justice of this, even its necessity, is quite obvious.

The one objection which could be urged is the abruptness of the transition from the first clause of verse 60 to the passage which immediately follows, treating of a different subject but in its grammatical construction a continuation of the closest description. But this sudden and unexpected leap is, I would contend, thoroughly characteristic of Mohammed's mental habit. The verse granting dispensation to old women is brought to an end with the usual rhyming appendix; a new verse is then begun as follows:

لَيْسَ عَلَى ٱلْأَعْمَى حَرَجٌ ولا على الأَعْرَج حَرَجٌ ولا على المَرِيضِ حَرَجٌ. ولا
على أَنْفُسِكُم أَنْ تَأْكُلُوا مِنْ بُيُوتِكُم الخ

"Upon the blind, the cripple, and the sick there is no strict prohibition. Nor is there (such prohibition) upon you yourselves, against your eating in your own houses, or the houses of your fathers," etc. This is the mental habit—essentially

dramatic—of him who composed the oft-quoted verse 12, 29, in which the transition is equally unexpected and even more abrupt, taking place, as in the present instance, in the middle of a sentence. Other illustrations of the same general character will occur to all those who are familiar with the Koran. As for the verbal agreement of the clause with 48, 17, this is by no means the only instance in which Mohammed repeats an extended phrase in widely different contexts.

3. "His Mother is Hāwiya"

101, 6–8

In an essay entitled "Eine Qoran-Interpolation" contributed to the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, I, 33–55, August Fischer attempts to demonstrate that the last two verses, 7 and 8, of Sūra 101 are a later interpolation. He returns to the subject in the *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 62 (1910), 371–374, bringing some additional evidence in support of his contention, which he regards as sufficiently established. Goldziher, in his *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (1910), 33, refers to this demonstration of Fischer's in a way that seems to show that he regards it as conclusive. Any modern critical edition of the text of the Koran, he says, "wird...auf Interpolationen (vgl. August Fischer, in der Nöldeke *Festschrift*, 33 ff.) ihr Augenmerk richten müssen."

The matter is one of considerable importance for the early history of the Koran, inasmuch as interpolations in the sacred book (excepting those made by Mohammed himself) have not hitherto been demonstrated in a convincing way. Fischer's examination of the evidence is in some particulars very thorough, and makes a first impression of being exhaustive. He has failed, however, to take into account one or two factors of capital importance, as I shall endeavour to show.

Sūra 101 is one of the most vigorous and picturesque of Mohammed's early utterances, a veritable gem. It is a terse characterization of the coming Dies Irae, when the last hour strikes, in the universal crash of dissolving heavens and earth, and the just and unjust of mankind are sent to the abodes they have deserved. It also has the external appearance of being a very characteristic specimen of the

Prophet's peculiar rhetoric. It begins and ends with brief, exclamatory phrases, while the middle portion is made up of slightly longer sentences. There are two rhymes, of which the principal is the "asonante" termination with the vowels *ā-i-ah*, the woeful *ah!* in particular, with its voiced *h*, being just suited to the theme. This rhyme, after appearing in verses 1 and 2, is replaced by another in the purely descriptive verses 3 and 4, and is then resumed in 5–8. The text of these last four verses reads as follows:

٥ فَأَمّا مَنْ ثَقُلَتْ مَوازِينُهُ فَهُوَ فى عِيشَةٍ راضِيَهْ ٦ وَأَمّا مَنْ خَفَّتْ مَوازِينُهُ
فَأُمُّهُ هاوِيَهْ ٧ وَما أَدْراكَ ما هِيَهْ ٨ نارٌ حامِيَهْ

This is ordinarily translated somewhat as follows: "5 Then as for the one whose balances are heavy, he (enters) into a joyful life; 6 but as for him whose balances are light, his abode is the pit. 7 And how dost thou know what this is? 8 A raging fire!"

The starting point of Fischer's argument is the difficult phrase at the end of verse 6, فأُمّه هاوية. He urges, very justly, that the current renderings (similar to the one just given) are more than questionable. هاوية (without the article!) ought not to be rendered "*the* pit." There is indeed a well-known Arabic noun appearing in a variety of forms, of which this is one, meaning "pit, abyss, precipice," and the like; but there are good reasons why we cannot believe that Mohammed is using it here. He could not have omitted the article, in such a context, unless he intended Hāwiya as a proper name, and it seems quite unlikely that he would have made this transformation of a noun of the native speech. More important still is the fact, emphasized by Fischer (*Festschrift*, 45), that the immediately following phrase, *mā adrāka* etc., is always used in a very significant way by Mohammed, in connection with new and strange vocables of his own introducing: "sonst stets nur an Wörter angeknüpft, die er entweder selbst der Form oder dem Inhalt nach neu geprägt hatte, oder die doch für seine Zuhörer völlig neu sein mussten." Fischer argues further, that أُمّه (literally "*his mother*") with the meaning "his *abode*" or "his *lot*," is not a natural use of the word, but sounds artificial. Finally he shows, with a thoroughness of demonstration that leaves

nothing to be desired, that the phrase هَوَتْ أُمُّهُ, as used by the Arabs in and before Mohammed's time, meant "his mother is bereft (of him)." That is,—and to this every Arabic scholar must give assent,—the only natural translation of verse 6 *taken by itself* is: "And as for the one whose balances are light, his mother is (now to be) childless." But verses 7 and 8 are absolutely incompatible with this rendering, for they presuppose a reference in the phrase to the place of abode of the wicked. Hence Fischer sees himself forced to the conclusion that the sūra originally ended with verse 6, and that verses 7 and 8 are a later mistaken addition

The argument seems a strong one at first sight, but the more one thinks it over the less convincing it appears. The very considerations which make the present reading difficult stand opposed to the hypothesis of an interpolation; just in proportion as it is strange that أُمُّهُ should mean "his abode," and evident that هاوية *in its present context* is an anomaly, does it become improbable that any later hand should have created this manifest incongruity deliberately, making a stupid and quite useless addition to what was clear, and changing the meaning of the sacred words. Sūra 101, be it remembered, is one of the oldest of Mohammed's Mekkan utterances, and from its contents, as well as from its striking form, we should suppose it to have been one of the most widely familiar. Very many of his Companions and followers must have known it by heart, from the first. Fischer attempts to break the force of this obvious objection to his theory by arguing (p. 51 f.) that Mohammed's Companions and their contemporaries in Mekka and Medina were unfamiliar with the phrase *ummuhū hāwiya*, and did not know that it meant "his mother is bereaved." The Prophet, he thinks, got this idiom from the classical speech (*'arabīya*), which was too high style for his Companions generally. I do not believe that many Arabic scholars will find help in this extraordinary suggestion of Professor Fischer. It is easy to show, as he does by the citations in Ṭabarī, that some of the Companions were more or less perplexed by the phrase *as it stands in this sūra*, but this gives no evidence whatever that they were ignorant of its "classical" use. Moreover, Mekka and Medina were not beyond the reach of the *'arabīya*; if Abu Bekr and Omar did not know the classical idioms of

their day, as Mohammed used them in the Koran, they had only to ask their meaning; there were plenty at hand who knew. It should be added, with emphasis, that if the sūra had originally ended with verse 6, as Fischer contends, its concluding words would never have made any difficulty. Every one who knew the typical meanings of the verb هوى (and did not the Companions of the Prophet know as much as this?), could have guessed without fail the signification of the idiom. Fischer explains (p. 52), that when they were perplexed by it, they "saw from the context" that the words must contain an allusion to the place of punishment. Thereupon some Koran expert, "von den besten Absichten geleitet," added verses 7 and 8—in order to make everything plain! But the context, up to the end of verse 6, gives no such indication; nor is there anything in either form or content of any of Mohammed's other utterances in the Koran which could naturally lead the reader to infer from 101, 1–6a that verse 6b contained a designation of hell.

The supposed motive of the interpolation, then, is certainly not cogent; when closely examined it is not even plausible. We are left simply with the fact of a difficult reading and the question whether the supposition of two writers, one of whom misunderstood the other,—always a desperate expedient,—is the probable solution.

Examination of the two verses, 7 and 8, supposed by Fischer to have been added by a later hand, shows that, apart from the postulated incongruity with verse 6, they give no support whatever to his theory, but rather testify strongly against it. Fischer remarks (p. 51) on the strangeness of هِيَهْ, at the end of verse 6: "sonst nicht im ganzen Qorān!" But the very strangeness is testimony that Mohammed, and not another, wrote it. This is one of the rhymes in which he especially revels, in some of the earliest and most fiery passages of his book. A good example is 69, 4–29, where for the sake of this very same "asonante" rhyme *ā-i-ah* he builds out the suffix of the first person singular, changing كتابى, سلطانى, etc. into كتابيَهْ, سلطانيَهْ, etc. in six different instances. The ما هيَهْ of 101, 7 is merely another case of exactly the same sort. We can recognize in it at once the

voice of Mohammed, knowing his rhetorical habits as we do; but it would not readily have suggested itself as an imitation of the Prophet, and no mere interpolator would ever have produced it. The imitator, had there been such, would infallibly have written: (or الهاوية) وما ادراك ما هاوية, since this is the way in which Mohammed proceeds in every other instance of the kind. It is from the originator of these forms, not from lesser scribblers, that we expect such sporadic, yet characteristic variation.

Fischer's assertion (*ibid.*) in regard to verse 8 is so astonishing that one is tempted to see in it a virtual admission of the weakness of his argument as it touches the verses supposed to be interpolated[1]. In the process of attempting to show that this "appendix" to the sūra is made of inferior stuff, he says that the phrase نارٌ حامِيَةٌ is the weakest and least poetical of all the expressions for "hell" in the Korān ("der prosaischste und plätteste Ausdruck") and designates it again as "armselig." If this is a deliberate judgment and not a mere hasty utterance, we can only be thankful that the impassioned Mekkan sūras were composed by Mohammed and not by his critic. It would be possible, of course, to employ six words, or a dozen, or more, instead of the two used here; or to search out strange locutions, or circumlocutions, instead of taking the most familiar noun in the Arabic language and the adjective made obvious by sense and metre; but the man who thinks "*raging fire*" not forcible enough as a description of the future abode of the wicked is the one who is labouring with an argument, not the one who (like many of Mohammed's contemporaries) thinks himself in danger of going there. The fact is, it is impossible to conceive a more powerful ending of the little chapter than this which it has. From the standpoint of rhetoric, the termination with verse 6 would have been very tame in comparison.

The whole sūra was composed by Mohammed himself, whatever may be the solution of the difficulty at the end of verse 6. This is the conclusion very strongly indicated by all the evidence at hand. We can then hardly escape the further conclusion, that هاوية was intended by him as a proper name,

[1] A similar tacit admission is to be seen in the suggestion on p. 52, that verses 7 and 8 may, after all, have been "an old Koran fragment"!

as it certainly was intended as a designation of hell. But if the word was familiar to him and his fellows as a common noun, why did he not treat it as such, using the article; and—an equally puzzling question—why did he choose the strange أمّه, instead of مأواه or a similar word?

It seems to me that Professor Fischer has left out of account, in his argument, one of the most important characteristics of the Prophet's literary art, namely his singular fondness for mystifying words and phrases. This tendency is especially conspicuous, and often especially crude in its manifestation, in the oldest portions of the Koran. He coins words of his own, and far oftener borrows them from foreign languages, with what seems to us an almost childlike delight in the awesome riddles which he thus furnished to his hearers. We certainly have an example of the kind, and apparently a twofold example, in the passage before us.

Mohammed chose the phrase أمّه هاوية, not because the people of Mekka did not know the meaning of the idiom هوت أمّه, but precisely because he knew it was so familiar to them all. Whoever heard Sūra 101 for the first time would suppose verse 6 to contain the threat: "He whose balances are light *shall perish* (his mother shall be bereaved)." But as the Prophet went on, the hearer would see that the threat was far more terrible. هاوية, instead of being the participial adjective, was a mysterious *name* of a blazing fire, while أمّه contained the grimly ironical assurance that his acquaintance with Hāwiya would not be merely temporary; she would be his permanent keeper and guardian. This is word-play of a kind in which the Arabs have always taken especial delight; but it is more than this, it is Mohammed through and through, in its combination of mystery and threat. The quality of strangeness, in fact, is present in every part of this little sūra, not by accident.

Finally, in regard to the word هاوية, I believe that the supposition of a borrowed word, always the most probable hypothesis when a strange theological term is encountered in the Koran, has not in this instance been given the attention it deserves. I should not deny the possibility that Mohammed may have created the proper name from a native Arabic noun, but the supposition is an unlikely one, as Fischer and others have argued with good reason. The only excuse for

such a proceeding here would be the wish to make the word-play just described, but even this could hardly have seemed a sufficient reason. Moreover, it is not likely that Mohammed would have used his ما أدراك with reference to a *noun* whose meaning was already known; the case of *adjectives* such as الحاقّة, القارعة, and the like, is obviously quite different. He employs the very significant phrase only after using words whose meaning must really have remained obscure without the interpretation which he—by the help of Gabriel—proceeded to give them.

Among the old Hebrew words for the final catastrophe which is to overtake the wicked, there is one which corresponds *exactly*, in both form and meaning, to Mohammed's *Hāwiya*. The passage in which it occurs most significantly is Isaiah xlvii. 11, in a chapter which describes in very striking and picturesque language the doom of Babylon. תִּפֹּל עָלַיִךְ הֹוָה לֹא תוּכְלִי כַּפְּרָהּ, "There will fall upon thee *Disaster* which thou wilt not be able to propitiate." In form, this word הֹוָה is the active participle feminine of the *qal* stem of הוה "to fall." Just what sort of "disaster" the Prophet had in mind is made plain in the following verses, in which Babylon's helpers and advisers are promised a share in her doom; vs. 14: "They shall be as stubble, the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the grasp of the flame. It will not be coals to warm at, nor a fire to sit before!" We have, then, in one of the most striking passages in the Hebrew Bible, the same word, with the same meaning, which we find in our Koran passage. It occurs in the Old Testament also in Ezekiel vii. 26, הֹוָה עַל הֹוָה, "Disaster upon disaster," and is therefore not a word upon which any doubt can be thrown.

It would be interesting to discuss the corresponding or most nearly related words in Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects, the complicated questions of borrowing from one language by another, and so on; but all this would be a mere waste of time as concerns the present question. We have before us a perfect explanation of the troublesome passage in Sūra 101, and have no need to look further. In every detail of the composition we can see Mohammed's own well-known habits and mental processes: his high-

sounding rhetoric, his fondness for strange vocables, the gleaning of new terms from Jewish sources—of whatever sort. There is not the slightest difficulty in explaining how Mohammed got hold of this particular word; every educated Jew had it at his tongue's end. The whole splendid passage in Isaiah may well have been recited to Mohammed many times, with appropriate paraphrase or comment in his own tongue, for his edification. The few "hell-fire passages" in the Hebrew Scriptures must have been of especial interest to him, and it would be strange if some teacher had not been found to gratify him in this respect.

Observe further—and the fact is most important—that the pet phrase ما ادراك is used here in the very same significant way as elsewhere, that is, after a truly *cryptic* utterance; see especially Fischer's own words, quoted above. Note in particular that in *seven* of the ten other occurrences of the phrase in the Koran, the strange term to which it calls attention is either a designation of the Last Judgment or else (twice; 83, 8, 19) of certain definite features of the judgment scene; three of the terms, سَقَر, سِجِّين, and عِلِّيُون, are *proper names*, apparently created by Mohammed himself; three of them, سِجِّين, عِلِّيُّون, and يَوْم الدِّين, are borrowed from Jewish sources.

As for the word أُمُّهُ, the scholar Khafājī was quite right in regarding it as an example of Mohammed's "sarcasm" (Fischer, p. 41), and the word-play which I have described above, with its sudden and ironical transformation of the familiar into the strange and terrible, is as characteristic as anything in the Koran. The word *Hāwiya* should of course be written هَاوِيَةُ, as a diptote. As originally used in this Koran passage, by Mohammed and his followers, it had the ending of neither diptote nor triptote, but merely the rhyming termination *ah*. That the native commentators, even the oldest, should have stumbled over the phrase was not only natural but also quite inevitable. The word was Mohammed's own, and they had no means of knowing where he got it.

The translation of verses 6 ff.:

As for him whose balances are light, his mother is Hāwiya! And how knowest thou what that is? A raging fire!

C. C. TORREY.

A FREAK OF ARABIC VERSIFICATION

The seven pages containing the poem from which extracts are given below were found in a bundle of MS. fragments. The text is in a beautiful African hand in that variety of the script called Soudanese by Houdas. The writing is very distinct. Doubt as to the reading is only possible with certain final letters; *l*, *n* and *r* are often difficult to distinguish, also ق and ف. At the end of the poem the words يا كيكتج are written twice; they seem to be a corruption of a charm used in Persia and India to protect books from insects.

The poem is ascribed to one 'Alī ibn Ḥusain, though it has not been possible to identify him. The author is named in two lines which precede the poem.

كتابٌ فيه اشعارٌ تجلّى عنِ القلبِ المغفّلِ كلَّ رين
توالى قولُها نسقًا ووعظًا وتذكيرًا علىٌّ ابنُ الحسين

There is no indication of a date, but to judge from the colour of the paper the MS. is not very recent. As there are numerous mistakes, while the rules of *i'rāb* are observed, it is to be presumed that the present text is only a copy.

On the margins of the pages and between the lines many notes are scrawled. They vary from transcriptions of the text through explanations and interpretations to statements of the number of times a letter occurs in the Qor'ān. These notes are by various hands and never by the copyist of the poem.

The subject of the poem is the vanity of this world, the sinfulness of men and their need of repentance in order to enjoy the goodness of God. It is the rhyme that calls for remark. The poem consists of twenty-nine five-line stanzas, each stanza rhyming in one letter of the alphabet; the rhymes following the African order of the letters. The metre is *Wāfir* though the writer seems to have had little regard for the fetters of rhythm.

In line 105 he was unable to bring his thought within metrical bounds, for the second half is too long by a foot—if the text is correct. Elsewhere a line begins with الله.

Several of the stanzas are printed below with a few necessary corrections and the pertinent marginal remarks are given in the notes.

تبارك ذو العلى والكبرياء — تفرّد بالجلال وبالبقاء
وسوّى الموت بين الخلق طرًّا — فكلّهم رهاين للفناء
ودنيانا وإن ملنا اليها — وطال بها المتاع الى انقضاء
الا ان الركون على غرور[1] — الى دار الفناء من العناء
فقاطنها سريع الظعن[2] عنها — وان كان الحريص على الثواء[3]

يحوّل عن قريب من قصور — مزخرفة الى بيت التراب
فيسلم فيه مهجورًا وحيدًا — احاط به شحوب[4] الاغتراب
وهولُ الحشر افظع كلّ امر — اذا دُعِيَ ابن آدم للحساب
والفى[5] كلَّ صالحة اتاها — وسيّئة جناها في الكتاب
لقد آن التزوّد ان عقلنا — واخذ[6] الحظّ من باقى[7] الشباب

فعقبى[8] كلّ شيء نحن فيه — من الجمع الكثيف[9] الى الشتات
وما حزناه من حلّ وحرم — يوزّع في البنين وفي البنات
وفي من لم نؤهّله لفلس[10] — وقيمة حبّة قبل الممات
وتنسانا الاحبّة — وقد صرنا عظامًا باليات
كانّا لم نعاشرهم بودّ — ولم يك فيهم خلّ مؤات

لمن يايّها المغرور تحوى — من الوفر الموفّر والاثاث
ستمضى غير محمودٍ فريدًا — ويخلو[11] بعل عرسك بالتراث
ويخذلك الوصىّ[12] بلا وفاء — ولا اصلاح امرٍ ذى التياث[13]
وقد وقرت وزرًا مرجحنًّا — يصدّ عليك سبل الانبعاث
فما لك غير تقوى الله حرزًا — ولا وَزَرًا وما لك من غياث

[1] MS. غرورا.
[2] MS. ظر or ظل ظن. سريع الزوال سريع الخروج. المشى الذهاب
[3] تاخير التوبة.
[4] انواع الضيافة.
[5] MS. والفا.
[6] MS. واحذ. واخذ الحظّ الكبير.
[7] MS. باق.
[8] MS. عقبا.
[9] MS. الكشيف.
[10] يقسم في من يعطيه قدر فلس.
[11] MS. ويخلوا.
[12] MS. ويحذلك.
[13] التياث الاشكال. فسد. كلام اختلاف.

21 تعالج بالتطبّب كلّ داء … وليس لداء ذنبك من علاج
سوى تَضْرع الى الرحمان محض[2] … بنيّة خايف ويقين راج
وطول تهجّد بطلاب عفو … بليل مظلم والستر[1] داج
واظهار الندامة كلّ وقت … على ما كنت فيه من اعوجاج
لعلك ان تكون غدًا حظيًّا … ببلغة فايز وسرور ناج

26 عليك بظلف نفسك عن هواها … فما شيء الذّ من الصلاح
تاهّب للمنية حين تغدو[2] … كانك لا تعيش[3] الى الرواح
فكم من رايح فينا صحيحًا … نَعَتْهُ نُعاتُهُ قبل الصباح
فبادر بالانابة قبل موت … على ما فيك من عظم الجناح
فليس اخو الرزانة[4] من تجافى[5] … ولكن من تشمّر للفلاح

31 وان صافيت او خاللت خلًّا … ففى الرحمان فاجعل من تواخ
ولا تعدل بتقوى الله شيئًا … ودع عنك الملالة والتواخ[6]
فكيف تنال في الدنيا سرورًا … وأيام الحياة الى انسلاخ
وجلّ سرورها فيما عهدنا … مشوب بالبكاء وبالصراخ
وقد عمى ابن آدم لا يراها … عمًا افضى الى صمم الصماخ

* * * * * * * *

51 ايعتزّ الفتى بالمال زهوًا … وما فيها يفوت من اعتزاز
ويطلب دولة الدنيا جنونًا … ودولتها محالفة[7] المخاز
ونحن وكلّ من فيها كسفر … دنا منّا الرحيل على وفاز
جهلناها كأن لم نختبرها[8] … على طول التهاول والتّعاز
ولم نعلم بأن لا لبث فيها … ولا تفريج غير الاحتياز[9]

* * * * * * * *

[1] MS. والسترا.   [2] MS. تعدوا.   [3] MS. تعيس.
[4] اخوة الدرجة.   [5] MS. تجافا. من بعد من التوبة.
[6] تاخير التوبة   [7] مخلطة الهلاك. MS. مخالفة.   [8] MS. نحتبرها
[9] غير التجاوز على الصراط ; read اجتياز

116 أفي سبخات[1] يا مغبون تبنى   وما يبقى السباخ على اساس
ذنوبك جمّة تترى[2] عظامٌ[3]   ودمعك جامد والقلب قاس
وأيّام عصيت الله فيها   وقد حفظتْ عليك وانت ناس
فكيف تطيق يومَ الدين حملًا   لاوزار الكبائر كالرواس
هو اليوم الذى لا ودّ فيه   ولا نسب ولا احد مؤاس
101 ولم يطلب علوّ القدر فيها   وعزّ النفس الّا كلّ طاغ
وان نال النفيس من المعالي[4]   فليس لملكها طيب المعاغ[5]
اذا بلغ المراد علًى[6] وعزًّا   توالى واضمجض[7] مع البلاغ
كقصر قد تهدّم حافتاه   اذا صار البناء الى الفراغ
اقول[8] وقد رايت ملوك عصرى   الا لا يبغين الملك الا كلّ باغ[9]

* * * * * * * *

131 فانّ الله توّاب رحيم   قبول التوبة من كلّ غاوى
اؤمّل ان يعافينى بعفوٍ   ويسخن عين ابليس المناوى
وينفعنى بموعظتى وقولى   وينفع كلّ مستمع وراوى
وليس لمن كواه الذنبُ عمدًا   سوى عفو المهيمن من مداوى
ذنوبى قد كوت جنبيّ كيًّا   الا انّ الذنوب هى المكاوى

TRANSLATION.

1. "Blessed be the Exalted and Magnificent who is alone in majesty and permanence. He set death over all creatures and they all are hostages of destruction. Our world is bound for dissolution though we rely on it and enjoyment in it is long. Trust in the abode of destruction (it is deceitful) is indeed anxiety. Its population is quick to depart from it though the greedy are bent towards it.

[1] زبد البحر. Perhaps read السبخات. [2] MS. تترا. [3] MS. عظامًا.
[4] وان وجد ارتفاع الدرجة. [5] لذّة الاكل. [6] MS. علا.
[7] وذهب الهالك ; وادبل وادبر, possibly read اضمحلّ.
[8] هذا قول علي ابن الحسين.
[9] The half line is a whole foot too long. One might suggest:

ايبغى المُلك الّا كلّ باغ

but probably the author scorned metre.

6. "They soon descend from splendid palaces to the house of dust; wherein they are at peace, exiled, alone and enveloped by the pallor of separation. Worse than all is the fear of the judgment assembly when man is called to account and finds in the book every good deed he brought and every evil he committed. If we are wise it is time to make provision and take advantage of what remains of youth.

11. "The end of all wherein we are is change from the crowded gathering to separation. What we hoarded, whether lawful or not, is divided among sons and daughters, and among those whom we, before our death, did not think worthy of a copper or the price of a grain. When our companionship is over and we are mouldering bones, our friends forget us; as though there had been no loving association, no obedient friend among them.

16. "Deluded one! For whom do you hoard the abundant store and the chattels? You will pass, unpraised, alone; and your wife's husband is sole possessor of the heritage. The heir fails you and disregards your wishes and a doubtful business is not set right. You took on you an excessive burden that blocks the path of (spiritual) progress, and fear of God is your only guard and refuge and help.

21. "All sickness is eased by drugs, but there is no remedy for the sickness of your sin save that you humble yourself in purity, devout fear and sincere hope before the Merciful; save long watching in desire for pardon in the dark night under the veil of gloom and showing penitence at all time for the crooked ways of your life. Perhaps you may be to-morrow fortunate in the reward of the victor and the joys of the saved.

26. "Keep back your soul from its desire, for nothing is sweeter than salvation. Every morning prepare for your fate as if you were not to live to evening. Many a one of us has been in health at even and before morn the mourners wailed for him. Forward with repentance for your great offences before death; for it is not the laggard who takes high place but he who girded himself for salvation.

31. "If you are true and faithful to a friend, with the Merciful make alliance. Count nothing equal to trust in God and throw off weariness and reliance on others. How can you find pleasure in the world when the days of life

haste away? According to our knowledge the chief of its pleasures are mingled with tears and cries; yet man is blind and sees not: his blindness makes his ears deaf.

51. "Does a youth boast grandly of wealth? The glory that is in it (the world) passes. He seeks dominion of the world madly though its dominion is kin to shame. We and all in it are as travellers on the point of journeying in haste. We are ignorant of it as if we had never experienced it in spite of long fears and consolations. We know not that there is no abiding in it and no comfort save passing through.

116. "Deluded one! Will you build on swamps? The swamps have no foundation. Your sins are a multitude, repeated and great; your tears are frozen, your heart hard. The days wherein you disobeyed God are recorded against you but you forget. How can you bear in the day of judgment the weight of sins heavy as mountains? That is the day in which there is no love, no prestige and no comforter.

101. "The impious alone sought high rank in it and pride of soul. Should he obtain aught eminent and valuable the possession of it does not give good digestion. If he obtain his desire in rank and power he will turn back and grow weak on attainment; like a castle whose two sides have fallen in ruin when the building comes to an end. I say, and I have seen the kings of my time: Let the wicked alone seek power.

131. "God is forgiving, merciful, accepting the penitence of every wanderer. I expect that he will fully pardon me and inflame the eye of the Devil who opposes him. He benefits me by my admonition and speech, and benefits each who hears and repeats. To him whom sin has scorched of his set purpose there is no healer except the pardon of the Preserver. My sins have branded my flank; sins are indeed the branding irons."

Verse 22. If the verse is to scan تضرع must be read as an imperfect I; although the next verse and the general use of سوى suggest the infinitive V.

Verse 103. اضمحض. This is very probably a mistake for اضمحلّ which at any rate gives a suitable meaning.

As it stands the poem is chaotic and there is little connexion between some of the stanzas. In the ض stanza is an account of the perseverance that alone can obtain salvation, and the careless are compared to cattle. The next stanza, ع, is about the final separation at death and the slight chance of finding pleasure in the world. Stanza ن is in the first person and the next, ص, is in the second.

By arranging the poem in the usual order of the alphabet a little improvement is made. Stanza س follows well on ز while ش continues the description of the last day and ends with an exhortation which is carried on by ص. The comparison of the careless to cattle (ض) leads to a further account of the man who delights in evil (ط). Further on it is stated in ق that the only lasting good is religion and judgment is near; yet (ك) sinners go on heaping up sin though (ل) the grave is the end. The theme then passes through judgment to the goodness of God and a final exhortation.

This rearrangement would still leave some awkward transitions, but the author was a man of little originality and did little more than dress up religious commonplaces and reminiscences from the work of the "Mu'ammarûn," not to mention the stock in trade of an Arab poet. With the Mu'ammarûn he moralizes on the wealth that a man must leave behind him at death, on the great ones of the past who are now dust, the strong man exulting in his health at even who is cut off before morning, and gives his own experience of the swift passing of life. The account of men as رهاين للفناء recalls the old man who was رهينة قعر البيت (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie, Kitābu 'l-Mu'ammarīn* p. ٢٠, l. ١٧).

The poem is an attempt to brighten the *qaṣīda* and as such it stands alone. It differs from the *muwaššaḥa* in keeping the one metre throughout and from the *terjī'-bend* of Persian and Turkish poetry in doing without a refrain. If the poem was written in the East, as is also suggested by the corrupt charm, the idea of the stanza form may have come from the *terjī'-bend*. The metre too may have been suggested by its likeness to the *hezej*, common in Turkish and Persian. The Rev. T. H. Weir kindly called my attention to a poem in the Escorial library and the authorities of the library kindly sent fuller information than was contained

in the catalogue. M. Derenbourg describes this poem in the catalogue of the Escorial manuscripts (no. 470ii) as an alphabetical *takhmīs* in Maghribī script. In this poem however only four half lines in each stanza have the common rhyme; the fifth being half a line from the poem of Imru-ul-Qais beginning الا عم صباحًا. The first stanza runs:

سلامى والمامى وصوب بكاء   على معهد[1] للسدة النجباء
توى اهله من بعد طول ثنواء[2]   اناديه لو اصقر[3] لطول نداء
الا عم صباحًا ايها الطلل البالى

The author of the *takhmīs* was Ṣafwān ibn Idrīs who died in 598/1202. It is only the alphabetical order of the rhyme that is common to his poem and that of 'Alī ibn Ḥusain.

A closer parallel is shown by a collection of panegyrics (Berlin, no. 7873) by Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Alī (*fl.* 790/1388). This contains twenty-nine poems of ten lines apiece; one poem for each letter of the alphabet. Every line in a poem begins and ends with the same letter and the poems are arranged in the Yemenite order of the alphabet. The metre is *Basīṭ* and the first line of the collection is:

ارقت للبارق الشرقى منذ شرا   اذا تبسّم ثغر رائق اشُرا

This system of the rhyming letter running through the alphabet is almost unique. Although the poem belongs to a decadent age of literature as is proved by the scant respect shown for metrical rules, there is nothing in the language that can be proved to belong to the West. Certain indications and the parallel from the Yemen suggest an Eastern origin.

NOTE. The author gratefully acknowledges the help given by wise and kindly suggestions from Dr R. A. Nicholson.

[1] Derenbourg مُحْمِد. [2] Read ثواء. [3] Probably read اصغى.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE REVOLUTION IN PERSIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY

(from a Turkish MS in the University of Glasgow)

Monsieur La Mamye-Clairac at the beginning of his *Histoire de Perse*, published in Paris in the year 1750, gives a list of works cited in this History. Among these are four which owed their origin to a Georgian named Joseph, who acted as interpreter to the French Consul at Isfahan. These are as follows: (1) *Mémoire sur la différence du rit entre les Turcs et les Persans*, cited as "Mem." (2) *Notes de M. Joseph.* They are explanations which Joseph made verbally to M. La Mamye-Clairac in regard to his own written narrative (mentioned next) and two others, and of which he took notes, cited as "Not." (3) *Relazione della Rivoluzione di Persia*, cited as "I Rel." This document covers the important events in Persia from the beginning of the troubles down to the end of the year 1724. (4) *Relazione della Rivoluzione di Persia, seconda parte*, cited as "II Rel." It supplies some events omitted, and brings the narrative down to the end of the year 1725. It was originally composed in Turkish for the Grand Vezir by Joseph who was then in Constantinople, and who wrote out this translation for La Mamye-Clairac.

There is in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow a MS written in Turkish either by or to the dictation of the same Joseph dealing with the same events, which may be the narrative referred to above drawn up for the information of the Vezir, or may be an independent source from the same hand.

The MS, which covers 60 pages of 15 lines each, each line containing some six or seven words, is written in an extremely neat *naskhi*, but it shows signs of having been written in considerable haste. The writer forgot that he was using an oriental language and began on the recto of the first folio. After writing 12 lines he discovered his mistake, turned the MS upside down and began again on the inside of the same folio. The rubrics have been filled in for the

first 29 pages only: in the rest of the MS spaces are left for them. There are slips in regard to words and even proper names, and words are wrongly spelled. There are also one or two sentences which do not seem to be intelligible, but whether this is due to the MS or to my ignorance, I cannot say. The ground covered is nearly the same as that in the first four books of La Mamye-Clairac's work (= M. C. below) or in vol. III of Jonas Hanway's *Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea with the Revolutions of Persia*, London, 1753 (= J. H.).

The MS begins with four lines of preface: "One Josepho, coming from Isfahan after a stay there of eight years, having gained information by the witness of his own eyes, gives the following account of the news he learned, in the year 1138" (began 9th Sept. 1725 A.D.). It then goes on to state how "your humble servant," a native of Tiflis, travelled when a mere boy into Europe, in order to gain proficiency in western languages. Returning in a ship of Venice to Constantinople, he eventually attached himself as interpreter to the "ambassador" Monsieur Gardanne, whom "the king of France" (Louis XIV) had dispatched to Persia. As soon as M. Gardanne had made the necessary arrangements for the journey, he went by sea to Trebizond, and thence overland by Erzerum, Erivan, Nakhshivan, Tebriz and Sultaniyah to Kazvin. This was in the year 1717 A.D. or 1129 A.H. As Shah Husain had also arrived at Kazvin from Isfahan, Gardanne presented his credentials.

The MS is now divided into sections each of which was to have been headed by a rubric, but the first nine rubrics only have been filled in. The rest are now supplied within parentheses.

Reason for the Shah's visits to Kazvin. The reason given is the great extent of the province of Khorasan, and its being divided into two independent governments, those of Herat and of Mashhad-Tus, under a Khanler-Khan or Begler-Beg.

Account of Herat. The Shah's governor, Mohammad Zaman Khan, having abused his position, the Afghans revolt under Asad Allah. Mohammad Zaman Khan and his army of 1500 are defeated and flee to Isfahan. Herat becomes independent of Persia. This was in 1129. Asad Allah's parricide (M. C. p. 114, I Rel.) is not mentioned.

Account of Mashhad-Tus. The Shah's governor of Sijistan was Melik Mahmud Khan. Though a Shiite, he is friendly with Mir Mahmud of Kandahar, and does not hinder his raid into Kirman, and, later, when he comes to the help of the Shah, besieged in Isfahan, and Mir Mahmud sends to him Nasr Allah (also a Sijistani), he and his 8000 go back and seize Mashhad-Tus, which also becomes lost to Persia (M. C. p. 327 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 140 ff.). This was not till 1722. A note occurs here in the MS: "We also on our part, having stayed three months, set out with the Ambassador for Isfahan, Shah Husain having presented to our Ambassador a richly appointed palace there."

Preparations for Relief of Herat and suppression of Asad Allah. The Shah in Kazvin raises 30,000 troops under Safi Kuli Khan. Asad Allah, getting wind of this, appeals to the Uzbegs. The Sultan of Balkh sends him 12,000 men. These, caught napping by the Persians, "drain the cup of martyrdom," for the Kizilbash take no prisoners. Asad Allah with 13,000 to 15,000 Abdalis, after a five hours' battle, "turns the firmness of the Persians to flight." 8000 Kizilbash are killed and 3000 Afghans. Safi Kuli Khan is slain, his ammunition dump and 20 guns captured (M. C. p. 123 ff. I Rel. whose numbers here agree with the MS; but he makes the acting general Safi Kuli's son. So J. H. p. 64 ff.).

Mir Mahmud's Raid into Kirman. Mir Mahmud, aided by the Baluchis, passes Sijistan and raids Kirman, and returns to Kandahar. Hearing of this "disaster," the Shah leaves Kazvin for Tihran. Here Durri Efendi, the Turkish ambassador, comes and presents his credentials. There is no word in the MS of Mir Mahmud having been defeated by Lutf Ali Khan. In fact Lutf Ali Khan is nowhere mentioned in the MS (M. C. p. 135 ff. I Rel. and Not.: J. H. p. 69 ff.).

Account of the Imam of Maskat and the Province called Bahrain. The Imam invades Bahrain. The Persians, being weak in ships, call in the friendly Portuguese, and meantime gather an army at Bandar-Kong and Bandar-Rik. The Portuguese arrive from Diu and cast anchor off Bandar-Kong. Their admiral, before he will do anything, demands a sum of money. While they are disputing about this, the ships of the Imam heave in sight.[1] The Portuguese give battle; the Persians "enjoying the spectacle" from the shore. The

Portuguese turn and depart for Diu. The Portuguese ambassador comes later to the Shah in Tihran (Durri Efendi being still there), but they cannot agree as to the amount of compensation due. In the end a wealthy customhouse officer of Bandar-Abbas advances 208 purses of silver on behalf of the Shah, and Bahrain is returned to Persia. The MS adds that the latest news is that, on the pretext of the capture of Isfahan, it is heard say that the Imam is again invading Bahrain. This narrative differs from those of M. C. (p. 129 ff. Mem., Not. and I Rel.) and J. H. (p. 66 ff.) in that the latter speak only of Bandar-Abbas as the site of the Persian camp and the scene of the naval battle, and of Goa, instead of Diu, as the port from which the Portuguese fleet sailed. They do not mention the payment of the ransom for Bahrain, nor the renewed attack upon it.

Account of the Kingdom of Kandahar. After describing the struggle between the Emperor of India and Shah Abbas II for the possession of this province, and the part the Afghans took in it, and the privileges they were accorded therefor, and how they grew from 40,000 houses to 70,000, and the tyranny of the later Persian governors, the MS describes the disaffection of the Afghans, the coming of the Georgian Gurghin Khan (Shah Nuwaz Khan), and the transportation of Mir Wais in fetters to Isfahan (M. C. p. 13 ff. I Rel. and Not.: J. H. p. 25 ff.). The MS gives the number of Georgian troops as 4000 (omitted by M. C. and J. H.).

How Mir Wais employed himself in the Prison of Isfahan. With the aid of Feth Ali Khan (who had with his father been kidnapped from Daghistan, and brought up in the palace until he became prime-minister) and the chief Eunuch, both hearty enemies of Gurghin Khan, Mir Wais is set free, and sent to Kandahar to watch Gurghin Khan (M. C. p. 31 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 33 ff.). The MS omits all mention of Mir Wais' supposed pilgrimage to Mecca and the rather fantastic story of the Russian ambassador (given by M. C. p. 46 ff. from another source and J. H. p. 37 ff.). The MS gives the number of sashes distributed by Mir Wais as 20,000, not 30,000. It then goes on to describe how Mir Wais lulled the suspicions of the Khan, but it altogether omits the story of his daughter given in all the accounts (M. C. p. 57 ff. from a French translation of a Turkish source: J. H. p. 42 ff.).

An (unnamed) Afghan tribe refuse to pay their tax. Mir Wais advises the Khan to extirpate them, and so gets the Georgian soldiers out of the way. He then invites the Khan to his farm outside Kandahar in order to receive the submission and gifts of two recalcitrant but now penitent Beys. The Khan falls into the trap, and in the banquet that follows is slain with all his retinue (M. C. p. 65 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 45 ff.).

Rescue of Kandahar from the Kizilbash. The Mir at once puts on the uniform of the Khan and bids his men do the same. Thus disguised and in Georgian formation they appear one hour after sundown before the citadel. The garrison, thinking "The Khan has come," come down with torches to let him in. They are soon cut to pieces and the place taken. The inhabitants are warned to stay within doors until morning. Next day they choose Mir Wais as their chief (M. C. p. 68 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 47 ff.). The only variation of the MS is the statement that Afghans had been drafted into the town *by means of boats* a few days before.

(*Return of the Georgians.*) The very next day the troops which had been sent to the hills return and find the town occupied. They return home. Both M. C. (p. 76 ff. I Rel and Not.) and J. H. (p. 49 ff.) say "after three days." This fine retreat is well described by Hanway.

(*The Shah's Expedition.*) The Shah, who had left Tihran for Isfahan, determines to see this thing through himself. With great forces and munitions, he sets out for Kandahar, and arrives at Mashhad. The Afghans are alarmed, and betake themselves to the hills; but the Shah, also afraid, contents himself with visiting the tomb of the Imam Rida, and returns home. M. C. refers to this journey of the Shah, but thinks it took place *before* the revolt of Mir Wais (p. xxxii f.). Other sources do not appear to mention it.

(*Expeditions of Khusraw Khan and Rustem Khan.*) Gurghin Khan's nephew is nominated to avenge him. He invests Kandahar, in which Mir Wais had left a garrison. Mir Wais lays waste the province. The Persians dwindle until only 200 Georgians are left, whom the Afghans slay with their maces (M. C. p. 86 ff. I Rel. and J. H. p. 53 ff. mention attempts before this one by the Khans of Herat and Tebriz). After this the Georgians refuse to take service

against the Afghans. Next Rustem Khan is sent, but does not venture to attack (M. C. p. 96 f. from a Turkish MS translated: J. H. p. 57. These state that the Georgians volunteer for service *after* this on condition that they go *alone*).

(*The Princes of Georgia.*) Shah Nuwaz Khan, Khusraw Khan, Wakhtang Khan and Mohammad Kuli Khan had all turned renegade. The first famous Khan of Georgia was Theimuras Khan. From him Mohammad Kuli derives through the male line, Wakhtang through the female. They have never ceased to fight one another for the rule of Georgia. At last Tiflis was conferred on Shah Nuwaz, and Mohammad Kuli's father (Irakli) fled to Moscow. Then, Shah Nuwaz becoming disaffected, he was brought back and Georgia was given to him. Again Shah Nuwaz gave in and was pardoned, and made governor of Kirman, commander-in-chief of Persia (Sipahsalar Iran) and Wali of Kandahar. It is only after this that Wakhtang turns renegade, and is made prince of Georgia. But when summoned to the relief of Isfahan, he prefers the Russian alliance. So, when Shah Husain becomes a prisoner, Tahmasp, laying claim to the Shahlik, appoints Mohammad Kuli to Georgistan; and he is the person most in favour there now (M. C. Vol. II, p. 93 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 86 f., 132 f., 169).

(*The Russian Advance.*) The Lesghians of Daghistan invade Shirvan and seize Shamakhi. Mir Mahmud not being yet dreamed of, and Persia and Russia being friendly, the Shah hires 2000 troops of the Tzar. The Tzar, Wakhtang Khan and the Shamakhi Beys, under cover of friendship, seize Derbend and garrison it. Then, Mahmud appearing, the Tzar sends 2000 troops in ships to Ghilan, who occupy Resht. The Persians ask them to come to Kazvin and Isfahan, but they prefer to await reinforcements. Next year from 4000 to 5000 more Russians arrive. Isfahan being now in the hands of the Afghans, the Persians again beg the Russians to garrison Kazvin, but they reply, "Our orders from our Tzar are not to advance beyond this." There are reports of more Russians coming (M. C. Vol. II, p. 42 ff. partly after I Rel. and 119, I Rel.: J. H. p. 154 ff.).

(*Death of Mir Wais.*) The Mir, having saved and ruled Kandahar, his time coming, dies, and Mir Mahmud, a youth

of 18, having overcome his uncle Mir Abdallah, becomes ruler (M. C. Vol. 1, p. 98 : J. H. p. 57).

(*Accession of Mir Mahmud.*) The people incline to Mir Mahmud. Mir Abdallah asks help of the Shah. Fearing renewal of Persian suzerainty, Mir Mahmud with 12 other conspirators kills his uncle during siesta. Mir Mahmud is proclaimed ruler (M. C. p. 106 ff. I and II Rel.: J. H. p. 58 ff. They both say "forty conspirators").

(*Mahmud's first Raid.*) He, with Baluchis, raids Kirman and returns to Kandahar. (See under fifth rubric above.)

(*Feth Ali Khan dismissed.*) Being a Lesghi (who had just invaded Shirvan, Shamakhi and Ardabil), and a Sunni, and responsible for liberating Mir Wais, the prime-minister (*I'timad ed-Dawlat*) falls into disgrace and his eyes are put out. Mohammad Kuli succeeds him (M. C. p. 142 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 72 ff. The long account which these give of the trial is from another source).

(*Portents of Disaster.*) The astrologers had already predicted the downfall of the Safavid Dynasty, and disaster to Isfahan. Their calculations are confirmed by conjunctions of planets, and accidents befalling the Shah on setting out from Tihran for Isfahan (M. C. p. 200 ff. I Rel. partly: J. H. p. 92 f.).

(*Confidence restored.*) When the Shah had been nine months in Isfahan and nothing had happened, everyone forgot these things, until news comes that Mir Mahmud has set out a second time for Kirman. A council is held. Some would appeal to the Porte for help: others think the Shah should remove to Kazvin. Both proposals are rejected (M. C. p. 256 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 110 ff. Both these place this council *after* the battle of Gulnabad. Neither of them mentions the appeal to the Sultan). Mir Mahmud, having rested after his first raid, raises 18,000 troops, crosses Ṣijistan, and lays siege to Kirman. After three months, he accepts 100 purses of silver and leaves for Isfahan, where he arrives with 14,000 men. The Beys of the districts of Isfahan and Hamadan raise 18,000 troops. At a blockhouse called W z r n h (Varzana), four stages from Isfahan, they offer the Mir 600 purses of silver to stay his march, but he hastens on, and on Monday the 8th Jumada I, 1134, pitches his camp at Gulnabad, four hours from Isfahan (M. C. p. 211 ff. I Rel. and Not.: J. H.

p. 97 ff. These sources vary as regards the figures. They state that Mir Mahmud attacked Yezd on his way (omitted in the MS); but they omit the name of the place (= Zuvarah, Uzvarah?) where the purses were offered. They give no date: that of the MS = 24th Feb. 1722 A.D.).

(*The Persian Forces.*) These total 52,000, of whom 4000 are equipped with pick and shovel: also ten long range battering guns, four pieces of long guns, 10,000 loads of powder, and much munitions, under charge of a French gunner. The Shah remains in the City: the prime-minister and the rest march out. "Thinking the Mir an ant, they find an adder: his Saturday they find a mighty Sunday" (M. C. p. 222 ff. I Rel. and Not. and J. H. p. 101 f. do not give these details. They say two daughters of one of the Khans fought on the side of the Persians; which the MS omits, cf. M. C. Vol. II, p. 282).

(*Panic of Mir Mahmud.*) The Mir at sight of the Persian host is ready to flee with 1000 swift runners; but Aman Allah Sultan, the Sirdar, encourages him to stand. He points out the weakness of the enemy, and their own strength, citing the oft-quoted "Many a little party has overcome a great party by leave of God," and so "changes his purpose of flight to firmness" (M. C. p. 226 f. I Rel. rejects this tale: J. H. omits it, p. 105). The Afghan right of 5000 is put under Aman Allah, the left of 3000 under the one-eyed Sijistani Nasr Allah, the centre of 6000 under the Mir (M. C. p. 230 ff. I Rel., but he adds a fourth division from another source: so J. H. p. 104).

(*Order of Persian Battle.*) These were a confused mass under 12 Sirdars: the right under the prime-minister and others: the left under the Kular Aghasi and Khudeizah Khan; and the centre under the Kurji Bashi and others. (For "right" of the MS read "left," and for "left" "right": so below and M. C. p. 227 ff. I Rel. and Not.: J. H. p. 103). The prime-minister's advice is to entrench and await attack (M. C. p. 235 ff. I Rel. and Not.: J. H. p. 105 f. Khudeizah Khan is Abdallah Khan, Wali of Arabia).

(*Battle of Gulnabad.*) The description of the battle agrees with those of La Mamye-Clairac taken from I Rel. (p. 237 ff.) and Hanway (p. 106 ff.). The MS, however, makes no mention of elephants in the Afghan army. It states that the

arquebuses which the camels carried were those called in Persian *zemburak*. It also omits a number of details as to the fate of individuals and sections composing the armies. It gives the Persian killed as 5000, which Hanway (following the missionary Reynal) raises to 15,000. The Afghan loss is 500.

(*After the Battle.*) Mahmud rests three days. The Persians lay their 150 guns round the City. The Afghans attack Shahristanah. The guns keep them off. They lose 78 killed (M. C. p. 265 f. I Rel.: J. H. p. 114, who say "attack the City *from* Shahristan").

(*The Fate of Julfa.*) This town, deserted by the Shah, surrenders. They pay the Mir 2800 purses, 800 in cash, and the rest in the form of a bond. Mahmud occupies the Royal park of Farhabad. He attacks the City, but with no success (M. C. p. 268 ff. I Rel.: J. H. p. 114 ff.).

(*Isfahan invested.*) At last the Afghans invest the City, so that none can come in or go out. Stripping the country lying around, they gather stores enough for five years in Ardistan (?) (M. C. p. 293 says "several months").

(*Defeat of the Khans.*) Ali Merdan, Khan of Luristan, being appointed commander-in-chief, makes Khaun-Sar the rendezvous, but the Khans set out separately for Isfahan. Mahmud, getting wind of this, sends 6000 men under Nasr Allah, who defeats the Khan of Hamadan with 6000, Ali Rida of Fars with 12,000, and the Khan Kasim also with 12,000 (M. C. p. 262, I Rel., 299 f. I Rel., 307, I Rel., 297 f. I Rel., which make the Afghan chief Aman Allah: so J. H. p. 127 ff.). Ali Merdan Khan therefore sees to the defence of Khurramabad (M. C. p. 317, I Rel.: there is no mention in the MS of the incident of Ben-Isfahan).

(*Escape of the Crown-Prince.*) After near five months the Shah's fourth son Tahmasp, with 1000 horse under cover of night, breaks through the enemy lines and reaches Kazvin (M. C. p. 310 ff. I and II Rel. says "21st June escorted by 300 horse," following the brother of M. Gardanne: so also J. H. p. 134 ff.).

(*Capitulation determined on.*) The Shah, to save life, offers to surrender the City. The French consul at once sends Joseph to Mir Mahmud with valuable gifts, asking for

protection. This is granted with good result (M. C. p. 337 ff. Not. and I Rel. Vol. II, p. 17 ; J. H. p. 144).

(*Shah Husain surrenders and abdicates.*) After eight and a half months the Shah, wearing crown and aigrette, along with the prime-minister and other chiefs, comes to Farhabad. They are kept waiting half-an-hour outside. Entering the audience hall, the Shah gives the *Salam alaikum*. He and the Mir sit, each in one corner on quilts of down spread over the Angora felt carpet. The others stand. The Shah repeats "O God, Ruler of the kingdom," to the end of the verse (Kor. iii. 25), and then gives the gist in Persian. He goes on: "The Absolute King, God most High, is just; and to whom do they say, 'He makes him head'? At one time to me, now to you. At last, my son, I also submit to you. God alone be blessed." He hands the aigrette to Aman Allah Sultan, but seeing the Mir annoyed, he himself places it on the Mir's head. Then they bring in coffee and the water-pipes called "galleons," and the Mir being in the frame of mind to comfort the Shah a little, says, "My Shah, let not grief take up its abode in your heart. The rule of the world passes from hand to hand, flowing with the destiny of God who does not cease. You also are in the place of my father, and, except it hold with the opinion and arrangement of yourself, I will do no business." The Khan of the Baluch also says, "My Shah, whatever business is being done, we, being your servants, now make ourselves servants to the Afghan." The Shah, alluding to the words of the Mir, replies, "The rule is God's." The Shah then takes his leave and retires to his apartments where he still remains. The MS ends, "Your obedient servant......" (M. C. p. 340 ff. I Rel. and Not. The other details here given are not found in the MS: so J. H. p. 144 ff.).

From the above description the most obvious conclusion is that this MS is the one which was drawn up, as La Mamye-Clairac says in his preface, by the Georgian Joseph for the Turkish Grand Vezir. Of course, if that document is in existence elsewhere, this must be another version from the same hand of the same events. It will be noticed that it differs from the accepted accounts of these events mainly in

the way of omission, and the things it omits are for the most part somewhat unlikely to have happened.

The MS is very far from being what it claims to be—the narrative of an eye-witness. The only events of which Joseph can have been an eye-witness are what happened in Kazvin and Isfahan.

Jonas Hanway states that he is indebted for his narrative to Father Kruzinschi, but Hanway agrees so closely in word and phrase with La Mamye-Clairac where he follows Joseph, that there must have been an even closer relation between Kruzinschi and Joseph.

To sum up, it does not seem too much to claim for the Glasgow MS that it is a primary source for the events which it narrates, and God knoweth best.

T. H. WEIR.

THE REFUSED DIGNITY

I

In the third chapter of the Book of Exodus it is told how God reveals himself to Moses from the thornbush and lays upon his shoulders the task of delivering the people of Israel from Egyptian slavery. Moses feels this task as a burden which he is not able to bear and answers (*v.* 11): "Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" But God promises his assistance and corroborates this promise by miraculous signs. Moses excuses his lack of eloquence (Ch. iv. 10): "O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." When God has argued against this objection, Moses' depression reaches its height in the words (iv. 13): "O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send." But finally he gives way.

This beautiful episode does not stand by itself in history. It returns, in some way or another, in the biography of many great heroes. It is as if all the coming struggles, the woes of the whole career which follows, are condensed and forefelt in such a dark hour.

We find some other examples in Biblical history. When the people of Israel is called together by Samuel at Mispa and Saul has been appointed a king by lot, he is sought in vain. And it is an oracle which shows that he has hidden himself among the luggage. "And they ran and fetched him thence[1]."

The same moment occurs in Jeremia's life. When Jahwe calls him, saying: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations" (i. 5), he answers: "Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak; for I am a child." But Jahwe encourages him and simply proceeds to the act of initiation. We know, however,

[1] 1 Samuel x. 2[illegible] sqq.

Jeremia's character very well and we fully realise what his objection means for a man so highly sensitive as he was.

Analogous to some extent is Ezekiel's case. When he has been called and initiated, a wind drags him along and he goes to the exiles, "bitter, in the heat of his spirit" and during seven days he sits among them in amazement (iii. 14 sq.). There is no formal refusal, but the depression is described in plain words and moreover indicated by the statement that the hand of the Lord was strong upon him (iii. 14).

The Old Testament does not give more instances of the phenomenon. Jona's case is different. He seeks to flee from the prophetic dignity, not because the task crushes his weak person, but because he forefeels Jahwe's merciful intentions regarding the people of Ninive.

It is in the story of Mohammed's prophetic calling that we find a description which reminds us of Ezekiel's depression. It is told in a lively manner by Ṭabarī[1]. While Mohammed is abiding on Mount Ḥirā' in solitude, he is suddenly addressed by a divine being: "O Mohammed, thou art the Apostle of God." "Then I fell down on my knees, and while my breast and shoulders (بوادرى) were panting, I dragged myself forth till I reached Khadidja, crying: 'Envelop me, envelop me,' till the anguish had left me. Afterwards the divine being visited me again, saying: 'O Mohammed, thou art the Apostle of God.' Then I was going to throw myself down from a peak of the mountain. But he prevented me from carrying out this intention, saying: 'O Mohammed, I am Gabriel, and thou art the Apostle of God.' Then he said: 'Recite.' And I said: 'What shall I recite?' Then he took me and pressed me three times, so that I could scarcely bear it."

Later, during the so-called pause (فترة) in the revelations, Mohammed, in a new fit of depression, again takes up the idea of throwing himself down from the mountain (Ṭabarī I, p. 1155).

II

This phenomenon, which seems a spontaneous one in the examples adduced, is ranged by later generations among the acts of humility and discretion, which have to be imitated.

[1] *Annales* I, p. 1147.

How strong the idea of imitation prevailed may appear from the fact that according to Theodoretus of Cyrrhus Jeremia already imitated Moses' example: μιμεῖται καὶ τὴν Μωσέως εὐλάβειαν[1]. Discretion becomes obligatory in religious things, just as it is now in social things. Origenes says very plainly: "Imitatores ergo nos esse expedit humilium ipsius Domini sermonum atque factorum et apostoli ejus et facere quod factum est a Moyse ut etiamsi vocatur aliquis ad principatum dicat: Provide alium quem mittas[2]."

Exactly the same attitude is prescribed by Judaism. In the Babylonian Talmud the following baraita is communicated. "Our masters have taught thus: If anyone is invited to stand before the reading-desk, he has to refuse. If he does not refuse he resembles meat without salt. If he refuses longer than is due, he resembles meat spoiled by too much salt. How then should he act? The first time [he is invited], he has to refuse; the second time he has to show hesitation; the third time he has to stretch his legs and go[3]."

Jewish and Christian views on this point being akin, it would be astonishing if Islam had taken a different direction. As a matter of fact we find a trace of the Biblical influence in Muslim tradition. The following saying is put into the mouth of Mohammed: "Do not seek the dignity of an Emīr; if it is given you on your request, you are delivered to it; if it is given you without asking, you receive [divine] help in fulfilling it[4]." Abū Mūsā 'l-Ash'arī tells that he visited the Apostle of God, accompanied by two of his relatives, who begged to be appointed as *'āmil*. Then Mohammed said: "We do not appoint anyone who wishes to be appointed; take the place, O Abū Mūsā[5]."

Abū Dharr relates a similar story concerning himself. He also begged Mohammed to appoint him as an *'āmil* and

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 81, col. 500.
[2] Migne, *o.c.*, vol. 13, col. 239.
[3] *Berakot* 34[a]: תנו רבנן העובר לפני התיבה צריך לסרב ואם אינו מסרב דומה לתבשיל שאין בו מלח ואם מסרב יותר מדאי דומו לתבשיל שהקדחתו מלח האכיצד הוא עושה פעם ראשונה יסרב שניה מהבהב שלישית פושט את רגליו ויורד.
[4] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-Imāra*, trad. 13.
[5] *Ib.*, trad. 15; cf. trad. 14.

received the answer: "O Abū Dharr, you are weak; the office is a post of confidence, but on the day of resurrection it will prove a cause of shame and rue, except for him who has fulfilled it rightly and carried out all the duties it imposed on him[1]."

The last-named tradition is also given in a different redaction. Mohammed answers Abū Dharr in this way: "O Abū Dharr, I see that you are weak; I wish for you only what I wish for myself. Do not exercise command over two persons and do not undertake the administration of the possessions of an orphan[2]."

The traditions of Abū Dharr are commented upon by Nawawī under the head "Disapproval of [accepting] the dignity of an Emīr without necessity." And on the Prophet's saying: "Do not exercise command, etc.," he remarks: "This is a strong motive for avoiding dignities, especially for those who are too weak to fulfil the duties which they imply." But he also declares that the good discharge of a function is meritorious.—It is to be kept in mind that Abū Dharr is one of the saints of early Islam.

III

It is obvious that the Biblical examples mentioned above have exercised a strong influence. Leaving the domain of theory and casting a glance on history, we find a great many data showing that theory has largely affected practice. We shall see, however, that in a number of cases the imitators go farther than the examples; in other words, that refusal is peremptory and that the motive has changed.

The oldest example known to me is that of Juda ben Ṭabbai, a contemporary of the famous Simeon ben Sheṭaḥ. The people of Jerusalem appointed him as a *nasī*; but he fled and went to Alexandria[3]. We are not acquainted with his motives; we cannot even make out whether the story is authentic; but it is typical.

The biography of Ephraim Syrus contains some instances of the same kind. When Ephraim's literary and theo-

[1] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-Imāra*, trad. 16.

[2] *Ib.*, trad. 17: لا تأمرن على اثنين، ولا تولين مال يتيم

[3] *Talmud Jerushalmī*, *Ḥagīga* II 2.

logical genius is discovered by the people of Edessa, they visit him in his lonely dwelling-place on the mountain, apparently in order to admire the author of the commentary on Genesis, or perhaps even with the intention to place him at the head of their school. But he, perceiving their approach, flees and disappears from their eyes. When he has reached a certain wādī the angel of the Lord appears to him and reproaches him with his flight. He answers: "My Lord, I am weak and unworthy." Then the angel persuades him to return to Edessa[1].

It is clear that the episode has been largely influenced by Biblical examples, especially by that of Elija when he flew before Jezebel[2].

It is further told, that Ephraim, allured by the fame of Basilius, went to Caesarea in Cappadocia in order to come in contact with the saintly bishop. The meeting of the two is described with many miraculous features. Basilius is informed in a supernatural way of the exceptional significance of Ephraim and desires to convey to him the dignity of a deacon. But Ephraim refuses, saying: "I am a sinner, O Father." Basilius replies: "Would to God, that thy sins were mine!" He simply orders him to kneel, lays his hand upon him, and says the prayer of deaconship[3].

A different redaction of the biography gives the episode in the following form: Basilius urged him greatly that he should accept the office of a priest. But he could not persuade him; and under strong compulsion he accepted the deaconship[4].

In a third redaction there is question of the dignity of a presbyter. Apparently the author means to say that Ephraim refuses steadfastly. It runs thus: "And when Basilius desired to make him a presbyter by laying his hand on him, he beseeched him earnestly that he should not do this, because he was not worthy of God[5]."

We find the *motif* another time in Ephraim's biography. When he is since long back in Edessa, Basilius sends two

[1] *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. Bedjan, III 636.

[2] I Kings xix.

[3] *Acta Martyrum*, III 647 sq.

[4] *St Ephrami Syri opera omnia*, edd. Benedictus et Assemani, Syriac texts III p. xlvii.

[5] Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*[2], p. 36*.

deacons in order to convey to him the dignity of a bishop. He warns them that they must take him even if he should assume the attitude of a madman. When Ephraim has become acquainted with their approach, he puts on his cloak of many colours, goes in the streets eating his bread, and lets his spittle drop. "This he did because he was afraid of the priestly dignity." The deacons do not recognise him and return to Basilius without having reached their aim[1].

We know that similar cases of refusal originating from humility have occurred several times in the Eastern Church where ascetic tendencies soon gained a mighty influence. Concerning the holy Porphyry of Gaza it is related that "Praylius eum arcessivit et invitum ordinavit presbyterum[2]." And in the Syriac texts concerning the bishops of Mesopotamia, edited by Mingana, it is told that a certain Paul who had been a teacher of Christianity in Adiabene was made bishop of Nisibis by compulsion[3].

So it is not astonishing to find steadfast refusal especially in ascetic circles. Evagrius is said to have refused the dignity of a bishop. John Climacus speaks of the demon who allures the monk by the representations of the episcopate and other dignities and who is to be repelled[4].

Significant in this respect is what Isaac of Ninive relates in his work on monastic life. One of the saints, while living in the desert, used to be consoled by divine grace. But when he had accepted the episcopal chair, this source of consolation dried up. Then he asked God, saying: "Is it that grace has been withdrawn from me on account of my episcopal dignity?" The answer is: "No; but now men provide for you and previously God provided for you[5]."

There is reason to suppose that the man in question was Isaac himself, who as a matter of fact was ordained bishop of Ninive, but soon left his see. How this happened, is told in a short biography preceding the Arabic translation of Isaac's works. When he sat in his episcopal cell, there came to him two litigants. One brought before him a claim against the

[1] *Acta Martyrum*, III 655 sq.
[2] Migne, *o.c.*, vol. 65, col. 1216.
[3] Mingana, *Sources Syriaques*, p. 75.
[4] *Scala*, ed. Raderus, p. 278: *μὴ παραδέξῃ αὐτὸν ἐπισκοπήν σοι καὶ ἡγουμενείαν ἢ διδασκαλίαν ὑποβάλλοντα.*
[5] Ed. Bedjan, p. 248.

other on account of money which he had lent but never received back. When the claim was pressed, Isaac argued, referring to the Gospel, that loans had not to be demanded back. But the litigant was not content with this answer and threatened to bring the case before the worldly judge. Then Isaac felt that contemplative life did not square with the duties of a bishop and returned to the wilderness[1].

The episcopate, in the eyes of monks, is a worldly dignity, and here is a strong motive for refusal on their part. Too often the bishops seem to have been guilty of covetousness. Gregory of Nazianzus thinks them so fond of money that they would have preferred a plurality of gods to monotheism, only for the sake of making money by selling each of them[2].

IV

The above story concerning Isaac of Ninive shows not only that the episcopate was considered by monkish piety as a worldly dignity, but also that it implied, to some extent, the duties of a judge, a feature known even in modern times.

It is worth while to observe that pious Muslim circles considered the dignity of a *ḳāḍī* from the same point of view. Though the office of the *ḳāḍī* has its fixed place in the Muslim legal system and is not open to objections from this side, it partakes, in the eyes of the pious, of the character ascribed (especially in Ṣūfī circles) to the office of the *sulṭān*. On the one hand the *ḳāḍī* is considered as an instrument of the highest powers of the state, on the other hand as an object of bribery on the part of litigants. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find that in the circles mentioned there existed an aversion to ḳāḍīship. "Anecdotes of famous scholars who could not be prevailed upon by imprisonment or castigation to accept the office of *ḳāḍī* are innumerable. Those who succumbed to the temptation forfeited the respect of the circle to which they had belonged[3]." Consequently I cannot think of enumerating the cases in which the office of *ḳāḍī* was offered to pious Muslims and refused by them. I only

[1] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I 444.
[2] Migne, *o.c.*, vol. 37, col. 1087.
[3] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism* (New York and London 1916), p. 112.

choose some examples containing a new proof of the parallelism between the attitude of Christians and Muslims in cardinal questions.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Moḥammed ibn Ḥārith al-Khush(a)nī has written a book on the *ḳāḍī's* of Cordova, which has been edited and translated by Ribera. On p. 8 sqq. of the Arabic text there is an enumeration of persons who refused ḳāḍīship. It appears from the text that some simply refused. Others swore they would divorce their wives or free their slaves in the case of accepting. A certain one is clad with the dignity; but when night falls, he flees, as Juda ben Ṭabbai did when he was made a *nasī*.

Many instances of the same kind are contained in al-Kindī's book on the judges of Egypt[1]. I choose only those which are remarkable from our present point of view. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥudjaira had been made a *ḳāṣṣ*[2], his father said: "Praised be God, my son invokes God and makes others to invoke" (ذكر ابنى وذكّر[3]). When he had become a *ḳāḍī*, his father said: "My son is lost and destroys others (هلك ابنى واهلك[4]).—In an analogous way the relation between *ḳāṣṣ* and *ḳāḍī* is considered in another saying. To Sulaim b. 'Itr it is said: "When you were a *ḳāṣṣ*, two angels would give you advice; but now that you have become a *ḳāḍī*, you are accompanied by two *shaiṭān's* who turn you from truth and try to seduce you[5]."

It is only natural that this view of the office of the *ḳāḍī* has been embodied in sayings ascribed to Mohammed. "Of three *ḳāḍī's* two will go to hell[6]." And: "Whoever is made a *ḳāḍī* is slaughtered without a knife[7]."

Out of the instances of refusal communicated by al-Kindī, I will mention two only. When 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ is *wālī* of Egypt, 'Omar orders him to make a certain كعب بن ضنة *ḳāḍī* of the country. On 'Amr's demand he replies, however, that he refuses to return to the *djāhilīya*[8]. The man had

[1] Edited by Gottheil and in a fuller form by Guest. The latter edition is cited here.

[2] On this office cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II 161 sqq.

[3] I am not quite certain of the sense of these words.

[4] p. 315.

[5] p. 311.

[6] As communicated in Snouck Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, p. 112.

[7] Kindī, p. 471.

[8] p. 302.

been a *ḥakam* in pre-Islāmic times. Here it appears that the *ḳāḍī* is considered as a Muslim counterpart of the old-Arabian *ḥakam*. The parallelism between the *ḳāḍī* and the bishop becomes closer by this fact; for the old-Arabian judge is in many respects the *replica* of the bishop. In his instructive study on the *mimbar*[1], C. H. Becker has shown that throne and staff were the attributes of the old-Arabian judge. It is well known that they were also the attributes of the bishop. And Sprenger[2] mentions a passage in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* according to which the first who used the staff was Koss the bishop of Nadjrān. That in its turn the episcopal chair is an imitation of the example of the judge's throne in the classical world, is also mentioned by Becker[3].

Finally I will point to the story of 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb, whom 'Abbād ibn Moḥammed, the *wālī* of Egypt under Ma'mūn, wished to appoint as *ḳāḍī*. He refuses and hides himself in a house. When 'Abbād has a part of the house pulled down, some one says: "Does that fellow ('Abd Allāh) desire the ḳāḍīship so fervently that he hides himself?" When 'Abd Allāh hears this, he invokes God's wrath upon the rogue, who is stricken with blindness[4].—Perhaps we may conclude from this satirical saying that it had become a matter of good taste to refuse dignities even in cases when they were desired. Then this could be considered as a last symptom of indirect influence of the Biblical examples mentioned above.

It appears from the communicated facts that these Biblical examples as well as that of Moḥammed which are to be considered as originating in purely spontaneous psychological phenomena have become normative in Judaism and Christianity, to some extent also in Islam. When asceticism becomes a mighty current in the church, peremptory refusal becomes obligatory, for dignities belong to the domain of "vainglory." Finally, when the church and Islam have developed a temporal side together with the old spiritual one, dignities, especially that of bishop and *ḳāḍī*, are reckoned as dignities of a worldly character and consequently shunned by those who belong to the pious circles.

[1] *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, Nöldeke-Festschrift, p. 331 sqq.
[2] *Leben Mohammed's*, I 102. [3] *l. c.*, p. 351. [4] Kindī, p. 417 sq.

A. J. Wensinck.

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